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Becoming a Bilingual Teacher on the Border: Developing Ideological Clarity at a Hispanic-Serving Institution

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BECOMING A BILINGUAL TEACHER ON THE BORDER: DEVELOPING IDEOLOGICAL
CLARITY AT A HISPANIC-SERVING INSTITUTION

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Laura J. Salazar

2024

DEDICATION

To my familia

BECOMING A BILINGUAL TEACHER ON THE BORDER: DEVELOPING IDEOLOGICAL
CLARITY AT A HISPANIC-SERVING INSTITUTION

by

LAURA J. SALAZAR

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

As teacher education programs encourage more candidates to pursue bilingual certification, a need exists to improve the ways that preservice teachers (PSTs) are prepared to teach in bilingual classrooms. Research suggests the importance of preparing PSTs in the area of linguistic ideological clarity. Scholars define ideological clarity as an ongoing process through which individuals can critically consider their ideological orientations as well as dominant ideologies that favor those in power, with an aim of becoming agents of change through this process (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). This case study sought to understand the opportunities that bilingual PSTs have to develop ideological clarity during a teacher education program, as well as the ways their own linguistic histories might interact with the language ideologies in circulation and development in the program. Drawing from the theoretical lenses of language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard, 1998) and dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009), this study analyzed the ways that bilingual PSTs in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands have come to understand bilingualism and what is necessary to become a bilingual teacher in this context. PSTs reported moments in which their bilingualism was framed in a monoglossic manner during their K-12 schooling, but the teacher education program had afforded opportunities to reframe it through a heteroglossic lens. Participants also described the ways that standardized testing had come to define success for them as bilinguals, both during their K-12 years and again during the teacher education program. Pedagogies implemented during an introductory bilingual education course provided opportunities for PSTs to notice, name, reflect on, and apply ideologies that were evident in their linguistic histories and in current educational practice. The findings of this study indicate ways that ideological clarity may be developed through teacher education, informing the

field through implications in teacher education programs, K-12 bilingual education, and state policy.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Teacher education currently finds itself at a critical juncture. Recent data show that teachers are leaving or plan to leave the profession at astounding rates following a global pandemic era in which their work is more essential than ever (Walker, 2022). Additionally, 21st century classrooms are more ethnically and linguistically diverse than they were just a few decades ago, requiring that today's teachers possess a more specified skill set to reach the learners in their classrooms (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2020; Villegas et al., 2018). As student bodies grow more diverse, however, data show that teachers in the U.S. as a whole remain largely a homogenous group, the majority of whom are still white females as they have been throughout history (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2020). Teacher education programs are thus tasked with preparing future teachers to educate a student population that may look increasingly different from the majority of teachers in the nation's classrooms.

For many teacher education programs, preparing teacher candidates for today's diverse classrooms means following research-based best practices, such as programmatic coherence, content knowledge, an emphasis on practice, and analysis and self-reflection (Darling-Hammond et al., 2005; Darling-Hammond & Oakes, 2019; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Hernández Sheets et al., 2010). Other programs place further emphasis on preparing preservice teachers (PSTs) for teaching multilingual learners, such as engaging in discussions of second language acquisition, teaching specific pedagogies for multilingual learners, and providing opportunities for hands-on practice in linguistically diverse classrooms (De Jong & Harper, 2011; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Villegas et al., 2018).

Beyond the approaches that are common among teacher education programs such as those mentioned above is the need to help prepare teacher candidates to understand deeply and think critically about social ideas about language, or *language ideologies*. While literature surrounding language ideologies in educational contexts has expanded in recent decades, fewer studies focus on the language ideologies that circulate within and develop through teacher education programs. Published work suggests the integral role that the development of *ideological clarity* plays in teacher education (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Lucas & Villegas, 2013), particularly as teachers encounter increasing numbers of multilingual learners in their classrooms. Scholars define ideological clarity as an ongoing process through which individuals can critically consider their ideological orientations as well as dominant ideologies that favor those in power, with an aim of becoming agents of change through such a process (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bartolomé, 2002). Through intentionally constructed conversations surrounding language ideologies in teacher preparation programs, PSTs are more likely to develop an agentic approach and interrogate hegemonic ideologies present in the schools in which they eventually teach (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Feiman-Nemser, 2001). Beyond theoretical notions of conversation and reflection, however, studies surrounding pedagogical practices related to the development of ideological clarity in teacher education programs are few (Expósito & Favela, 2003; Nuñez & Espinoza, 2019; Pacheco et al., 2019; Varghese & Snyder, 2018; Woodard & Rao, 2020). What could the development of ideological clarity look like when it occurs in teacher education? From a teacher educator's perspective, what strategies can help PSTs critically examine their beliefs and experiences surrounding language? This study sought to understand the opportunities that bilingual PSTs have to develop ideological clarity during their time in a teacher education program, as well as the ways their own linguistic histories might

interact with the language ideologies in circulation and development within the teacher education program.

Specifically, I was interested in exploring the ways that a teacher education program on the U.S.-Mexico border approaches the development of ideological clarity among bilingual PSTs. Interestingly, the demographics of teacher groups in Texas, particularly in communities on the U.S.-Mexico border, differ considerably from the rest of the country. Some estimates show the Latinx population of teachers in Texas State Education Service Center Region 19, an area covering 19 West Texas border school districts, at over 80%, teaching a student population that is also over 80% Latinx (Texas Education Agency, 2020). Nationally, teacher education programs have begun to push for the diversification of the workforce, making efforts to both attract an ethnically and linguistically diverse group to the profession and also to prepare this group in every way possible for the classrooms they will soon lead. In border communities, by contrast, teacher educators are tasked with preparing a population of teachers that has often experienced academic, linguistic, and social situations similar to those of their future students but drastically different from much of the nation. The borderland context and unique linguistic experiences of PST participants in this study provided a different and important perspective on the essential work of ideological development in teacher education.

Language ideology theory served as the overarching theoretical lens for this study, as I endeavored to uncover the ways that individuals' and groups' systems of beliefs about languages in a variety of social situations intersect with understandings of identity, values, rights, and power (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard, 1998; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). Within language ideology theory, I also analyzed data through the lens of linguistic ideological clarity, which scholars view not only as an ongoing process in moving towards a more critical orientation

towards languages, but also a part of the process of developing critical consciousness for educators (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). Due to the borderland context of this study, it was also important to consider data through an understanding of dynamic bilingualism, which conceptualizes languages as socially constructed and views bilingual and/or multilingual individuals as drawing from a singular linguistic repertoire as opposed to separate linguistic codes (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). Dynamic bilingualism also describes the translanguageing practices common to all bilingual people, which are particularly prevalent in the borderland context of this study.

This study is situated among existing research that has demonstrated connections between teachers' own linguistic histories and the manner in which language ideologies are changed, reconstructed, and reproduced within school systems (Banes et al., 2016; Ek et al., 2013; Rodríguez-Mojica et al., 2019). It also seeks to expand on literature describing pedagogical moves within teacher education programs that may help teacher candidates develop ideological clarity as a means of disrupting cycles of linguistic oppression in schools (Expósito and Favela, 2003; Herrera, 2022; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020). My review of existing literature points to the particular importance of ideological clarity in borderland teacher education programs, as border city school districts often employ a majority of Latinx teachers working in the same schools they attended as children (Sloat et al., 2007). The literature review also demonstrates a prevalence of skills-based instruction driven by a culture of standardized testing in borderland schools, revealing inequitable learning environments for multilingual learners and a complex array of language ideologies driving decision-making at multiple levels (Ocasio, 2014; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2014). This study seeks to build on the existing literature by describing the experiences of borderland teacher candidates and proposing

actionable pedagogies for the development of linguistic ideological clarity within this important context.

