Latina/o Preservice Bilingual Teachers in Texas: Narratives of Bilingualism and Biliteracy

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Abstract

Drawing from a larger qualitative study, this paper examines the professional and personal narratives of over 50 Latina/o preservice educators preparing to teach in bilingual classrooms across Texas. In particular, we examine the preservice teachers' language ideologies as they recount their own experiences of language and literacy learning. The preservice teachers—both traditional and non-traditional college students—are overwhelmingly female and Latina with varying levels of bilingualism. Participants come from various immigrant backgrounds: long-term Tejanas, bordertown second-generation Mexican-Americans, Fronterizas who grew up on both sides of the Texas-Mexico border, Mexican nationals, South American immigrants, Puertorriqueñas, and self-identified Chicanas. We find that our preservice bilingual teachers are bilingual and bi-dialectical and that their ways of speaking have often incurred the violence of authority figures. In addition, we find that the teachers' own language ideologies can reflect dominant ideologies that denigrate the varieties of Spanish that deviate from the institutional standard.

Keywords: Latina/o preservice bilingual teachers, language ideologies, discourse.

Resumen

Dibujando de un estudio cualitativo más grande, esta comunicación examina las narrativas profesionales y personales de 50 educadoras Latinas que se preparan para enseñar en salas de clases bilingües a través del estado de Texas en los EEUU. En detalle, examinamos las ideologías lingüísticas de las maestras postulantes cuando cuentan de nuevo sus propias experiencias de aprender ambos idiomas (inglés y español). La mayoría de los participantes en este estudio —sean estudiantes universitarios de un perfil tradicional o no tradicional—son hembra y Latina con una variedad de niveles bilingües. Las participantes vienen de varios fondos inmigrantes: Tejanas de tercera o cuarta generación, Mexicana-Americanas de segunda generación de la frontera, Fronterizas criadas en ambos lados de la frontera de EEUU-México, mexicanas con poca estancia en los EEUU, inmigrantes sudamericanas, puertorriqueñas y Chicanas. Encontramos que nuestras maestras postulantes son bilingües y "bi-dialécticas" y que sus maneras de hablar han incurrido a menudo la violencia de las figuras de la autoridad. Además, encontramos que propias ideologías lingüísticas de las maestras postulantes pueden reflejar las ideologías dominantes que denigran las variedades de español que se desvían del estándar institucional.

Palabras claves: maestras Latinas y postulantes de la educación bilingüe, ideologías lingüísticas, discurso.

Sumário

Baseado em um estudo qualitativo mais extenso, este artigo examina as narrativas profissionais e pessoais de 50 educadoras latinas preparando-se para se tornarem professoras bilíngües de ensino básico e médio no Texas. Os autores examinaram as ideologias lingüísticas dos participantes de acordo com suas experiências de aprendizagem da língua e de alfabetização. Os participantes, estudantes de faculdade preparando-se para se tornarem pedagogos, trazem consigo experiências consideradas como tradicionais e/ou alternativas. Em sua maioria, os participantes são mulheres, latinas, com vários níveis de aquisição lingüística. As origens dos participantes são variadas, incluindo Mexicanas nascidas e radicadas no estado do Texas, segunda geração de mexicanos que cresceram nos dois lados da divisa do Texas e do México, mexicanas, imigrantes da América do Sul, Porto-Riquenhos e outras que se identificam como *chicanas*. O estudo demonstra que as futuras professoras bilíngües são falantes de dois dialetos distintos, as quais são advindas da violência sofrida por figuras de caráter dominante. Além do mais, um outro aspecto demonstrado pelas participantes diz respeito á linguagem apresentada pelas mesmas marcada por ideologias dominantes que denigrem as variedades da língua espanhola, as quais fogem ao padrão institucional.

Palavras chaves: educadoras latinas preparando-se para se tornarem professoras bilingües, ideologias lingüísticas, discurso.

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0. Introduction

The linguistic situation in the U.S. for many bilingual Latinos/as is one that is characterized by their being doubly linguistically oppressed. First, the Spanish language has lower prestige and status than English, and second the varieties of Spanish and English spoken by many U.S. Latinos, from the second generation and beyond, are also devalued when compared to the standard varieties of these codes. This contributes to a complex situation which can lead to linguistic anxiety, insecurity, violence, and discrimination for bilingual Latino/a speakers. In addition, negative attitudes toward language intersect with anti-immigrant and anti-Latino/a sentiments.

