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The Bilingual Review
VOL. XXXIV ● NO 1 ● OCTOBER 2019
La Revista Bilingüe
OPEN-ACCESS, PEER-REVIEWED/ACCESO ABIERTO, JURADO PROFESIONAL

Critical Consciousness in Bilingual Teacher Preparation for Emancipatory Biliteracy

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Abstract: This qualitative study draws on interviews and instructional material to investigate bilingual teacher candidates' beliefs about their biliteracy development and illustrates how one bilingual teacher preparation program implemented counterhegemonic discourse and pedagogy aiming to develop candidates' critical consciousness. The findings reveal that candidates had internalized deficit beliefs about biliteracy that corresponded to societal power dynamics. Developing the candidates' critical consciousness enabled them to examine their own and their students' biliteracy in the current and historical contexts of linguicism, racism, and oppression. Our findings support the exploration of critical consciousness as a pedagogical tool in the preparation of K-12 bilingual teachers.

Key words: bilingual teacher preparation, critical consciousness, biliteracy, Spanish literacy, bilingual education, language ideologies

Critical Consciousness in Bilingual Teacher Preparation for Emancipatory Biliteracy

Linguistically minoritized[1] populations in the U.S. receive omnipresent messages of inferiority (Suarez, 2002), which are often internalized by the community, including students, families, and teachers (Arce, 2004; Brito, Lima, & Auerbach, 2004). Developing bilingual teacher candidates' critical consciousness is necessary for creating emancipatory educational spaces and identifying and disrupting hegemonic structures, practices, and ideologies that permeate schooling, and therefore shape biliteracy experiences. In this article, we illustrate how one bilingual authorization program integrates biliteracy and critical consciousness to provide opportunities for bilingual teacher candidates to (re)write their understanding of the factors influencing bilingual children's schooling and to enact equity-oriented pedagogy that counters the harmful messages students receive about their biliteracy.

We begin by discussing how critical literacy and raciolinguistics inform our definition of biliteracy. We review scholarship on bilingual teacher candidates' biliteracy and the need for critical consciousness in the development of biliteracy. Then, we present the methods we used to explore the beliefs bilingual teacher candidates hold about their biliteracy development and practices, and how a bilingual teacher preparation program can support simultaneous development of bilingual teachers' critical consciousness and biliteracy. Next, we discuss how the participants perceived their biliteracy and share a vignette that illustrates how the bilingual teacher preparation program worked to develop the critical consciousness and biliteracy of its teacher candidates. Finally, we describe how candidates' experiences in the bilingual teacher preparation program informed their classroom practice. In this way, we explore the development of biliteracy and critical consciousness in bilingual teacher preparation.

Critical Literacy and Raciolinguistics

We employ critical literacy and raciolinguistics as theoretical frameworks to guide our understanding of biliteracy. Like Freire and Macedo (1987), we interpret literacy as supporting an understanding of both the world and the word. Therefore, we analyze biliteracy "according to whether it serves to reproduce existing social formations or serves as a set of cultural practices that promotes democratic and emancipatory change" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 141). We draw on raciolinguistics (Flores & Rosa, 2015) to make sense of the ways that bilingual and biliteracy practices are valued and devalued in schools according to the racialized bodies producing the linguistic practices rather than the practices actually falling short of a perceived standard.

As such, we define biliteracy more broadly than the traditional sense because we are concerned with the ability of teacher candidates to enact critically conscious biliteracy in K-12 classrooms with the goal of empowering traditionally minoritized students. Like Escamilla and colleagues (2014), our definition includes reading, writing, metalanguage, and oracy. We also incorporate an understanding of the differences between how biliteracy and bilingualism are enacted in school and in the community (e.g., Smith & Murillo, 2013); the development of cultural and linguistic pride; and the pedagogical knowledge and critical awareness that teacher candidates need to develop linguistic and cultural pride in their minoritized and Latinx students

[1] Like Kibler (2017), García and Wei (2014), and others, we use the term "linguistically minoritized" for speakers of home or community languages other than English to highlight that "their home/community language resources are often disregarded by powerful institutions, discourses, and individuals" (Kibler, 2017, p. 27).

(e.g., Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017b; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Paris & Alim, 2017). We approach the study of biliteracy with an understanding that it shifts over time (Hornberger & Link, 2012) as bilinguals deepen their critical consciousness and acquire new experiences and abilities.

Developing Teacher Candidates' Biliteracy

Despite a need for research on bilingual teacher candidates' biliteracy development, the field is still nascent, and what exists often refers solely to bilingualism. For example, Guerrero (2003) found that bilingual teachers in a teacher preparation program in the U.S. had limited opportunities to practice Spanish in their credential programs and were concerned with their ability to use it effectively in a classroom. Similarly, Lindholm-Leary (2001) discovered that over 70 percent of Dual Language teachers were native English speakers with great variation in their Spanish language skills, and almost 10 percent self-reported minimal communicative competence in Spanish. While we take a more holistic view of bilingualism, these studies point to the need for language and literacy development for teacher candidates.