This qualitative case study was conducted in the teacher education program at a Hispanic-Serving Institution in a U.S.-Mexico border city. I used purposive sampling to select 11 total participants for this study. Six participants were preservice teachers enrolled in one section of an introductory bilingual education (BED) course at Del Valle University. The instructor of this course was also considered a participant of the study. Additionally, four participants were enrolled in their final semester of the teacher residency program at Del Valle. I collected data over the course of one four-month semester through observations, interviews, and artifact analysis. Data analysis was an inductive and recursive process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and data were analyzed throughout all stages of the study. I performed multiple rounds of open and focused coding on all transcriptions, field notes, and student work samples (Saldaña, 2016). The use of NVivo qualitative data analysis software was helpful in creating, breaking apart, and reorganizing codes into categories and overarching themes. Throughout the study, a process of memo-writing was helpful in reflecting on emerging themes (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

This dissertation is composed of three journal article manuscripts. Collectively, these articles demonstrate the ways in which teacher education programs can play an important role in the process of helping teacher candidates develop linguistic ideological clarity during their preservice years. Chapter 2, the first of the three article manuscripts, examines the ways in which PSTs began to describe their bilingualism through a deficit lens due to monoglossic ideologies applied to them during their K-12 school years. Their experiences in the teacher education program, however, have helped them to redefine their bilingualism through opportunities for reframing what it means to be a successful bilingual individual. In Chapter 3, the second

manuscript, I conceptualize the construct of *success* as a language ideology, as PSTs experienced definitions of success as bilingual individuals via standardized testing at two points in their trajectories. Monoglossic ideologies moving them towards English in their K-12 schooling were revisited by means of Texas' Bilingual Target Language Proficiency Test (BTLPT), certifying bilingual teachers to teach in Spanish in the state. Success is a moving target when viewed through the lens of language ideologies, which is problematic when it may come to push prospective bilingual teachers out of this high-need field. Finally, Chapter 4, the third manuscript, describes the pedagogical moves of a teacher educator at Del Valle University, which were highly effective in the process of developing ideological clarity among PST participants. This analysis is particularly important in moving the work of ideological clarity towards tangible practice for teacher education.

As a whole, the findings of this study argue that many borderland teacher candidates have experienced monoglossic framings of their bilingualism throughout their linguistic histories. They often describe these experiences as occurring during their K-12 school years, but such framings are reproduced through the certification requirements for bilingual teachers in Texas. Borderland teacher education programs, however, can be instrumental in disrupting cycles of linguistic repression through intentional and specific pedagogies designed to support the process of linguistic ideological development among PSTs. The teacher educator involved in this study used the practices of historicizing, interrogating power, and praxis to encourage PSTs to interact with course content in a critical manner (Palmer et al., 2019). Critical multilingual texts that he described as *libros acompañantes* also helped PSTs to notice, name, reflect on, and apply ideologies that were evident in their own linguistic histories and in the classroom practice they experienced during the course (España & Herrera, 2020; Heiman et al., forthcoming). Such

moves are vital to filling the growing need for bilingual teachers, particularly in Texas border cities.

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CHAPTER 2: BORDERLAND PRESERVICE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES WITH REFRAMING BILINGUALISM

Cintia, a preservice teacher (PST) enrolled in an introductory bilingual education (BED) course at Del Valle University¹, described her experience in transitioning from bilingual to monolingual classes in third grade in the following way:

But then that transition kind of pushed my Spanish away and it was all English. Like I only spoke English. And I kind of feel like I'm stuck between English and Spanish, because sometimes I can't express myself in English and sometimes I can't express myself in Spanish. And I'll like switch back and forth....Like that transition for me in third grade, I didn't know why I was changed to just English, or I didn't understand why I couldn't speak Spanish. But I just knew oh, you can't speak Spanish. But I didn't understand why. And then I didn't understand why it was so difficult for me to be in those classes. Because although I know English, I was also used to my Spanish. So just doing everything in English and not being able to express myself in Spanish if I didn't know something in English was really hard...because it was just a very quick transition.

(Cintia, Interview 1, 02/19/2023)

Cintia's early and abrupt transition to English-only classes, despite being raised in a home where both Spanish and English were spoken, came to define her as a student, a daughter and sister, and more recently as a bilingual teacher candidate. Every participant in this study shared at least one narrative of a moment in their linguistic history in which their bilingualism was framed through a monoglossic lens, as they navigated experiences such as exiting bilingual programs for monolingual classes in elementary school and the process of crossing the U.S.-Mexico border to

¹ All names of people and institutions are pseudonyms, with the exception of two participants whose real names are used with permission because of their importance to their stories.

attend high school. While their narratives were uniformly moves from Spanish towards English within their K-12 schooling trajectories, their experiences demonstrate the varied and complex nature that represents life in the borderlands (Vila, 1999, 2005).

Throughout history, our understanding of languages and the ways they work together has been intricately tied to the social contexts in which they are used. In settings like Cintia's borderland home, it is important to understand the complex and hybrid nature of linguistic practices and the ways that these practices influence all areas of life. Anzaldúa (1987/2012) described the border as living in two worlds in social, cultural, and linguistic terms while often feeling a lack of belonging to either. This in-between state of *nepantla*, while familiar to many, may not always be given space within the educational landscape. Schools have often followed the societal norm of taking a *monoglossic* view of the linguistic practices of the borderlands, or understanding the Spanish and English used as separate entities that operate in isolation from one another. The border, however, is not a place of black and white binaries, but of fluid uses of language that are better understood through a *heteroglossic* lens: that is, that individuals use a single linguistic repertoire to communicate and make meaning (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). It is helpful to visualize the languages in an individual's repertoire as traveling back and forth as fluidly as the daily traffic that moves back and forth across the international border that forms the context of this study.

In this paper, I examine the moments in PSTs' linguistic histories in which they describe monoglossic ideologies applied to them, and how they subsequently described their bilingualism through a deficit lens. During their time in the teacher education program, however, PSTs have been afforded opportunities to reflect on these experiences, which has helped them begin a process of redefining their bilingualism and their understandings of what it is to be successful as

a bilingual individual. I begin by describing the theoretical frameworks I use to understand how people conceptualize bilingualism. Next, I review relevant literature in this area, including the influences of teachers' backgrounds on language ideologies and a look at teacher preparation at Hispanic-Serving Institutions. I continue with a description of the methodology of the study, followed by a description of the findings. The article closes with a discussion of conclusions and implications, including the ways that the findings of this analysis may be useful in bilingual teacher education.