Drawing from a larger qualitative study, this paper examines the professional and personal narratives of bilingual Latina/o pre-service teachers in South Texas. Using a language ideologies framework, we take a closer look at their stories of bilingualism and biliteracy. We situate their narratives in the broader U.S. and Texas context which enables us to connect dominant narratives and discourses of immigration and Latino language (as Texas was formerly a part of Mexico). We find that many of our bilingual/bidialectical students report hostility and violence directed against them because of their ways of speaking. As preservice bilingual teachers, they resist dominant negative mainstream attitudes, values, and beliefs about Spanish. However, we find that some teachers' own language ideologies reflect dominant ideologies that denigrate the varieties of Spanish that deviate from the institutional standard.

1. Anti-immigrant and anti-Latino discourses

The political climate in which we are preparing bilingual educators in Texas is similar to the one experienced by California teachers over a decade ago when Proposition 187 was passed in 1994—an anti-immigrant measure that would deny social services, health care, and public education to all undocumented immigrants in the state. Often the general US public does not realize the "emotional labor" that bilingual educators perform when national or state politics are directed toward immigrant English language learners' (ELLs) communities. To be sure, the lives of bilingual educators rarely go unscathed during such anti-immigrant "pendulum swings" (Gershberg, Danenberg, & Sánchez, 2004) because they themselves, their families' and their students are those under attack.

In *Brown tide rising: Metaphors of Latinos in contemporary American public discourse* (2002), Santa Ana demonstrated how anti-immigrant discourses are practically synonymous with anti-Latino discourses as he analyzed the political discourses of the 1990s in California during the passage of Proposition 187 (anti-immigrant), Proposition 209 (anti-affirmative action), and Proposition 227 (anti-bilingual education). His work also sheds light on the discourses about Latina/o immigration and bilingual education.

Santa Ana (2002) repeatedly found metaphors about Latino/a immigrants in the media that starkly reflect xenophobic attitudes. Metaphors included immigration as "dangerous waters," as "an invasion," and as a "third world take-over," as "disease," "burden," an "overwhelming flood" (p. 68-76). Immigrants themselves were depicted as "animals" and "menaces" (p. 88-93). Ideologies, metaphors, and public discourses have the power to shape people's perceptions and constructions of Latinas/os. Furthermore, these metaphors have violent and negative consequences on immigrants (Macías, 1996; Santa Ana, 2002). Such discourses intersect with anti-Spanish and anti-bilingual education attitudes. A language ideologies framework is a useful lens for examining these mainstream linguistic attitudes.

2. Language ideologies

Rooted in linguistic anthropology, the language ideologies framework (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Wortham, 2001) is particularly productive for examining the complex linguistic situation of Latinos/as in the Southwestern United States. Woolard (1998) observed that ideologies about language are never just about language alone: "Rather they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (p. 3). Linguistic ideologies are about consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, and ideas that are rooted in, reflective of, or responsive of interests of a particular social position (Woolard, 1998). Because language ideologies can be tools in the contestation of power, they can legitimate asymmetrical relations of power (Woolard, 1998). This definition of language ideologies is useful for connecting the current linguistic landscape with preservice bilingual teachers' own language attitudes because it illuminates how certain languages are privileged over others and how institutions uphold their status.

3. The study's context: A city in South Texas

Our study is located in San Antonio in a city that is predominantly Latino. The city has a population of 1.3 million that is comprised of 60% Latina/o residents (Census Data 2003 &

2000, respectively). Of the 1.3 million residents, 14% are foreign-born (Census Data 2003). Writing about this transnational city, Romo (2008) observed that it "blurs the boundaries between recent immigrants who have many connections with Mexico and second and third generation Mexican Americans who may have never been to Mexico (Alba, 2005)." In addition, the 2000 Census identified 44 percent of the population in San Antonio as Spanish speakers (Romo,). In this region of the state, it is not uncommon to hear residents speaking "a mixture of Spanish and English in their homes and communities" (Romo). This majority Latino population fosters a way of life, a culture, and a language that is not unlike that found along the US-Mexico border, even though San Antonio is 150 miles from the border.