Bilingual teacher candidates enter bilingual teacher preparation programs with a range of biliteracy (Guerrero, 2003). The literature on bilingual candidates' biliteracy development tends not to focus on how biliteracy is developed in teacher preparation; rather, it centers on the candidates recalling their experience with initial acquisition of bilingualism and biliteracy (Ceballos, 2012; Musanti, 2014), or exploring the differing biliteracies of schools and the community (Smith & Murillo, 2013). While both these practices are valuable, neither addresses the candidates' current and ongoing biliteracy development. Research suggests that teachers' bilingualism can be used as pedagogical tool where they draw on Spanish and English to make sense of content (Musanti & Rodríguez, 2017). In other words, instead of insisting that candidates communicate only in Spanish to improve their Spanish proficiency, candidates may benefit from translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014) as they use their full linguistic repertoire to learn content. Bilingualism (Valdés, 2001) and biliteracy (Hornberger & Link, 2012) exist on continua that change and evolve over time, and pedagogical language (Aquino-Sterling, 2016) may be new to bilingual candidates. As such, the need to study their biliteracy development is important and all but neglected.

Since bilingualism "expands a person's meaning-making, or comprehension, repertoire" (Hopewell, 2013, p. 62), studies with children have shown that English-only literacy theories are inadequate for understanding biliteracy development as they exclude strategies such as cognate recognition, cross-language morphological analysis, judicial use of translation, and explicit comparison of conventions (Hopewell, 2013; Jiménez, García & Pearson, 1995, 1996). Strong pedagogical biliteracy development is critical for equitable teaching in Two-Way Immersion (TWI) programs to ensure that all students receive the type of instruction that will advance their learning. Consequently, attention to bilingual teacher candidates' biliteracy development is crucial for children's learning.

Critical Consciousness in Bilingual Teacher Preparation

In the U.S., biliteracy is deeply intertwined with issues of culture, identity, and power (Ceballos, 2012; Flores, 2016; Musanti, 2014). Students and teachers from minoritized groups are perceived as not bilingual or biliterate enough (Cervantes-Soon et. al, 2017) while white bilingual students are lauded (Rosa, 2016). Latinx bilinguals are ridiculed (Winstead & Wang, 2017) and corrected for using the language they acquired at home (Briceño, Rodriguez-Mojica, & Muñoz-Muñoz, 2018; Ek, Sánchez, & Quijada Cerecer, 2013). These messages insult the

language and literacy practices of the homes where students' families model and teach their children how to be. After repeatedly hearing that the way they and their families communicate is wrong, bilinguals have reported fear of speaking either language (Winstead & Wang, 2017), and have decreased confidence and negative attitudes toward their own language (Arce, 2004; Briceño et al., 2018; Ek et al., 2013; Fitts, Winstead, Weisman, Flores, & Valenciana, 2008). Some of the negative messages bilingual students receive come from school where heritage Spanish speakers encounter English hegemony that devalues the Spanish language.

In previous work (Briceño et al., 2018), we have shown that Latinx heritage Spanish speakers faced linguistic purism (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015) and elitism (Pimentel, 2011) in their early schooling, in secondary settings like their Spanish World Language classes, and in higher education. Such ideological pressures undermined their home variety of Spanish, communicative confidence, and identity as bilingual and biliterate individuals. These experiences denigrated students' home register of Spanish to the extent that they felt that their Spanish was so incorrect that it prohibited them from becoming bilingual teachers; they had internalized deficit language ideologies (Briceño et al., 2018). Despite bilingual candidates' experiences of linguistic and cultural oppression, they show great agency by reclaiming their language and using it for liberation by becoming bilingual teachers (Cervantes-Soon, 2018). Wong and colleagues' (2017) case study of a bilingual teacher evidences how the development of critical consciousness and language ideologies in teacher education enabled a first-year teacher to cultivate dynamic multilingualism and counter neoliberal curriculum. Shannon (1995) also found that when a teacher actively resisted the hegemony of English, students did also. Consequently, developing critical language ideologies should be a significant focus in bilingual teacher preparation.

Language ideologies are implicit, often unrecognized, perceptions of languages, language users, and language varieties (Granados, 2017) and are related to social, economic, and political power (Woolard, 2005). In addition to influencing one's own perception of self, teachers' ideologies affect their interactions with diverse students (Gallo, Link, Allard, Wortham, & Mortimer, 2014; Jiménez, Smith, & Martínez-León, 2003) and influence their instruction (Briceño, 2018; Martínez et al., 2015; Wiese, 2004). Wiese's (2004) study of teachers' instructional decisions in a Two-Way Immersion program revealed that while native Spanish speakers and English-dominant students received biliteracy instruction, the English-dominant students with strong literacy in their primary language were the instructional priority. African-American students in the class were perceived as struggling in English literacy (defined as reading and writing) and received literacy instruction in English only. In sharing her reasoning, the teacher shared "because they are so low, there is no way to introduce a second language" (Wiese, 2004, pp. 83-84). Because the teacher perceived her African-American students as not being able to acquire biliteracy in Spanish because of their "low" English literacy, they did not have access to biliteracy instruction in the TWI class. And, while Latino students had access to biliteracy instruction, they received the least instructional attention.

Although the development of bilingualism and biliteracy work to resist the hegemony of English, bilingual students and teachers in the U.S. live in a context where linguistic minorities and their languages are associated with inferiority (Suarez, 2002) and English-dominant White students are associated with superiority and power. Even within TWI settings that have as explicit goals the development of biliteracy, bilingualism, high academic achievement, and cross-cultural competence (Howard et. al, 2018), interest convergence that prioritizes the needs of white English dominant students still exists (Cervantes-Soon, et al., 2017; Morales & Maravilla, 2019; Wiese, 2004).