Theoretical Framework

Language Ideology Theory

Language ideologies are systems of beliefs about languages and those who use languages in different ways and contexts. They can also be understood as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). It is important to note that language ideologies are never only about language. To the contrary, they construct connections between language and identity, nationality, race, values, and social systems, and by definition they are complex, varying, and multiple (Farr & Song, 2011; Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). In this way, while language ideologies are often viewed as beliefs about language as well as about the users of language, it is important to also understand the complex ways in which these beliefs intersect with and can also appear at odds with the ways that groups of people use language in their social contexts. Henderson and Palmer (2015) note that language ideologies are less about beliefs as a noun and more about the active ways these beliefs are evident in practice. That is, we connect our beliefs about language to the social contexts in which we operate and act upon these

connections, constructing and reconstructing language ideologies that circulate among a variety of social groups.

Ideological Clarity

Recent calls for improvement in teacher education have pointed to the importance of leading PSTs towards *linguistic ideological clarity* as a means of better preparing them to challenge the dominant ideologies they will encounter in schools. Ideological clarity can be understood as an ongoing process through which individuals can critically consider their ideological orientations as well as dominant ideologies that favor those in power, with a goal of becoming agents of change (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bartolomé, 2002). Bartolomé (2002) explains that through a process of developing ideological clarity, teachers must compare their social views of language with those that commonly circulate in society. The aim in such comparisons is to help teachers understand the ways they may be reflecting and even reproducing inequities for students through an uncritical approach to their ideas about language, albeit unintentionally. Similarly, Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) have pointed out an “urgent need to help mainstream teachers develop ideological clarity that will enable them to interrogate their own deficit views of low-SES emergent bilinguals, and of the nonstandard languages they bring to the classroom” (p. 11-12). Indeed, such a need does exist, particularly as teachers step into classrooms that are increasingly diverse.

Understanding Bilingualism

A key part of the study of language ideologies is the way we understand what languages are and how they work together. Historically, languages have been understood as discrete entities, with bilingual individuals possessing separate linguistic codes that operate in isolation from one another (Irving & Gal, 2000; Far & Song, 2011; García & Otheguy, 2017; Martínez,

2018). More recent research has shifted to what García and Wei (2014) denote as a *dynamic* view of bilingualism. While previous views of bilingualism conceptualized a second language (L2) being added to a first (L1), dynamic bilingualism transforms our understanding of linguistic practices to be much more complex (García & Wei, 2014; Grosjean, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Dynamic bilingualism accounts for the ways that languages are socially constructed and posits that the languages of bilinguals exist in a single linguistic repertoire. Within this conceptualization of bilingualism, scholarly writing on the practice of *translanguaging* has expanded in recent years. García, (2009), defines translanguaging as “the *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*” (p. 45). Translanguaging has also been defined as “both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them” (Wei, 2009, p. 1223). Importantly, as part of the latter definition, Wei (2009) notes that translanguaging is a function of *linguaging* as an active social process (Maturana et al., 1984). While some definitions of translanguaging stop at the fluid, back-and-forth oral practice of most bilingual people (common in the borderland context of this study), the definitions offered here are helpful in understanding the multimodal and active processes that are involved as bilinguals draw on their full linguistic repertoires to make meaning.

As literature on translanguaging as a theoretical lens as expanded in recent years, some have pointed to alternative perspectives intended to advocate for traditionally oppressed linguistic groups. MacSwan (2017, 2020) has argued against work that has formed a basis for translanguaging theory, particularly Makoni and Pennycook’s (2007) contention that separate, named languages exist only as “inventions of social, cultural and political movements” (p. 2).

While an argument for single linguistic repertoires might follow this claim, MacSwan notes that the resulting practices could have negative repercussions for language policy, particularly in schools. Citing civil rights-related legal cases in which individuals and groups have won important victories based on their identification as a particular linguistic group speaking a named language, MacSwan (2020) emphasizes the importance of being able to differentiate linguistic minority groups from dominant groups. Additionally, advocacy for groups of students speaking a non-dominant language has led to the creation of bilingual education programs across the country. MacSwan (2017) does not argue against translanguaging as a theoretical stance, but he chooses to describe multilingualism as an integrated model in which speakers have a single system of language with some shared features amongst languages as well as other discrete features.

Translanguaging pedagogies can be understood as intentional moves made by teachers to support students' dynamic bilingualism in the classroom (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This concept is often traced to Welsh educator Cen Williams. In fact, the term *translanguaging* itself comes from the Welsh word *trawsieithu*, which Williams used to describe a pedagogical practice in which students alternated languages of input and output in reading and writing activities in a Welsh/English school (García & Wei, 2014). Research describing the benefits of translanguaging pedagogies has expanded in recent years, particularly as a tool to be implemented in working towards equity and social justice for emergent bilingual students (de la Piedra et al., 2018; García & Wei, 2015; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Others have countered that translanguaging pedagogies cannot truly provide equitable learning spaces for underrepresented languages, particularly when the majority of texts and curricular materials are available only in English (Guerrero, 2023). In

such cases translanguaging pedagogies might favor English due to a lack of materials available in other languages.

For the purposes of this analysis, I will consider languages as dynamic and socially shifting entities which function in a particularly hybrid manner within the borderland context of this study. I will conceptualize translanguaging as an everyday linguistic practice amongst the people who live in and in between the neighboring cities of Border City, Texas, and Ciudad Frontera, México. For the participants in this study, the conceptualization of Spanish and English existing and functioning together within themselves as bilingual people was both new and common knowledge: the ideas they learned about translanguaging in their introductory bilingual education course validated their bilingualism as they came to understand it from a dynamic perspective.

Literature Review

Influences of Teachers' Backgrounds on Language Ideologies

Empirical studies have indicated that teachers' own linguistic backgrounds and school experiences may influence the ideologies that circulate among them as they take on the role of educator. In many cases, findings point to the ways that teachers reproduce the ideological leanings of the education they experienced as children. For example, teachers who experienced linguistic repression in school themselves tended to show a lack of confidence in their abilities as bilingual teachers, while others appropriated similar ideologies while working with their own students (Bustos Flores, 2010; Ek et al., 2013; Rodríguez-Mojica et al., 2019). Banes et al. (2016) report on the past experiences that bilingual preservice teachers bring with them into teacher education programs, often shifting the ideological leanings that bilinguals will form as students and eventually as teachers. Through an intentional process of self-reflection during an

undergraduate course, participants in this study indicated having experienced a lack of belonging due to their language as well as an understanding that an ability to use standard English would lead to positions of power. Through participating in the course associated with this study, PSTs reflected on the important relationships between teachers' understandings of language use, language learning, and their own experiences with each of these during their journeys through school.