4. Participants: Intra-ethnic Latinas/os

Our participants, Latina/o preservice bilingual teachers—both traditional and non-traditional college students—are overwhelmingly female, seeking certification in grade levels Pre-K to 4th grade. While they all speak English and Spanish, there are varying levels of oral and written bilingualism among the group. In addition, participants come from different immigrant backgrounds: long-term Tejanas, bordertown second-generation Mexican-Americans, Fronterizas who grew up on both sides of the Texas-Mexico border, Mexican nationals, South American immigrants, Puertorriqueñas, and self-identified Chicanas. At present, there are 63 participants in this study; of whom, three are Latino males. Within Year Two of the study, it is estimated that 50 more participants will be added to the ongoing study, bringing the grand total to just over 100 participants.

Other descriptive information about our participants includes: age range, place of birth, and where they were raised. Thirty-two of our participants, the largest cluster, are between the ages of 21 and 28; twenty are between 29 and 38 years of age, while eleven are 42 or older with three of these being over 52. In our sample, thirty-one of the preservice teachers are second-generation immigrants (having either one or both parents who are foreign-born). Twenty-four are foreign born, with the majority hailing from Mexico; only eight are third-generation and beyond. The largest group of participants were raised in San Antonio (21); the next largest category had 13 participants who were raised along the US-Mexico border—a tie with 13 participants who grew up in Mexico. Ten were raised either in The Rio Grande Valley (a well-known zone along the US-Mexico border with a unique history and bilingual community) or in a different Texas city; and the remaining six grew up in a different state or combination of places altogether. In addition, at least one of our participants was once an undocumented immigrant.

5. Methods

The corpus of data includes: 1) language history map projects[1] written in Spanish and illustrated, 2) essays written in Spanish on language and literacy learning trajectories *(trayectorias),* 3) field notes and/or audio- or videorecordings of in-class discussions, and 4) surveys. One round of data was collected in fall 2006 with 36 participants, and another round was collected in spring 2007 with 27 participants. In fall 2006, Sánchez and Ek taught two of the four practicum courses in the same bilingual teacher education program as the participants' training. These four courses are taught as a block with a cohort of students taking all four classes together two days of the week; the other three days of the week, students are in groups of two to ten at local elementary schools for the field experience component that requires 85 hours of observation in one semester. This "Block" semester comes directly before the full semester of student teaching at our institution. In fall of 2006, Ek taught one section of the course on language arts in the Block semester while Sánchez taught one section of the integrated social studies, math, and science course which she also taught in spring 2007. All four courses in the Block (including one in assessment and another in math/science methods) are taught in Spanish. Even if course readings are mainly in English, assignments, class discussions, emails, and postings on each course's website are predominantly in Spanish.

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[1] The language history map activity was adapted from Olsen and Jaramillo (1999).

6. Researcher positionality

It is important to point out the researchers' positionalities in this project, as we are both teacher-educators with similar backgrounds to our preservice bilingual teachers. This of course shapes our research and teaching. Ek is a 1.5-generation working-class immigrant Mayan Chicana who was born in Yucatán, México, and came to the US at the age of four. She was raised in Southern California.

Sánchez is a second-generation working-class immigrant whose parents are both from Chihuahua, Mexico. Sánchez was born and raised along the US-Mexico border in El Paso, Texas. Steeped with a lifetime of hearing border-crossing stories and carrying out daily routines as a transborder resident, Sánchez self-identifies as a transnational "Mechijanatina" (Sánchez, 2001). In addition, both authors were bilingual/bicultural elementary school teachers and Sánchez taught in a public school district in Texas.

As part of their teacher training, our students have to take the Block courses in Spanish so as to practice and improve their proficiency. This sometimes poses difficulties for certain students whose fluency is weaker and whose Spanish language abilities had never been applied to professional settings. These students become frustrated and are usually not the first- or second-generation immigrant students, but rather the third- and beyond. On the other hand, students who grew up and were schooled in Latin America do very well in these classes because they already possess strong Spanish language and writing skills. In addition, this latter group of students has operated as an "ESL" cohort prior to the all-courses-in-Spanish semester; while in the Block, these students now draw upon their language resources which were not validated nor utilized in many of their previous teacher preparation courses.