Consequently, researchers propose adding critical consciousness as a fourth pillar of TWI as a way to combat inequalities within bilingual spaces (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer, Cervantes-Soon, Dorner, & Heiman, 2019). Drawing on critical language studies, border pedagogies, and critical pedagogies, critical consciousness calls the bilingual community "*to examine one's position, how it is "read" and how it relates to power* in the word and the world by encouraging each individual to locate her or his identity within particular histories of power, colonization, imperialism, and difference" (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017, p. 419). Recognizing and interrogating the power structures and ideologies that shape one's own understanding of and experience with biliteracy and its instruction is essential if we are to combat inequality in bilingual spaces. Yet, teacher preparation and school systems tend to neglect the topic of ideologies (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017a) and, in California, are not required to interrogate systemic ways that language, culture, and identity in the U.S. are impacted by English hegemony and the privileging of White English dominant students and families (Commission on Teacher Credentialing, 2017).

We argue that developing the biliteracy and critical consciousness of bilingual teacher candidates by exploring and clarifying language ideologies will help alleviate the current cycle of linguistic oppression (Guerrero & Guerrero, 2008). This study adds to the literature by addressing the biliteracy development of bilingual teacher candidates from a pedagogical perspective and identifying practices one teacher preparation program implemented to simultaneously develop candidates' biliteracy and critical consciousness.

Methods

This study stems from a larger research project, spanning three universities and three years, that examined how heritage Spanish speaking[2] teacher candidates' beliefs about language and (bi)literacy influenced their decisions to enter bilingual education (Briceño et al., 2018). We engaged in data collection for this study in two phases. Phase one included data collection on bilingual candidates' beliefs and experiences regarding language, biliteracy, and schooling that influenced their decision to become bilingual teachers. When we found strongly internalized hegemonic beliefs about language and literacy, the first author, Claudia, implemented practices in her university's bilingual teacher preparation program to counter those beliefs (phase two). We describe how we collected and analyzed data for each of these phases below.

Claudia's integration of counterhegemonic practices in the bilingual teacher preparation program reflects Cervantes-Soon et al.'s (2017) hope that including critical consciousness as the fourth pillar of TWI would encourage communities to include counterhegemonic discourses in bilingual teacher preparation and other bilingual spaces. We draw on phase one of our study to address our first research question, *what beliefs do bilingual teacher candidates hold about their biliteracy development and practices*? Then, we draw on data from phase two to share the results of the second research question, *how does one bilingual teacher preparation program support simultaneous development of bilingual teachers' critical consciousness and biliteracy?*

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[2] We use the term "heritage Spanish speaker" to refer to people who grew up in a home or community where Spanish was spoken, and who may have varying levels of Spanish/English bilingualism (Valdés, 2001). For heritage language speakers, the home/community language is "often a minority language within a nation-state" (Suarez, 2002, p. 515). Although some of the participants in this study were born in Mexico, we include them in this term because they now live in the U.S., where their home language (Spanish) is minoritized.

Setting: The Bilingual Authorization Program

Housed within Santa Clara University (SCU), a private religious university in California, the bilingual authorization program requires teacher candidates to complete three bilingual courses: Bilingual Foundations, Bilingual Methods, and Latina/o Language & Culture. Bilingual students have the option of enrolling in a fourth course, Bilingual Seminar, that is only required for in-service candidates. The bilingual authorization courses are aligned with the state's bilingual authorization program standards and are taught in Spanish. While the program includes some readings in Spanish, most of the course readings are in English with the expectation that class discussions and coursework will be in Spanish. This article illustrates how the Spanish bilingual authorization program simultaneously develops critical consciousness and biliteracy in its bilingual teacher candidates.

Participants

While many bilingual authorization programs focus on preparing multiple subject bilingual teachers, SCU prepares multiple *and* single subject bilingual teachers. Most single subject participants are Spanish World Language teachers. To better understand the beliefs bilingual teacher candidates held about their biliteracy development and practices, we interviewed seven candidates enrolled in SCU's bilingual authorization program. The four multiple subject participants (Adriana, Clarisa, Joaquin, and Janet) were from our larger study, and we added three World Language Spanish candidates (Toña, Oscar, Eva). We selected these single subject candidates because, like the multiple subject participants, they exhibited cognitive dissonance between their beliefs and the typical work of bilingual and World Language teachers. They were in the process of understanding some of the raciolinguistic implications of being a heritage language speaker and teacher in the U.S. All seven participants were Latinx sequential bilinguals, and Spanish was their home language. Table 1 lists the participants, the credential they sought, and their demographic information.

Table 1.
Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Country of birth	Country of education
Adriana	F	U.S.	U.S.
Clarisa	F	U.S.	U.S.
Joaquin	M	U.S.	U.S.
Janet	F	U.S.	U.S.
Eva	F	Mexico	K-12 in Mexico, college in both Mexico and U.S.
Oscar	M	Mexico	K-11 in Mexico, 2 years in US high schools, college in U.S.
Toña	F	Mexico	K-12 in Mexico, college in U.S.