Other studies have explored the ways that ideologies of linguistic purism may find their way into bilingual classrooms through teachers' previous experiences with language. Linguistic purism is tied to ideologies of language standardization, in which only certain forms of a particular language are considered to be "correct" and are ascribed a position of authority or power in society (Silverstein, 1996). Briceño (2018) studied the language ideologies of Mexican American teachers with varied educational experiences in both Mexico and the U.S. While the teachers sought to promote both Spanish and English in their classrooms, a leaning towards students using only a "correct" variation of Spanish was prevalent, seemingly due to their own experiences with language learning as children. Similar tendencies are reported by other authors (Caldas & Heiman, 2021; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Guerrero & Guerrero, 2017; Rodríguez-Mojica et al., 2019). This theme is of particular interest within the context of bilingual education in the borderlands, where many bilingual teacher candidates have grown up straddling the border, its understandings of Spanish and English, and the manner in which schools and families on both sides required them to adhere to purist language ideologies (Ek, et al., 2013; Ocasio, 2014; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Vengas et al., 2020)

Teacher Preparation at Hispanic-Serving Institutions

The teacher candidates who participated in this study grew up attending school on the U.S.-Mexico border and are currently enrolled in a teacher education program on the border. Their experiences with language learning in borderland schools have informed the ways they understand and use language as adults, and the context of the HSI they currently attend merits a review of literature related to teacher preparation in similar contexts. A report published by the National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance (Sloat et al., 2007) defines border school districts as those located within 20 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border, which are typically home to high numbers of economically disadvantaged students. Additionally, an average of 90% of student populations in border districts are classified as Latinx and speak Spanish at home. These districts employ a larger number of Latinx teachers than in other Latinx-majority communities, and teachers often work in the same communities in which they attended school as children. It is estimated that in the region of Texas in which this study was conducted, over 80% of teachers are Latinx (Texas Education Agency, 2020).

The literature is inconclusive as to whether the ethnic and linguistic makeup of border city teacher workforces serves as an advantage to students in these communities (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bustos Flores et al., 2018; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020). Recent studies have indicated, however, the importance of understanding the educational experiences that border city teachers faced as children in order to improve teacher preparation programs in these regions (Ek, et al., 2013; Ocasio, 2014; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Vengas et al., 2020). For example, Ostorga and Farrugio (2020) conducted research with teacher candidates in the Río Grande Valley of Texas. As part of this study, PSTs spent time during their field experiences reflecting on connections between the hegemonic language practices they

experienced in bilingual education programs as children and those that were still evident in classrooms today. Conversations during focus groups and online discussion forums revealed feelings of inadequacy due to PSTs having lost much Spanish ability in subtractive bilingual programs as children, a critical analysis and questioning of their own experiences with language in school, and conversations about the contradictions that were evident between additive views of bilingualism in the teacher education program and ideologies that still circulated in schools. These dialogues helped PSTs to both utilize their own experiences as a knowledge base and also to develop a critical stance that would help them feel confident as agents of change in their own future classrooms. These findings are consistent with other studies in which teacher candidates experienced negative attitudes towards their home language practices in school which now affected their learning and processing of experiences as prospective teachers (Ek et al., 2013; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Venegas et al., 2020). Smith and Murillo (2013), studying the narratives of PSTs in the Río Grande Valley of Texas, found similar tendencies, with deficit views of Spanish and of biliteracy stemming from teacher candidates' experiences in school as children. Some participants in the study discussed the ways that feeling forced to leave behind their Spanish language as children was affecting them negatively now that they were seeking certification as bilingual teachers. In Ek et al.'s (2013) study related to the ways that linguistic violence experienced as children influenced the language ideologies among teacher candidates as adults, the authors note that "teacher candidates' reasons for becoming bilingual teachers are often rooted in their own educational experiences that lead them to want to prevent linguistic injustice and violence from being visited upon their students" (pg. 215).

Studies involving HSIs outside the border region report patterns similar to those discussed above. Fallas-Escobar (2024) conducted an ethnographic study at an HSI in Southwest

Texas. Teacher candidates participating in this study viewed their hybrid language practices as a “disease or bad habit” (p. 55) due to the raciolinguistic ideologies that were prevalent in their K-12 socialization years and currently. Ginsberg et al. (2017) reviewed literature surrounding teacher education programs at Minority Serving Institutions such as HSIs, questioning traditional approaches that provide teacher candidates with a single course in multicultural education or even an elective that gives a surface-level look at teaching students from non-dominant cultures. In their review, the authors noted the importance of providing different and relevant support to teacher candidates at HSIs, such as specific mentoring, cohort models, targeted practicum time, and assistance in preparation with certification exams. These methods are to be introduced with a goal of supporting a larger number of Latinx PSTs through the teacher pipeline, many times in spite of the ideologies they navigate on a daily basis as described by Fallas-Escobar (2024).

As is evident from the literature explored here, histories of linguistic repression can become cyclical, particularly in borderland contexts in which bilingual teacher candidates must navigate a range of situations, narratives, and ideological influences that are part of the landscape. In this analysis, I will examine the experiences of bilingual teacher candidates who have navigated a variety of the monoglossic framings of their own bilingualism presented in the above literature. Through opportunities at their borderland teacher education program, these PSTs have been able to reframe their understandings of bilingualism and thus begin a process of developing ideological clarity on their path to becoming teachers.

Methods

This article forms part of a larger qualitative case study exploring the development of linguistic ideological clarity among preservice teachers at a border city HSI. Specifically, this portion of the study was guided by the following question: How do PSTs’ linguistic histories

interact with language ideologies in circulation and development within the teacher education program?

Purposive sampling was used to select 11 total participants for the larger study. Six participants were preservice teachers enrolled in one section of an introductory bilingual education (BED) course at Del Valle University. The instructor of this course was also considered a participant of the study. Additionally, four participants were enrolled in their final semester of the teacher residency program at Del Valle. The findings represented in this paper include five of the PSTs enrolled in the BED course and their instructor, with a focus on three of the PSTs for the purpose of deeper analysis. Paris (2011) discusses the importance of humanizing research through building caring relationships between researchers and participants. I was able to build relationships with the BED participants in particular due to the number of hours I spent in class with them. Through our time and interactions in class together, participants (and other members of the course) asked me for help and advice regarding course content, future teaching jobs, current work as substitute teachers, and raising their children bilingually. Additionally, part of the methodology of this study included providing PSTs with a gift card as form of reciprocity for their participation in the study. In this way, I sought to convey value for the time participants gave to the study as well as build reciprocal relationships with each of them.

Data for this study were collected via multiple sources in seeking an in-depth understanding of the case under consideration (Creswell, 2013). I conducted thirty hours of observations in the BED course over the course of five months, which were video- and audio-recorded for later analysis. I kept detailed field notes during observations aimed at being both descriptive and reflective of ideas about language in use within the research setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Each of the participants took part in two semi-structured interviews lasting

between 40 and 70 minutes. These interviews focused on PSTs' experiences with language use and learning, their understandings of bilingualism, and how their ideas about language have developed over the course of the semester and during their field experiences. Participants completed a linguistic timeline, describing their personal experiences with language learning. They answered questions about language learning at home and at school growing up, as well as questions about their interactions with language during the teacher education program. Later interviews focused on their work with students during field experiences. All interviews were audio-recorded for the purpose of later transcription and data review. I collected artifacts over the course of the semester as well, to include 92 samples of student work from the BED course as well as articles, book chapters, videos, podcasts, and images used in course instruction.

In the case of participants' responses in Spanish, I have completed all translations to English when necessary. In many cases, a translation directly to English does not demonstrate the fluid use of the entire linguistic repertoire as it was employed in the original version. Additionally, I have chosen to leave participants' own use of Spanish and English intact with regards to grammar, spelling, vocabulary, etc. I have done this out of respect for their linguistic identities and the stories they have to tell through the language that is theirs. In just a few instances, I have added a clarifying word in parenthesis when the original did not convey the meaning intended by the participants.