7. Ideologies of Spanish

Spanish is connected to immigration status and citizenship in a city like San Antonio where first generation immigrants co-exist with Mexicans whose families were in Texas before it was "ceded" from Mexico and then annexed by the United States. For example, Ek had a recent first-hand encounter with this phenomenon while waiting for an elevator in a public parking lot. As the elevator door opened on the ground floor, a well-dressed man and woman exited, speaking Spanish to each other. As Ek walked into the elevator, two women and two men who looked phenotypically Latino entered also. One of the women began pressing the elevator buttons and saying the numbers in Spanish, drawing out the syllables, loudly, mockingly *"cinco, seis."* The other woman then said, loudly, sneeringly, "We can't all be illegals." After a pause, one of the young men responded, "You're crossing the line." Ek followed with "Yeah, you'd better be careful—." The young woman angrily cut Ek off and said, "I don't have to do anything." Ek was at first shocked by her comment and did not know how to respond. She was especially shocked that the comment came from someone who had dark skin and *mestiza* features. The girl's comment in English served to distance herself from Spanish-speakers, Mexicans, and undocumented immigrants—to her they were all the same. With her English words, she indexed her U.S. citizenship, her legality, her "higher status." Although Ek could not be sure, she doubts that the Spanish-speaking couple who had exited the elevator were undocumented. On the contrary, from their appearance, accent, and lexicon, Ek surmised that that they were what are locally referred to as "Mexican nationals," that is upper-class Mexican citizens who usually freely cross the border into the U.S. and come over for business, shopping, and entertainment; or, they could have belonged to a growing group of Mexican nationals who have moved to San Antonio on a more permanent basis and have business and personal ties across the border.

7.1 English-only ideologies and linguistic violence

Historically, schools have sought to Americanize immigrant Latino/a students, which entails ridding them of their home culture and language. Our preservice bilingual teachers who have difficulty with the Spanish language did not have the benefit of bilingual education or any other form of institutional language support. Despite the proximity of the border—or perhaps because of it, the Spanish language has been and continues to be largely relegated to the margins by the mainstream. Even though Texas has strong *legislative* support for bilingual education, unlike other U.S. states that have passed ballot initiatives dismantling bilingual education (i.e. California, Arizona, and Massachusetts), historically has not favored bilingualism among its residents and school children. Spanish has often been a target of erasure or other hostile social, judicial, and educative measures (González, 1999; San Miguel, 1999; Scheurich et al., 1998; Verhovek, 1995).

The process of socializing immigrant and linguistic minority students to the mainstream dominant culture has never been benign or neutral but instead has been marked by violence. Indeed, our students who have been schooled in the U.S., often bring up memories of linguistic violence in their narratives. One example comes from Margarita, a 46-year-old, second-generation Latina who grew up in Chicago. In a poignant literacy trajectory essay, she wrote:

> *Durante uno de los primeros días de clases hablé en español y me castigaron. La monjita me pegó con una regla en la mano y me dijo en ingles do not say or speak Spanish in this class. Después de ese día jamás volví hablar español en el salón. La mayoría del tiempo me la pasaba escuchando y observando pero no tenía la oportunidad de hablar con nadie. Conocí unas compañeras de escuela y poco a poco aprendí ha hablar inglés y también con mis hermanas. Mi nivel del inglés era como describe Jim Cummins un inglés BICS. En el salón todavía batallaba para hacer mi trabajo y también escribir y leer.* (Margarita)

As Margarita's story documents, some students literally have the Spanish beaten out of them. That Margarita was hit by her teacher, a nun, serves to take the language question into the realm of morality, i.e. that the English-speaking nun who is the religious and moral authority punishes Margarita for speaking Spanish makes English the moral (and therefore good) code. Such violence silences her as she describes that she spent class time listening and observing, but unable to speak with anyone. Another student Sofia echoes margarita's story:

> *Durante mis años de primaria las monjitas casi nunca me hacían preguntas y me daba vergüenza de tratar de hablar porque no quería pronunciar las palabras mal o que me corrigieran la maestra o que se burlaran de me los otros niños. Me sentía aislada, ellos no me aceptaban y yo resentía esos sentimientos. En el pasado año durante mis estudios aquí en UTSA he leído de situaciones parecidas ha la mía. En otras clases he tenido que escribir reflexiones sobre temas de nuestras propias experiencia tratando de aprender otro idioma. La primera vez que escribe [sic] sobre este tema aprende más de mí misma. A veces se siente como una ola de emociones que me ahogaban llenas de recuerdos y sentimientos amargados.* (Sofía)

The preservice teacher's experiences are marked by violence towards her and her language—the nun punishes her for speaking Spanish. She finds herself in linguistic isolation that makes her afraid of participating in class because of fear of negative consequences. In contrast at UTSA, she finds a different kind of learning experience, one marked by linguistic solidarity, as here she learns about others' experiences that are similar to hers. She also discovers that writing about her narratives serves as a catharsis for the bitter language experiences she endured.

Readers will notice that both essays contain grammatical and spelling mistakes. These are the consequences of the hostility toward students' primary languages as well as the lack of resources for heritage language maintenance. Our students who are 1.5 - fourth generation have had to fight an uphill battle to retain their language and culture. Our preservice courses are some of the few spaces for bilingual preservice teachers to read, write, think, and talk in Spanish. Indeed, whether at the university or in the larger context, there are very few spaces for immigrant languages. Moreover, attitudes about language are not only about language, but are inevitably tied to race, ethnicity and class positions. Writing about Spanish in the U.S., Bonnie Urciouli (1996) argued:

> The ordinary bilingual speech that people engage in every day is always subject to racialization. Whenever English speakers complain about the "unfairness" of hearing Spanish spoken in public spaces or in the workplace, they racialize Spanish by treating it as a matter of place….The language that works for bilingual at home and around the neighborhood is disallowed by outsiders who take to themselves the power to judge language difference in moral terms. Nearly every Spanish-speaking bilingual I know, academic colleagues and my own students as well as the people in this study, has experienced complaints about using Spanish in a public place (p. 35).

Similarly, Gotanda & Santos (2002) argue that language has become a proxy for race in that it is no longer acceptable to attack people because of their race, but it is acceptable to attack their language. Yet, as Anzaldúa states, "I am my language" highlighting the inextricability of language, ethnicity and identity. Moreover, underscoring the complexity of the linguistic reality of U.S. Latinos/as, when Anzaldúa states, "I am my language," she writes not only about the Spanish code, but also about the "Tex-Mex" variety of Spanish that she grew up speaking.

7.2 Ideologies of Spanish of the Southwest

Illuminating the role of institutions in reifying negative language ideologies directed at non-standard dialects, Urciouli (1996) observes:

> Although such judgments appear to be about a language or a dialect, they are really about institutional legitimacy...Language varieties that evolve in colonized circumstances are unprotected from judgment unless and until they are approved by, for example, an elite language academy representing a nation-state (p. 35).

Higher education can perpetrate much hostility onto the ways in which second- and third-generation Latinos/as speak. For example, some of the preservice bilingual teachers complained that the courses in other departments where Spanish was taught because they were made to feel that their Spanish is bad, incorrect, and wrong. Having experienced this negativity, students may feel afraid or embarrassed to speak up in other courses taught in Spanish like ours. Moreover, they can begin to internalize these negative ideologies.

Our data reveals that some of our students' own language ideologies with respect to "good" and "bad" Spanish mirror those of the larger society. Students refer to their own ways of speaking with such negative evaluations as "mocho" (mishmash), "pobre" (poor), "incorrecto" (incorrect). This next excerpt from a class session where students gave oral presentations of their language history maps demonstrates this belief about a Southwestern kind of Spanish. The student is Berta, a 26-year-old, first-generation undergraduate Mexican female who identifies herself as a Mexican Hispanic. Growing up, she lived in various places, attending primary school in the Mexican states of Sonora and San Luis Potosí. Her family then moved to the Mexican state of Coahuila, returning to San Luis Potosí where she finished high school and her first year of college. Then she came to the United States where she attended high school for one year, before pursuing university studies at UTSA.