Data Collection and Analysis

We interviewed participants individually for 25 to 40 minutes and used a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2006) to analyze data. We conducted a second interview with Janet as she was completing her teaching credential program because of her interesting path to becoming a TWI teacher, her initial concerns with her Spanish literacy, and her developing critical consciousness. We followed the participants' linguistic leads and often used both Spanish and English in interviews. The interview audio files were coded by two researchers using atlas.ti software. We began initial coding by assigning interviews to each member of the research team and creating parent codes drawn from literature on bilingual teachers and language ideologies. Having completed initial coding using etic codes from the literature, we exchanged interviews for a second round of analysis aimed at verifying and challenging initial codes. A third coder was brought in to discuss questions and disagreements until agreement was reached. Once we finalized initial codes, we conducted increasingly granular secondary and tertiary emic coding and used the same process to come to agreement. We engaged in data analysis meetings to discuss disagreements until we reached consensus on emerging themes, arriving at 100% agreement on all codes and resulting themes. For purposes of this article, we identified codes and three interconnected themes related to: (1) candidates' beliefs about (bi)literacy; (2) how the credential program was supporting their own biliteracy development; and (3) how they were implementing critically conscious ways of working with K-12 students.

To investigate how the credential program supported the bilingual candidates' development of biliteracy and critical consciousness (phase two), we collected and analyzed instructional material and Claudia's notes from the bilingual authorization courses she taught. Claudia's notes consisted of in-class observational data, questions that arose in class and her own reflections of class activities and discussions. We reviewed these notes and reflections after the courses were completed to identify biliteracy and critical consciousness themes. Since the

courses had been planned with biliteracy and critical consciousness in mind, there was an abundance of relevant data for analysis.

Developing Critical Consciousness and Biliteracy in Bilingual Teacher Preparation

Our findings center on three themes, detailed below. First, we share bilingual teacher candidates' perspectives on biliteracy and the power school literacies held over home literacies. Next, we share how Claudia incorporated critical consciousness into her bilingual teacher preparation courses. Then, we describe our study participants' developing critical consciousness and biliteracy pedagogies.

Bilingual Teacher Candidates' Perspectives on Biliteracy

Nearly all of the bilingual candidates expressed concern about their biliteracy, and in particular, their Spanish literacy. As the literature (Briceño et al., 2018; Ek et al., 2013) predicted, candidates who were educated in the U.S. worried that their Spanish language and literacy was, as Janet said, "totally incorrect," because it was acquired at home rather than at school. Adriana explained, "*El español nada más sé hablarlo como oralmente, nunca académicamente lo aprendí con mis papas*." [I only know how to speak Spanish orally, I never learned it academically with my parents.] The candidates described how their Spanish literacy skills began at home. Janet stated:

> I learned [to read and write] at home with my mom. She would have me read lyrics to Spanish songs. So that's how I learned. And then she would have me write letters to my grandparents, who were in Mexico, so that's how I learned, too.

Similarly, Adriana explained:

> *Mis abuelitos hablaban nada más el español, y tengo un abuelito que le encantaba escuchar la biblia, solamente en español. Entonces desde niña yo era la única que le gustaba leer, y creo que fue así que aprendí solita leer. Mi tío, también tenía una revista con cuentos infantiles, y me encantaba leerlos. Siempre tuve interés de leer, no importaba el idioma.* [My grandparents only spoke Spanish and I have a grandfather who loved to listen to the Bible, only in Spanish. So, since I was a little girl, I was the only one who liked to read and I think that is how I taught myself to read. My uncle also had a magazine with children's stories and I loved to read them. I was always interested in reading, it didn't matter what language it was.]

Literacy was a family experience, often serving a social purpose, such as reading an uncle's magazine, reading the Bible to a grandfather, or writing to family members. However, the candidates felt that their initial Spanish literacy knowledge was insufficient or incomplete and privileged their experiences with Spanish literacy in school over those at home. In her second interview, Janet shared that she was hesitant to accept a TWI teaching position because she did not feel "comfortable with herself and her language," evidencing Winstead and Wang's (2017) notion that heritage speakers become insecure in using their home language. When she passed the district's oral and written Spanish exams, however, the district's approval of her Spanish bilingualism and biliteracy motivated her to ultimately accept the position. She explained:

> At [the] school district you have to take an oral and written exam in Spanish. So, I said you know what, I'll take it and if I pass, they'll feel like I'm equipped to teach a class in Spanish. So I did [pass], luckily, but they did tell me that I have to work on my accents and things like that, things I already knew I needed to work on. It just motivated a little bit more and helped me realize that my Spanish is good enough to teach. Just because I

> wasn't brought up speaking the Spanish that is taught in school. I grew up speaking with my mom and her Spanish is not academic Spanish.

After internalizing negative perceptions of her Spanish, Janet needed external validation from a school district before accepting a bilingual teaching position. Joaquin echoed this comment explaining:

> My parents made me learn to read and write in Spanish when I was little, but they didn't do that for my 3 younger sisters and brothers. They taught me a little, but I *really* learned to read and write in high school. It was an AP class. We did a lot of reading and writing.

As is evident in Joaquin's comment that he "*really* learned to read and write" in Spanish in his Advanced Placement (AP) Spanish class, the bilingual candidates had internalized the cultural power dynamic that privileges literacies taught in U.S. schools over their immigrant families' literacy practices. The linguistic purism (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015) and elitism (Pimentel, 2011) candidates faced in school are part of the cultural oppression and silencing Latinx students encounter in the U.S. One result is low confidence in candidates' own Spanish literacy.