In order to increase the validity of findings, I have conducted member checks with participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I asked participants to review my English translations of their written and oral responses provided in Spanish to ensure that I maintained their intended meaning. I also checked in with participants at a few points during data analysis, and all participants reviewed a final draft of this paper.

My role as a researcher in the BED course can be described as that of a participant observer (Creswell, 2013). Because I was present for and actively participated in all class meetings, I was able to get to know the PST participants beyond their answers to interview questions and files submitted for class credit. The classroom was set up so that PSTs sat at round tables in groups of four, and I included myself in these table groups each week, participating in small group and class discussions and activities along with the PSTs. I believe that PSTs viewed me as both a fellow student and as an experienced educator, as I at times offered advice gained through my years of experience in elementary dual language classrooms. This level of involvement helped me gain a sense of the culture of the class and aided in my process of data analysis.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an inductive and recursive process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and data was analyzed throughout all stages of the study. I transcribed all interviews, audio recordings of student work, and key sections of observation video recordings. I then performed multiple rounds of open and focused coding on all transcriptions, observational field notes, and student work samples (Saldaña, 2016). The use of NVivo software helped me to create, break apart, and recreate categories for codes related to participants' linguistic histories and language ideologies in the teacher education program. Saldaña's (2016) method of moving from codes to categories to themes was helpful in conceptualizing the overarching idea of *transitions*. For example, I began with codes such as *language in K-12 school*, *bilingual education in childhood*, *school on the border*, and *transnational education*. As I examined the data under these codes, they began to fit under the categories of *language in K-12 school* and *school on the border*. Eventually, the data associated with these categories pointed to an overarching theme of *transitions*, particularly in

considering the ways in which PSTs had experienced transitions from bilingual or Spanish-speaking classrooms to monolingual classrooms. Codes that were initially in separate categories, such as *proper Spanish*, *language on the border*, *linguistic violence*, *pocha*, and *power* were reorganized using NVivo to conceptualize the subthemes of *linguistic insecurity* and *success*. I later came to reorganize these subthemes under the overarching theme of *transitions*.

Throughout the study, a process of memo-writing was helpful in reflecting on emerging themes as well as in revising my focus for upcoming observations and interviews (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Positionality

My interest in this study has developed out of the combined experiences of my career as a dual language teacher in a border city, my studies of language ideologies and teacher education within my Ph.D. program, and raising my own bilingual and bicultural children while living life in between the border cities of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. I am a white, non-Hispanic woman who grew up speaking only English until my teenage years. My development of Spanish was, and continues to be, a long process, beginning with foreign language classes in high school, stretching into non-profit work on the border after college, and continuing through my adult life in which two languages and cultures are equally influential. I have played the role of the young mother who stood up to those who told me I should not confuse my children by speaking to them in two languages. As a teacher, I became an advocate for dual language education through a desire to support the languages and cultures of my students learning English in school for the first time, but not imagining the linguistic and social complexities that I would navigate in future dual language classrooms. I have walked the tightrope of convincing my Mexican husband to attend school functions with our children and then having him ask why

there was not a Spanish translator for parents like him. I have lived the transfronterizx life, living in Ciudad Juárez and crossing the border to work in El Paso, then moving to El Paso and crossing the border on the weekends to see family and attend church. I have wrestled with what I thought I understood about languages during the past several years as a Ph.D. student, coming only to realize that the more I learn, the more complex the world around me appears.

My investment in each of these experiences has made reflexivity a vital part of the research process. As a doctoral student, I have developed a fear of misrepresenting the individuals with whom I conduct research and about whom I write. While I have now lived half a lifetime on the border, feel comfortable communicating in English and Spanish, and have married into a Mexican family, I still identify as a white woman, a U.S. citizen, and a person who spoke only English for the first 15 years of my life. These factors cause me to wrestle with the question of “Who am I to tell this story?” They are identifiers that help me to benefit from the same dominating ideologies that I hope to expose and reverse through my research. Through this study, I feel hopeful that I might illuminate the stories of bilingual teachers on the border as a means of informing policy and practice in teacher education and certification. My time spent with the participants in this project has forever changed how I understand education, language, and life on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Context of the Study

The U.S.-Mexico border spans almost 2,000 miles, cutting through sprawling cities and vast deserts. It is defined in some places by ominous metal barriers, in others by the Río Grande (known on the Mexican side as the Río Bravo), and in some areas only by the tire marks left by the SUVs belonging to the migras (U.S. Customs and Border Patrol). It joins the Pacific Ocean and the Golfo de México while dividing four U.S. states and six estados mexicanos. Writers have

theorized about the border for generations, describing the interdependent and fluid nature of the space as hybrid and also fractured (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012), a crossroads of unpredictability and transition (Masta, 2021). On my weekly drive down the interstate to perform observations for this study, Del Valle University sat at the exit to my left while Ciudad Frontera, the neighboring Mexican border city, sprawled directly to my right. It felt as if I was driving through both at the same time, and this connected nature of the two cities permeates areas of life ranging from work to school, social circles to family gatherings, and everything in between.

Del Valle University is designated as a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), an institution for whom total enrollment is at least 25% Hispanic (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 2022). This percentage is much higher at Del Valle, with 84% of students identifying as Hispanic or Latino. Additionally, a considerable number of students are considered transfronterizx, as they spend a portion of their time in México and a portion in the U.S., crossing the international bridge between Ciudad Frontera and Border City, Texas, in order to attend school in the U.S. This distinctive binational identity plays a key role in many aspects of the university's day-to-day activities. The College of Education at the university holds an important place in the overall educational landscape of Border City, providing approximately 70% of the city's classroom teachers upon graduation from the program. This phenomenon aligns with what studies have pointed out: school districts in border cities often employ a majority of Latinx teachers working in the same schools they attended as children (Sloat et al., 2007). Existing literature indicates that teachers in border city schools report experiencing hegemonic language practices in school as children in such environments, which have had an impact on the ways they currently understand and practice their own bilingualism within the context of border city schools (Ek et al., 2013; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Venegas et al., 2020).

At Del Valle, undergraduate students in the College of Education can choose to pursue elementary certification with an ESL or bilingual endorsement, middle grades (4-8) content-specific certification with ESL or bilingual endorsement, or secondary content-specific certifications. A special education certification is also available for grades EC-12. Students typically take their required core courses during their first semesters and begin taking courses in the College of Education around the end of their second year of enrollment. The BED course that I observed for this study is typically the first course that many students take in the College of Education, and this was the case for all participants in the study. When PSTs reach the end of the program at Del Valle, they can choose to participate in the university's teacher residency program. Teacher residents are paired with mentor teachers who have received extensive professional development as a part of the program. Residents experience an entire school year and are also paid, allowing them to immerse themselves in the experience as well as the courses they take during each semester of residency. Four of the participants in this study were completing their second semester of the teacher residency, and their experiences are examined in an in-depth manner in Chapter 3.