7.3 Tex-Mex: Developing a complex or insecurity

1 Después, este, conocí a mi esposo,
Afterwards, um, I met my husband,

2 y aquí es donde empezó el complejo
and here's where my complex began

3 de un Español pocho Tex-Mex Spanglish,
of a *pocho* Spanish, Tex-Mex Spanglish,

4 porque mis suegros hablan mucho de
because my in-laws speak a lot about

5 "parquéate, pos vamos a cookear" ó "esto matchea muy bien"
"park yourself, so we're going to cook" or "this matches really well"

6 y se me pega,
and it rubs off,

7 que vamos a la library , que vamos al gym”
“that let’s go to the library, that let’s go to the gym”

In this excerpt, Berta explains how she adopted or learned to speak “Tex-Mex Spanglish (line 3).” Linguists call this variety of Spanish Chicano Spanish or Spanish of the Southwest (Fought 2000). The dialect can include loan words from English. For example, in line 5, “parquéate,” “cookear,” “matchea” all use English verbs (park, cook, match) as the root word and add Spanish verb endings. Intersentential codeswitching is also a feature of Spanish of the Southwest, as shown in line 7 “que vamos a la library, que vamos al gym.” Linguists argue that these are complex creations by competent and creative bilinguals and not the “deficient” use of language by “alingual” or “semilingual” people (Zentella, 1997). Yet, the ways in which Berta talks about the inevitable adoption of Tex-Mex echoes the dominant ideologies about this dialect. The use of the words “pocho” (line 3) “Spanglish” (line 3) and “complejo” (complex) (line 2) point to the negative values associated with this variety. The term Spanglish traditionally signals a pejorative view of complex linguistic phenomena and processes. Drawing from a deficit perspective, Ilan Stavans (2003), for example, wrote that the Spanish is used by the lower class, is “the tongue of the uneducated,” is a “hodgepodge” (p. 3).

As the transcript above has shown, Latinos/as themselves can reify negative stereotypes and perceptions of their ways of speaking. The preservice teachers’ narratives included instances of their parents’ or other family members’ attempts to “correct” or “purify” their Spanish. Parents are often motivated by a desire to protect their children from hostility, embarrassment, or linguistic discrimination brought on by others’ negative judgments. This next example demonstrates how it is sometimes the very speakers who deny their use of this variety. Gloria, is a 32 years old, second-generation Mexican female who identifies herself as Hispanic-Mexican-American. She grew up along the border with some time spent in Missouri. In the excerpt below, she was talking about her memories of the ways her parents spoke.

Example #4

1 Mis papás son de Ciudad Acuña, México, de Coahuila,
My parents are from Acuña City, Mexico, from Coahuila

2 y las palabras que mis papás utilizaban eran, “chale,” “ órale,” y “amá.”
and the words that my parents used were, “chale,” “órale,” y “amá”

3 “Amá,” yo sí me acuerdo que mi mamá así le decía a mi abuelita,
“Amá,” I do remember that my mother would call my grandmother that

4 pero las otras palabras, primero me las dijo pero luego dijo,
but the other words, first she told me those but then she said,

5. “Yo no decía esas palabras porque mi mamá me pegaba si yo hablaba así.”
“I did not say those words because my mom would hit me if I spoke like that.”

6 *So*, en realidad no sé que palabras utilizaba ella pero
So, in reality I do not know what words she used but

7 eran palabras que sus amistades ahí en Acuña utilizaban"
they were words that her friends there in Acuña used.

In this transcript, our student Gloria recalls her mother calling her grandmother by the word, "amá," (line 2-3) a shortened form of mamá, that is used by working-class rural Mexicans. She also recalls other Chicano Spanish words such as "chale," and "órale" (line2) that her parents used. However, her mother denies that she used those words because they would warrant physical punishment from her own mother. Her mother's denial causes Gloria to doubt her memory, but she insists that she remembers those words being used by her mother's friends. Linguistic violence is a theme throughout our participants' narratives and Gloria's story demonstrates that the violence was associated not only with speaking Spanish in English—speaking public spaces, but also with speaking certain kinds of Spanish in the household or anywhere else.