Writing in Spanish appeared to cause the most anxiety, and many of the students specifically mentioned accent marks as being problematic. Joaquin said, "in Spanish you have to worry about the accents." Janet stated, "Writing is the worst for me in Spanish. I can read it very well but writing *acentos* [accents] and all that stuff [pause] I don't think I would be able to do [teach] that." The mechanics of accentuation were significant enough in the candidates' minds that they questioned their ability to teach in their home language. Overall, the candidates expressed that they were significantly more proficient in English than in Spanish. Clarisa explained:

> Well, Spanish I can speak, I can read, I can write, but, in English I can give you a 15 page paper, in Spanish I can't at a college level. I can write for you, but maybe after 3 pages it's going to be like, basic Spanish. It's going to have a complete sentence but it's not going to be college level.

The hegemony of English as the language of school was even ingrained in Clarisa, who attended a Dual Immersion school for kindergarten through eighth grade, and Eva, who was born, raised, and educated in Mexico. Eva was concerned about her biliteracy, and specifically her Spanish literacy, saying:

> *Es algo que me aterra, digo "¿porqué se me ha olvido el español?" Porque he tratado tanto en tener buena gramática en inglés que ahora siento que estoy en esa transición … Definitivamente me siento mejor en español, pero ahora con esa, tengo que usar el diccionario o el google si esta palabra necesita un acento o un "h" por aquí. Entonces necesito chequear esas cosas. Pero, sí, a veces sí me frustra porque me digo "ay, yo no tenía que hacer eso antes," pero ahora entiendo que es el proceso de ser una persona bilingüe.*[It is terrifying, I ask myself "why have I forgotten my Spanish? Because I have tried so hard at having good English grammar and now I feel like I am in transition...I definitely feel better in Spanish, but now with that, I have to use a dictionary or google to see if this word needs an accent or a "h" needs to go here. So I need to check things. But, yes, at times it does frustrate me because I think, "Ay, I didn't have to do that before," but now I understand that it is part of the process of being a bilingual person.]

As a group, the candidates often reminded each other that their bilingual proficiency would change depending on exposure and use. Noticing that talking to each other about their challenges with Spanish language proficiency was helpful, the group decided that perhaps being more

transparent about their own linguistic development with their K-12 students would be helpful as well.

Adriana believed that preparing to teach and the act of teaching in Spanish was helping her development of Spanish literacy. She said, "*Ahora que lo estoy enseñando todos los días, sé más gramática, más escritura, los acentos. Lo tengo que estar enseñando, entonces estoy aprendiendo también a la vez que lo estoy enseñando.*" [Now that I'm teaching every day, I know more grammar, more about writing, the accents. I have to teach it, so I'm learning at the same time that I'm teaching it.] While she found it difficult, she felt that the daily practice was noticeably helping her Spanish literacy as well as her confidence in it. After having her Spanish silenced in school, Adriana's dual language teaching position provided her with the opportunity to develop her Spanish without others' critiques. As a result, both her Spanish literacy and her confidence in her ability to teach in Spanish improved.

Phase one of this study enabled us to identify a significant issue related to biliteracy and concepts of identity, culture, and power in bilingual teacher preparation. The bilingual candidates had internalized beliefs about their own biliteracy practices that corresponded to societal power dynamics: Knowledge from immigrant and minoritized homes was insignificant compared with that of U.S. schools. That information provided Claudia with the impetus to combat this hegemony in her bilingual teacher preparation program. Her implementation of counterhegemonic discourse and pedagogy aiming to develop critical consciousness and biliteracy in teacher candidates is described below.

Developing Critical Consciousness in Bilingual Teacher Preparation

In the vignette below, we illustrate how Claudia worked to explicitly address language ideologies and raise critical consciousness and biliteracy through the program's bilingual authorization courses. The vignette highlights an activity aimed at unearthing the ideologies embedded within schooling and demonstrates the recursive focus on examining the alignment of ideology and practice through teachable moments.

In addition to addressing the state's bilingual methodology goals, the Bilingual Methods course aimed to facilitate students' development of ideological clarity by exploring their own systems of beliefs and considering how those beliefs influence what they do and say in the classroom. Sometimes, the candidates' instructional practices did not align with the ideologies they claimed. To begin unearthing the ideologies embedded within practices, students were invited to engage in a quick write about the following scenario:

> Science teachers Melina and Karen are talking in Spanish before a meeting begins. A monolingual-English Math teacher sits next to Melina and Karen. Should Melina and Karen continue speaking in Spanish? Or switch to English? Why?

After students completed their quick writes, they shared their responses in small groups. Then, the instructor led a whole group discussion about the scenarios and ideologies embedded within each. The instructor wrote the questions and concerns on the board as students shared. Would the Math teacher feel uncomfortable because she could not understand their conversation? Would it be considered rude for Melina and Karen to continue their conversation in Spanish? Would Melina and Karen be alienating the Math teacher?

Students in the class remarked that they had often experienced similar situations. Some shared that they had been asked to stop talking in Spanish because others could not understand. The instructor asked students to review the questions on the board and asked: Who's comfort is at the core of the questions? The class had immediately focused on how the monolingual English

teacher would feel, even though every student in the class most closely related to Melina and Karen's dilemma. Why had the class immediately worried about the monolingual English teacher's comfort and not considered the bilingual speakers' point of view?