This study was conducted during the first semester that the introductory BED course was listed as having a separate section taught in Spanish at Del Valle University. Instructors of this course and others have used varying language policies and practices accommodating the use of English and Spanish in the past, but this semester was the first time that an official section to be taught in Spanish was advertised to PSTs seeking bilingual certification. Bilingual teacher candidates have historically taken two courses in Spanish during their time in the program, but the change to teaching this course in Spanish is a step towards providing more opportunities for PSTs to prepare linguistically for their careers as bilingual teachers. Dr. Wilson, the instructor of

the BED course, explained this in an interview: “There’s a real push to offer more courses in Spanish to undergrads...This is like our realization that our preservice bilingual teachers need more opportunities to interact with bilingual pedagogies or translanguaging pedagogies in their coursework” (Dr. Wilson, Interview 1, 01/31/2023). As with all new programmatic shifts, Dr. Wilson acknowledged that teaching the course in Spanish was a work in progress, but he felt it was progress in a positive direction. This semester, due to a number of students enrolled not seeking bilingual certification, he had made the decision to teach using translanguaging pedagogies in order be inclusive of all students. Course readings, materials, and PowerPoint slides were in English, while Dr. Wilson steered discussions towards Spanish as much as possible. He encouraged students to participate in class in whatever language(s) they felt comfortable. Students seeking bilingual certification were asked to turn in written work in Spanish, and others could use whatever language(s) they chose for written work.

The PST participants in this study follow many of the patterns common to the literature mentioned above. They were born and raised in Border City and planned to remain there as they began their teaching careers. They told stories of family immigration from Mexico and of continued ties to both sides of the border, including important themes of resilience and agency as they navigated a new educational system, language, and cultural practices. Their narratives also revealed the highly complex nature of the border, defined by an identity-building process tied to physical movement, hybrid language practices, and multiplicities specific to this region (Vila, 1999, 2005). Table 1 provides basic demographic information about each of the participants in the study.

Table 1

Participants

Participant Name	Course Enrolled	Age	Gender	Originally From	Language of Comfort ²
Cintia	Intro BED	21	Female	Border City	English
Diana	Intro BED	22	Female	Border City	English & Spanish
Lluvia	Intro BED	24	Female	Border City	English & Spanish
Meredith	Intro BED	22	Female	Border City	English
Olivia	Intro BED	28	Female	Border City	English
Dr. Wilson	Course instructor	51	Male	Pennsylvania	English

Findings

The larger theme of this study involved seeking an understanding of the process of development of ideological clarity among PSTs at a border city HSI. This paper analyzes one portion of this process: the interaction of PSTs' own linguistic histories with the language ideologies that circulate and develop within the teacher education program. While a number of interesting themes emerged from the analysis of participants' linguistic histories, I will focus here on moments in PSTs' linguistic histories in which they described experiences when monoglossic ideologies were applied to them as bilingual individuals and how they subsequently came to view their bilingualism through a deficit lens. Many participants reported feelings of linguistic insecurity, as some discussed feelings of inadequacy in their abilities to use Spanish in academic settings, difficulties in writing in Spanish, feelings that their variety of mixing English and Spanish was invalid, and feelings of not being able to speak "proper" Spanish, among others.

² Due to the nature of language use among multilingual individuals and of language on the border, the constructs of "first language" and "second language" are often inadequate. All participants use English and Spanish in both oral and written form, and they all demonstrated an array of hybrid language practices at different points in the study. I asked them to help me define their language of comfort for the purpose of this table to help the reader get to know them better; this is meant to represent the language(s) in which they feel most comfortable communicating in most situations.

It became evident through coming to understand their linguistic histories as they told them in a variety of ways that they associated these views of their bilingualism with the moments in their history in which their languages were framed in a monoglossic manner. Through opportunities gained during their teacher education program, however, the PSTs came to reframe the ways they viewed themselves as bilingual individuals, particularly within the fluid and complex context of the border region in which this study took place. During the BED course in particular, PSTs re-examined their existing notions of what it means to be bilingual and which forms of language hold value. Opportunities to question and reframe language ideologies that were evident in their own narratives gave PSTs a renewed sense of value for their linguistic repertoires. Although all of the participants in this study narrated experiences that fit this pattern to varying degrees, I will focus here on the stories of three PSTs in order to provide a more in-depth analysis.

Cintia's Story: "Resistir todo lo que venga"

Several participants told stories of attending bilingual education classes during their initial years of elementary school and being transitioned into monolingual classes for a variety of reasons. They felt that these transitions held repercussions for years to come. The idea of exiting bilingual education based on a perceived arrival at English fluency is common in early- and late-exit transitional bilingual programs, in which the goal is for emergent bilingual³ students to transition to English-only instruction by the end of elementary school (Palmer, 2011). While less discernable, the move to transitioning students to English also exists in dual language programs,

³ In an effort to move the focus away from learners' "need" to learn English and towards an asset-based view of bilingualism, scholarly literature has replaced the English Language Learner (ELL) label with emergent bilingual in recent work. Interestingly, the state of Texas officially replaced its previous use of the more problematic term *Limited English Proficient* (LEP) with emergent bilingual in September 2021 when classifying students for bilingual education programs. While perhaps a better representation than earlier labels given to students who find themselves in the language learning process, the term "emergent" implies that an ending or point of defined proficiency also exists on the multilingual continuum (Martínez, 2018).

as ideologies that favor English as the language of power are difficult to escape in schools and in society at large (Palmer et al., 2015). Cintia explained her experience of attending bilingual classes through second grade, where she received instruction in Spanish and English.

Administrators at her elementary school decided to transition her to a monolingual class upon entering third grade, and for Cintia this was an important event in her linguistic and overall development. She shared the following experience with her classmates during an introductory assignment for the BED course called Photovoice, in which students used an online platform called Flip to share information about themselves and their linguistic histories with the instructor and other students.

Y cuando entré yo a Elementary, estaba en dos diferentes escuelas. En mi primera escuela sí nos dejaban...estaba en clases de bilingüe. So nos dejaban hablar los dos lenguajes, español y inglés y estábamos aprendiendo los dos. Después me tuve que mover de escuela y le dijeron a mi mamá que como yo hablaba más inglés, era mejor quedarme en monolingual classes en vez de bilingüe. Entonces desde tercer grado, yo no más estaba en clases de inglés. Y sí batallé mucho porque en la casa me hablaban de los dos lenguajes y en la escuela no más podía hablar un lenguaje, so me acostumbraba a hablar más puro inglés. Y cuando venía a la casa me hablaban en español y yo les contestaba en inglés. Me mandaban...hacíamos letras, y yo las hacía en inglés. Y mi mamá me decía no, trata de hacerlo en español pero como se me estaba borrando el español, pues era un poco más batalloso por mí. (Cintia, Photovoice 1, 02/17/2023, transcribed oral response)

When I started elementary, I was in two different schools. In my first school they did let us...I was in bilingual classes. So they allowed us to speak both languages, Spanish and English, and we were learning both. After that I had to change schools, and they told my

mom that since I spoke more English, it was better that I move to a monolingual class instead of bilingual. So since third grade, I was only in English classes. And I really struggled because at home they spoke to me in both languages and at school I could only speak one language, so I got used to speaking only English. And when I would come home, they would talk to me in Spanish, and I would answer in English. They would send home...we would practice letters, and I would do them in English. And my mom would say no, try to do it in Spanish, but since my Spanish was getting erased, it was a little bit harder for me. (Cintia, Photovoice 1, 02/17/2023, transcribed oral response)