Gloria's transcript also illuminates that for many Latina/o mothers, motherwork includes "language work" to raise the status of both Spanish and its non-standard dialects. Writing about language shame versus pride for Latina mothers, Relaño-Pastor (2005) observes:

> The moral evaluations drawn from language experiences at school suggest a moral world in which mothers resist *vergüenza* (shame) for not speaking English well, while encouraging *orgullo* (pride) in Spanish among their children. Latina mothers construct themselves as active subjects in their English learning experiences, challenging dominant English-only ideologies that insist on fast-English language policies as the magical solution for economic success in the United States (Zentella, 1988) (p. 154).

With respect to how U.S. Latino/a parents negotiate ideologies against their varieties of Spanish, González (2005) wrote:

> Many second- and third-generation borderland parents feel linguistic insecurity in Spanish because of the erasure of their native language skills in the English –only schools they attended…Their insecurity is due to a sociohistorical legacy of language purism that treats anything but a standard language form as a socially stigmatized, uneducated form of expression, as well as to the absence of Spanish-language instruction in schools. The derogatory from *pocho*, used by Mexican nationals to refer to second-generation Mexican-origin residents of the borderlands, is primarily a linguistic indictment, a stinging barb leveled at those who "should" speak standard Spanish, but cannot. An ideology of linguistic purism and prescriptivism has engendered a generation of parents who feel that the Spanish they speak is substandard (p. 168).

Without realizing it, the students' own discourses reinscribe these hegemonic language ideologies. Thus, part of what we strive to do in our teacher education classes is to shift the dominant language ideologies that the students have internalized and to make explicit how dominant ideologies of language create and legitimate asymmetrical power structures. Our bilingual preservice teachers need to resist the pejorative views toward their Tejano/a ways of speaking so that they can address these issues in their own future classrooms. There is hope as preservice bilingual teachers' reasons for becoming bilingual teachers are often rooted in their linguistic experiences which lead them to want to prevent linguistic injustice and violence from being visited upon their students. For example, Sofía, one of the students who was punished by nuns for speaking Spanish, also wrote in her literacy trajectory narrative:

> *Esta vez escribo sobre este tema en español por primera vez y sigo aprendiendo mas cada día. ¡ Qué bonito es poder aprender sin temor! Un día yo también voy a ser maestra y mis experiencias de los años pasados se emplearán en algo positivo. Haberme dedicado a mis estudios por los pasado cinco años es lo mejor que yo he logrado para sentirme mas segura de mi misma. Esa palabra de miedo la reemplacé con un sentimiento más noble que es el querer. Me refiero a el querer de ser una buena y efectiva maestra. Mi mayor deseo es que mis futuros estudiantes compartan el entusiasmo de aprender un nuevo idioma.*

Preservice bilingual Latina/o teachers can replace their memories of fear and bitterness into feelings of love for their English Language

8. Conclusion

Examining the language and literacy narratives of preservice bilingual Latina/o educators in Texas reveals that they are doubly linguistically subordinated first by the marginalized status of Spanish in the U.S. and also by deficit perspectives of Texas Spanish. Because preservice bilingual teachers' language and literacy backgrounds can ultimately influence their political perspectives and pedagogical philosophies (Bartolomé & Balderrama, 2001; Bartolomé & Trueba, 2000; Clark & Flores, 2001a, 2001b, 2004; Expósito & Favela, 2003; Martínez, 2000), it is essential that preservice teacher education programs make explicit the language ideologies that undergird the teaching and learning of English Learners. Additionally, preservice teacher education programs must shift dominant, internalized language ideologies in order for preservice bilingual teachers to better value their own communicative competencies, be they Standard Spanish or Tex-Mex or Chicano English. Thus, teacher education programs must create safe spaces for resisting and transforming ideologies.

Our study also points to the importance of focusing on a language ideologies perspective because it is useful for not essentializing Latino/a linguistic proficiencies and experiences. We agree with González's observation (2001) that, "by focusing on language ideologies, we can fracture the 'one language, one culture' isomorphism of Spanish-speaking populations, as we become aware of, for instance, the derogation of Chicano Spanish by native Spanish speakers" (p. 178). Such an approach is necessary for shedding light on the complicated heterogeneous linguistic experiences of Latinos/as.

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