After a few seconds of silence accompanied by nods, students began making connections to one of the course readings, Alfaro and Bartolomé's (2017b) chapter on the importance of developing bilingual teachers' ideological clarity. The chapter, written in Spanish, discussed discriminatory ideologies (just and equitable meritocracy, assimilation, and linguistic or cultural deficiency) and ideologies reflecting the cultural richness within communities. As the discussion unfolded, they realized that most of their questions reflected an assimilationist ideology. That is, by focusing on the monolingual teacher's comfort, their questions suggested that linguistic minorities should adapt to the English monolingual dominant culture to ensure monolinguals' comfort.

The class discussed how to address similar scenarios to reflect an ideology grounded in cultural richness. What would happen if the teachers continued their conversation in Spanish? How could bilingual teachers retain their right to speak the language of their choice while not being viewed as unfriendly or rude? Would a demand that they speak in English be perceived as rude? Why or why not?

Following the discussion, the class engaged in a carousel activity where they posted comments, expectations, and actions that reflect discriminatory ideologies and cultural richness ideologies. In groups, students walked around the classroom and wrote on large posters labeled with different ideologies from Alfaro and Bartolomé's (2017b) chapter. After all groups had added notes to each poster, each group reviewed other groups' notes. Then, the class engaged in a discussion about the themes they saw and how they could continue to investigate the ideologies reflected in their own comments and actions.

Efforts to develop ideological clarity continued throughout the program. While some activities aimed at developing ideological clarity were planned ahead of time, some of the work occurred spontaneously from teachable moments. During a transition between activities in a later session, Toña expressed admiration for a classmate's bilingualism and biliteracy. The classmate, Charlotte, was a White student who had acquired Spanish as her second language via formal study in high school and college. Born and raised in Mexico, Toña had acquired English in the U.S. as an adult. She commented that while all students in the class were bilingual and biliterate, Charlotte's effort to acquire Spanish was especially admirable and reflective of hard work. All students in class were bilingual and biliterate; they all read graduate level texts in Spanish, wrote essays and reflections, and participated in class discussions in Spanish. In addition, with the exception of bilingual courses, they were all completing an English-medium teaching credential and Master's degree program. Toña's comment elevated Charlotte's biliteracy above the biliteracy of Latinx students in the class, reflecting Flores's (2016) depiction of a liberal multicultural vision of bilingual education that assumes "the language practices of language-majoritized White populations as more conceptually rich than the language practices of language-minoritized Latinos" (p. 26).

To address the comment, the instructor made a note of the exchange and engaged the class in a discussion about the comment later in the class session. She began the discussion by reviewing discriminatory ideologies with the class and used the comment as the topic of discussion. The instructor paraphrased the comment and did not reveal that the comment was made in class. The class discussed how Latinx students acquiring English in K-12 and college are sometimes viewed as linguistically deficient and identified as "English language learners." In

contrast, White students with similar bilingual abilities who were acquiring Spanish as a second language are often viewed as linguistically gifted. Through this discussion, the instructor began to introduce raciolinguistic ideologies and described Flores and Rosa's (2015) scholarship arguing that some students' linguistic practices are devalued not because of the linguistic practices themselves but because they are spoken by racialized bodies. This idea was also reflected in the interviews, as Eva, a World Language teacher educated in Mexico, expressed that she did not feel respected by her English-speaking colleagues at work, "*No me siento como un poquito medio-cómoda porque para mi es que dudan las capacidades intelectuales.*" [I feel kind of uncomfortable because, to me, it is that they doubt my intellectual capacities.] Eva's comment demonstrates how, even though she was bilingual, biliterate, and was completing a graduate level program in English and Spanish, her English-speaking colleagues doubted her intellect.

Course discussions about raciolinguistics set the groundwork to center race and power in future discussions about biliteracy, bilingualism and bilingual education. For example, over the course of the program, some candidates shared that their Latinx students seemed embarrassed speaking Spanish and expressed frustration that the students did not exhibit pride in their culture. In Bilingual Seminar, the class watched videos from the PBS Latino Americanos series and episodes from Chicano! History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement series. In presenting the history of Latinos in the U.S., documenting farmworker's struggles and the Mexican-American Civil Rights movement, the videos and class discussions helped the candidates situate the embarrassment about speaking Spanish and apparent lack of cultural pride they saw in their classrooms with the historical experiences of Latinos in the U.S. This was particularly helpful to the candidates who had grown up in Mexico. Born and educated in Mexico, Eva said, "*La historia sobre el Chicanismo y todo eso, es algo nuevo para mi.*" ["The history of Chicanismo and all that, it's new for me."] By explicitly addressing raciolinguistics, systemic oppression, and inequality in bilingual spaces, the bilingual courses worked to develop the candidates' critical consciousness to facilitate examination of their own biliteracy, how their biliteracy is perceived, and the role power plays in their own and others' perceptions and instruction of biliteracy. Below, we describe how the bilingual candidates' critical consciousness and biliteracy practices informed their classroom practice. We begin by highlighting Janet's journey from doubting her ability to teach in Spanish to developing the critical lens necessary to accept her own and her students' fluid language practices within a school setting with restrictive language practices.