Despite having grown up speaking both Spanish and English at home and having attended school in a bilingual education setting through 2nd grade, Cintia was placed in English-only classes beginning in 3rd grade. She reports a monoglossic ideology applied to her through the phrase “como yo hablaba más inglés, era mejor quedarme en monolingual classes en vez de bilingüe.” In this case, it is evident that the underlying goal at school for emergent bilingual students was to learn English, as Cintia was deemed ready to move to a monolingual class based on the amount of English she was able to speak. This view did not take into account Cintia’s ability to speak, read, write, or understand Spanish, nor address the possibility of helping her build on these abilities in the school setting once a perceived proficiency in English had been reached. After this event, Cintia notes that when she entered the monolingual class, “yo sí batallé mucho” (I did struggle a lot). This is an interesting choice of phrase, as opposed to similar phrases that might show that her transition was difficult (“fue difícil”) or that she had a hard time (“se me hizo difícil”). The verb batallar in Spanish indicates a fight or a battle, painting a more vivid picture of the situation Cintia faced due to the transition to monolingual classes. Her feeling of “se me estaba borrando el español” (my Spanish was getting erased) led to hesitancy to

participate in the BED course in Spanish, as Cintia expressed to me personally and at other times during class discussions.

Cintia also reflected on her journey through bilingual and monolingual education during the course in relation to activities completed during the semester. The students watched a documentary called *The Lemon Grove Incident* (Christopher, 2013) depicting the case of Lemon Grove, California, in 1930. In this pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* incident, school officials attempted to create a separate school for Mexican American children in the district but faced strong opposition by the children's parents, who fought for (and won) the right to keep their children in the same school as the district's white students. Another BED course material was an NPR Story Corps episode titled *The Burial of Mr. Spanish* (Warren, 2017). In this episode, two women from Marfa, Texas, recount their memories of physical and emotional abuse for speaking Spanish at school in the 1950s. Cintia compared her experiences to each of these course materials during class discussions and in her written response to her weekly Reflective Digital Journal (RDJ) in the following manner:

Este caso nos enseña la importancia que es no rendirse, resistir todo lo que venga y luchar por nuestra cultura...Es muy importante saber y enseñar de donde son tus rutas [raíces] aunque seamos de los estados unidos no quiere decir que no podamos lucir de donde viene nuestra familia. Por ejemplo mi primer lenguaje es español y solo tomo una vez escuchar que no podía hablar español para temer las consecuencias nunca lo volvía hablar en la escuela y en mi casa empecé hablar mas ingles también, ahora batallo para hablar en los dos lenguajes so se queda la costumbre de hablar en los dos lenguajes al mismo tiempo. Si yo hubiera echo un esfuerzo de hablar español fuera de la clase tal ves sea que hablara más español, pero en mi caso no fue hace [así]. (Cintia, RDJ 1, 01/31/2023)

This case shows us the importance of not giving up, of resisting whatever might come and fighting for our culture...It's very important to know and show where your roots are from. Even though we're from the U.S. it does not mean that we can't show where our family is from. For example, my first language is Spanish, and it only took one time of hearing that I couldn't speak Spanish to fear the consequences. I never spoke it again in school and at home I began to speak more English too. Now I struggle to speak both languages, so I have the habit of speaking both languages at the same time. If I had made an effort to speak Spanish outside of class maybe I would be able to speak more Spanish, but it didn't turn out that way. (Cintia, RDJ 1, 01/31/2023)

In this excerpt from Cintia's Reflective Digital Journal, monoglossic ideologies favoring English as the language of power and status are evident in the decision made by the school to transition her out of the bilingual class and into the monolingual class, and this transition continued to affect Cintia on her path to becoming a bilingual teacher. Cintia even notes that "si yo hubiera hecho un esfuerzo para hablar más español," perhaps she would have been able to speak more Spanish, placing the blame on herself rather than on the external forces at work in this situation. In conjunction with the experience of being told she could not speak Spanish in school anymore (a monoglossic framing of her languages), Cintia reports having begun to "temer las consecuencias" (fear the consequences), and resorted to speaking English at school. She also notes that "batallo para hablar los dos idiomas" (I struggle to speak both languages), indicating the feelings of linguistic insecurity she developed early in her school trajectory along with the transition to English-only classes. Cintia explained in an interview that her experiences with school programs that framed her languages through a monoglossic lens had led to a later desire to become a bilingual teacher in order to help students develop linguistically in more than one

language and to avoid the situation she had faced herself as a child. This type of ideological shift is common with findings in other studies (Ek et al., 2013). As an adult, however, she feels she is no longer fluent in Spanish due to her experience of being moved from a bilingual class to a monolingual class in school and is working to regain the language that was lost in the process. Many bilingual teachers have experienced situations similar to Cintia's, and studies have shown that linguistic insecurity is often reported among them (Ek et al., 2013; Smith & Murillo, 2013). This is particularly true when considering the linguistic backgrounds of PSTs on the border, where hybrid language practices are common but are not always favored by dominant groups (Alonso, 2020, Murillo, 2010, Ostorga & Farruggio, 2020).

The excerpt from Cintia's RDJ 1 above also shows that she is questioning some of the dominant ideologies that existed in her own narrative, as is evident in statements such as "luchar por nuestra cultura" (fight for our culture), "Es muy importante saber y enseñar de donde son tus rutas [raíces]" (it is very important to know and show where your roots are from), and "lucir de donde viene nuestra familia" (show where your family is from). Despite the linguistic insecurity that had developed over time, these phrases show a sense of pride that she connects to both her language and culture. Cintia's decision to become a bilingual teacher in order to prevent her own narrative from being revisited on future students shows previous questioning of the monoglossic language ideologies that were evident in her linguistic history narrative. However, the opportunities provided in the BED course were valuable as a means of continued development in connecting her own experiences to the ideologies that will frame her pedagogies as a bilingual teacher.

Because this was the first semester that the introductory BED course was designated as a Spanish course for bilingual certification PSTs, the topic of students' language use and comfort

arose often. Dr. Wilson encouraged students to participate in class using Spanish, English, or any combination of languages with which they felt comfortable. As the semester progressed, the students learned about translanguaging and were able to define concepts related to linguistic repertoires (García & Wei, 2014; Grosjean, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012). The students explored translanguaging as a practice of bilingual individuals through reading articles, watching videos, and even viewing artwork representative of this heteroglossic ideology. They came to understand translanguaging as a classroom pedagogy not only by reading about it, but also by viewing videos of teachers using translanguaging pedagogies and discussing ways they could implement it in their future classrooms. During a 10-hour fieldwork assignment for the course called the service learning project (SLP), students were asked to integrate translanguaging pedagogies into a lesson that they implemented with emergent bilingual students. These interactions with translanguaging as an ideology, a practice, and a pedagogy helped PSTs to reframe points in their own histories that had left them feeling insecure about their abilities to communicate in only one language at a time. For students like Cintia, whose transition to English had left her feeling that “ahora batallo para hablar en los dos lenguajes so se queda la costumbre de hablar en los dos lenguajes al mismo tiempo” (Cintia, RDJ 1, 01/31/2023), the ongoing development of an understanding of translanguaging was an important part of reframing the monoglossic ideologies of English present in their linguistic histories towards a heteroglossic understanding of multilingualism that was evident in the teacher education program.