From Bilingual Teacher Preparation to Classroom Practice

Janet acquired Spanish as her first language but had lost confidence in her Spanish proficiency. In her high school Spanish classes Janet had learned that her home Spanish was incorrect and improper, and her self-esteem suffered. Feeling that her Spanish was deficient (Briceño et al., 2018), she had decided not to pursue a bilingual authorization.

Even though Janet had no intention of becoming a bilingual teacher, she was offered a position at a TWI school because she had shared that she was bilingual during the application process. As a result, Janet had to decide between accepting the TWI position or not being hired. As we shared above, Janet's self-doubt about teaching in Spanish was lessened when she passed the district's oral and written Spanish exams. She accepted the position and began teaching in January to fill a vacancy for a classroom that had lost three teachers since August. When she was enrolled in Bilingual Seminar, Janet was working towards her teaching credential and was weeks into her role as a fifth-grade TWI teacher.

Reflecting on her biliteracy practices in the teacher preparation bilingual classes, Janet described a flexible and fluid movement across named languages as she worked to understand content delivered in Spanish. Her translanguaging practices reflect Musanti and Rodríguez's (2017) finding that bilingual teacher candidates' writing practices leveraged their English and Spanish linguistic repertoire. When Claudia asked about her note-taking practices in the bilingual courses, Janet explained:

> I do them in English, just because it is easier for me to type them down.
> Claudia: Even though you're talking in Spanish?
> Janet: Yes, it's crazy! (laughs) Because, it's crazy how the brain works, because it would be easier to just write them down in Spanish, but I feel so comfortable with the English language so I'll write them in English. But then it's harder because the work has to be in Spanish so I have to translate it again.

Janet taught at a school with strict language separation policies and was aware of the tension between the language policies and her own fluid and flexible biliteracy practices. Awareness and reflection of her own biliteracy practices as a student in the bilingual courses allowed her to accept the fluidity her TWI students' demonstrated in their biliteracy practices within a setting with strict language separation expectations. She explained:

> So, *sus notas pueden estar en inglés pero cuando hacemos escritura y ellos tienen que hacer* [So, their notes can be in English, but when we are doing writing it they have to do] like some sort of research, I do notice that they look up research in English, they write it in English and then they'll translate it in Spanish.
> Claudia: So, *todo el borrador in inglés primero, y luego lo* - [So, the whole draft is in English first and then-]
> Janet: -*Sus notas.* So*, sus apuntes, todo lo hacen en inglés pero cuando escriben su borrador, todo está escrito en español.* [Their notes, so what they write down is all in English but when they write their draft it is all written in Spanish]. And a lot of them tell me, "Maestra, I know it's a lot of work, but that's just how my brain works." And I can't say anything because I do the exact same thing in class!
> Claudia: *¿Y les dices eso, que tú también-?* [And do you tell them that? That you also -]
> Janet: -Yeah! I tell them 'I totally understand because I do the same in my class.' So, they're like 'oh, okay!' They feel like, you know. So, I totally get where they're coming from.

Like Janet and her TWI students, Adriana and Joaquin also described the apparent dominance of English and the fluidity with which they moved from one named language to another. For example, Adriana said, "My brain thinks in English so when I'm writing in Spanish the phrases sound like they're in English." Joaquin echoed this comment, stating, "When I speak in Spanish, I think in English, and then kind of, translate. You have to be more cognizant of that, of speaking in Spanish. And just the structures of the languages are different."

Aligned with Adriana's experience of developing her biliteracy and bilingualism as she taught TWI, Janet expressed:

> [Teaching in Spanish] has definitely helped me with my Spanish because I find myself making mistakes in front of the kids, and they correct me or I correct myself, and I find ways to develop my Spanish more so that I can teach it well enough to the students so they can continue to develop their language."

When asked to elaborate on student corrections, she explained:

> Even when I write on the board in Spanish I always get anxiety because I know that maybe I'm mixing up a "c" with an "s" or a "z" or *el acento* [the accent], things like that. But, I just kind of write it and the kids are like, 'oh, Maestra it's with a "c"' or this or that. And at first I felt intimidated but I tell them, 'thank you *por correjirme* [for correcting me] and you know we all learn from each other.' So after a while, I got over myself and was just like you know what, as long as I'm learning and not feeling intimidated it's not such a bad thing.

In the bilingual courses, Claudia often shared her experiences teaching in TWI classrooms and attempted to model a classroom culture of mutual learning and development. When Janet and other students expressed nervousness with their written Spanish in their TWI classrooms, she shared how she faced similar challenges and was open with her TWI students and families that, like them, she was also developing her bilingualism and biliteracy.

While Janet was eventually able to create a classroom culture where students and the teacher alike were teaching and developing their biliteracy, she described how she initially limited how much she wrote in Spanish in class and took steps to shield students from witnessing the development of her biliteracy. Janet remembered:

> At the beginning, I tried to limit myself writing in Spanish, and it is so bad, but I used to like think about it the day before and write it down on a post-it note and then stick that on my board so I could write it...So I would have my fiancé or my mom look over it or I would translate it myself and make sure that the accents and the spelling was correct. But, after a while, I was like, well, you know, it is what it is. Because that would take way too much time to do!

Janet explained that designing a classroom culture where she and her students were free to make mistakes and grow as bilingual and biliterate individuals required that she open herself up and say "I'm not perfect and I'm going to make mistakes too and we can help each other out." Janet also described how she had to "get over" her self-doubts with written Spanish to accept student's corrections because she knew their corrections were not intended to embarrass her.

Janet's ongoing shift to a newly critical lens paved the way for her to accept and validate her own and her students' translanguaging practices despite teaching in a school that required strict separation of languages. Similarly, Oscar took into consideration the context and students in his World Language class, sharing, "*Su primer idioma es español, pero su primer idioma académico es inglés*." ["Their first language is Spanish, but their first academic language is English"]. He recognized he was teaching Spanish to students who suffered some of the same linguicism as his peers in the bilingual teacher preparation program, and, recognizing the significance and power of biliteracy, shared that his goal was to empower his students though biliteracy. He explained, "*En donde los chavos vean que tanto escritura, como la expresión [oral], son armas muy, muy poderosas."* ["So that the youngsters see that writing and [oral] expression alike, are very powerful tools."] Oscar continued, "*Un educador debe aprender cómo se afecta la política directamente y indirectamente en cuestión de recursos, en cuestión de programas, y todo ese tipo de cosas.*" ["An educator should learn how politics directly and indirectly affect resources, programs, and all those types of things."] Oscar evidenced his critical consciousness as an educator when he explicitly acknowledged a link between (bi)literacy and political and financial power.

Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

The incorporation of critical consciousness into the bilingual teacher preparation program has enabled the candidates to understand their own and their students' biliteracy in the current and historical contexts of linguicism, racism, and oppression. Candidates recognized their own experiences with oppression and considered counter-hegemonic practices that would support their own biliteracy as well as that of their students. The program's focus on ideological clarity enabled the teachers to better link their pedagogy to their stated beliefs and therefore teach in emancipatory ways. When bilingual teacher preparation programs combine ideological clarity with "emancipatory literacy" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 157), it facilitates the enactment of decolonizing pedagogy in K-12 bilingual classrooms. As Freire and Macedo (1987, p. 145) stated:

> The literacy program that is needed is one that will affirm and allow oppressed people to re-create their history, culture, and language; one that will, at the same time, help lead those assimilated individuals who perceived themselves to be a captive to the colonial ideology to "commit class suicide."

Freire and Macedo (1987) argue that literacy instruction can be a tool for empowerment and therefore for a cultural revolution toward greater equity. Like Oscar, we view biliteracy as a tool in this revolution, and we argue for a biliteracy that enables Latinx candidates to genuinely self-express (Cervantes-Soon, 2018) rather than self-sensor as a result of internalized hegemonic expectations.

Providing opportunities for bilingual teachers to develop critical consciousness is particularly important in the current context of gentrification of TWI programs, where only "symbolic integration" of language groups may occur in settings that are otherwise entrenched in racism (Muro, 2016, p. 2). Explicit and intentional work is needed to develop teachers who can successfully navigate the complexities of these settings in emancipatory ways that avoid interest convergence (Morales & Maravilla, 2019); being Latinx or speaking Spanish does not necessarily signify that a teacher is prepared to deliver counterhegemonic pedagogy (Briceño, 2018). SCU's bilingual teacher preparation program aligns with Cervantes-Soon and colleagues' (2017) suggestion to include critical consciousness as a fourth pillar in TWI. This article illustrates how it works in practice, including strategies used to support candidates' development of critical consciousness, and how candidates' understandings of their own and their students' bilingual and biliteracy practices shifted.

While Claudia chose to integrate critical consciousness into her bilingual teacher preparation program, the inclusion of critical consciousness into state standards for bilingual teacher preparation programs would help to provide a reason and focus for this work for other programs. For example, state standards for the preparation of bilingual teachers (Commission of Teacher Credentialing, 2017, p. 14) require knowledge of, but not a critical understanding of, vague notions such as "migration, immigration and settlement in the United States" (Standard 5.1). A traditional understanding of this standard typically heroizes Christopher Columbus and ignores the systematic genocide and land theft in American history. Standard 5.6 requires that candidates "understand that the role and status of an individual (i.e., economic, gender, racial, ethnic, social class, age, education level) influence inter- and intracultural relationships and how these factors affect the process of acculturation in California and the U.S." The emphasis on the individual, we argue, neglects to acknowledge that racism and linguicism are enacted and perpetuated by systems and institutions including public schools. The inclusion of acculturation assumes that assimilation of minoritized individuals is the goal. Bilingual candidates prepared

with traditional understandings would therefore be replicating the white-washed pedagogies and histories so often found in textbooks (Zinn, 2015), while critically conscious candidates could use history to help students question current political events related to immigration and systemic oppression.

Professional development and support for bilingual teachers would be integral for ongoing co-development of biliteracy and critical consciousness. In SCU's bilingual program the teachers challenged, empathized with, and learned from one another. A similar setting is needed for in-service bilingual teachers to continue to sustain each other in their learning and their growth toward ideological clarity and equity-oriented pedagogy. No one teacher can shift a school culture on their own, thus intentional, focused collaboration to support teachers' linguistically and culturally sustaining pedagogy will be critical for significant changes to occur.

Like others (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019), we have argued for the exploration of critical consciousness as a pedagogical tool in the preparation of K-12 bilingual teachers and their biliteracy. The construct of linguistic ideology expands the scope of metalinguistic awareness and enables the realization of ideological clarity (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017a). Ultimately, the overarching goal must be to shift the systems that consistently undermine and underestimate Latinx students in our schools.

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