Meredith’s Story: “And now I just feel more natural to speak Spanish”

Meredith recounted a beautiful borderland linguistic history during our first interview, replete with stories of family members who had immigrated from México, explanations of why she spoke Spanish with some members of the family and English with others, and laughing over

the memory of her mom using only Spanish to scold her and her siblings when they were young. Her parents enrolled her in bilingual education when she began elementary school, but she soon encountered monoglossic ideologies that turned her school journey in a different direction.

Meredith reflected on her experience in her Photovoice assignment in the following manner:

Estos fotos son fotos de cuando yo estaba en el grado de kindergarten. Y yo estaba en clases bilingües en este tiempo. Y en ese tiempo yo no sabía mucho español. Sí crecí con mis papás hablando en inglés y español, pero mi primer lenguaje era inglés. So yo no sabía mucho español, y mi maestra no me ayudó mucho para entender español. So ella...dijeron a mis papás que era mejor que ellos me pusieron en clases monolingual. Y yo creo que eso es importante en mi vida de bilingüe, mi vida de lenguaje porque yo creo que yo sería mejor en español ahora si me dejaron en los clases bilingües y si la maestra me ayudó poquito más para aprender el español y para usar los dos lenguajes juntos en mi vida. (Meredith, Photovoice 2, 03/03/2023, transcribed oral response)

These photos are from when I was in kindergarten. I was in bilingual classes at that time. And at that time, I didn't know much Spanish. I did grow up speaking English and Spanish with my parents, but my first language was English. So I didn't know much Spanish, and my teacher didn't help me to understand Spanish. So she...they told my parents that it would be better if they put me in monolingual classes. And I think this is important in my life as a bilingual, my language life because I believe that I would be better in Spanish today if they had left me in bilingual classes and if the teacher had helped me a little with learning Spanish and to use both languages together in my life. (Meredith, Photovoice 2, 03/03/2023, transcribed oral response)

In the excerpt above, Meredith reports that her parents were told at the school that “era mejor que ellos me pusieron en clases monolingual” (it would be better to put me in monolingual classes) based upon a perception that she spoke and understood more English than Spanish. This decision reveals an underlying monoglossic understanding of the purpose of bilingual education, in this case viewed as a vehicle for students to learn English rather than to also build upon their abilities in Spanish. Meredith makes a judgement of her ability to communicate in Spanish when she says “yo sería mejor en español” (I would be better in Spanish), indicating that she feels her Spanish abilities are not at the level that they should be. In her current journey towards becoming a bilingual teacher, Meredith is working to regain the Spanish abilities that she believes were lost as a result of this transition. She spoke highly of her experiences in the BED course, however, both the knowledge she was gaining and the opportunities to practice and improve in her use of Spanish. Meredith commented that her family members had noticed the difference in her use of Spanish over the course of the semester, and she was looking forward to continued opportunities to make up for lost time since the transition to mostly English as a child.

The BED course content cycled back often to discussions of pluralist versus assimilationist language ideologies, and how these have played out historically in society and schools. These concepts were first covered in the third week of the course, as students considered them in a discussion using the following definitions from a PowerPoint slide:

Assimilationist Ideologies: “Monolingualism is the ideal that groups or a particular nation should strive for” (de Jong, 2011, p. 16).

Pluralist Ideologies: “Bilingualism and multilingualism are valued for the individual, the group, and the society” (de Jong, 2011, p. 15).

Using these definitions as guides, students discussed Iyengar's (2014) "Not mere abstractions: Language policies and language ideologies in U.S. settler colonialism" and Sikes and Villanueva's (2021) "Creating a more bilingual Texas." The idea of language being a part of the body that cannot be separated from a person was salient in Iyengar's (2014) work, and the discussion turned to the ways that colonialism in the U.S. included eliminating native languages. Bilingual education in Texas has operated from this assimilationist perspective, but it has also demonstrated more pluralist ideologies through programs like dual language education. Students related what they had read to their own experiences, noting that the transitions that they had experienced in elementary school felt similar to the assimilationist methods of linguistic elimination demonstrated in Iyengar's (2014) article. For example, Diana shared that "I feel like in school they just expected us to have a switch to turn off our Spanish language...they expect us to not even have that in our minds and just kind of speak (English). It's just harder for us that have multilanguages, you know?" (Video Transcription, 02/06/2023) Olivia agreed, noting that the same ideologies were evident in schools when students were told, "you're not allowed to speak Spanish. You can only speak English. Keep that at home. And even then...you should strive to only speak English" (Video Transcription, 02/06/2023). This discussion helped PSTs consider how monoglossic ideologies evident throughout colonialism continue to circulate in school settings, as well as how they may have played a part in their own linguistic histories during their K-12 education.

Meredith considered her transition to monolingual education that had begun a process of erasure of the Spanish she used at home with her family. She related this to the process of linguistic erasure that took place under U.S. colonialism in this way: "I think they wanted to replace the language (Spanish) with English, but that's not how it works. It's not like replacing,

it's adding another language into your body. You can't just erase something that's part of you" (Video Transcription, 02/06/2023). While the participants' interactions with monoglossic ideologies during childhood had created spaces of linguistic insecurity, conversations like this one were affording them opportunities to deconstruct their own histories and previous understandings of bilingualism, which is an important element in the process of developing ideological clarity (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). The exploration of the relationship between language and one's body is not typical in many teacher preparation programs, but during the BED course at Del Valle it became an important element in PSTs new understandings of how Spanish and English existed and functioned together within them.

For Meredith, the combination of content that challenged her ideas about her own experiences with language as well as being given a safe space to practice using Spanish were important elements in reframing her bilingualism. She noted the following in her final interview:

Yeah, my family's like, "I haven't heard you speak this much Spanish in a long time..."

Or I'll just have a conversation with my mom, and she'll speak to me in Spanish and I'll just like automatically have a full conversation with her in Spanish and I just like don't even realize it until after, I was like oh, like that felt natural to me. Whereas before I would speak to her in English, even though she talked to me in Spanish, I would respond in English because that was my first language coming into this course. And now I just automatically feel more natural to speak Spanish. (Meredith, Interview 2, 05/06/2023)

While her initial descriptions of her linguistic history narrative portrayed the monoglossic ideologies that guided the school's decision to move her to a monolingual class, Meredith's experiences in the BED course allowed her to understand some of the forces behind such decisions and approach her future as a bilingual individual with a more heteroglossic stance.

While she considered English her “first language” before starting the BED course, she expressed an increased comfort with speaking Spanish by the end of the semester, feeling “more natural” when communicating in Spanish after the practice she had during the course. Meredith’s time in the BED course helped her to reflect on and name the processes that had been involved in her linguistic history and take action in transforming it as she developed a new understanding of her bilingualism.

Olivia’s Story: “Especially after being in this class”

Olivia was the only participant not seeking certification as a bilingual education teacher. Her desire was to become a special education teacher, but the BED course was a required step for her degree plan as well. Olivia, however, was one of several PSTs not seeking bilingual certification who had opted into the section of this course being taught in Spanish for the first time, even though the course had been designed for those seeking certification as bilingual teachers. Despite indicating that Spanish was more difficult for her to understand and express herself, she made every effort to participate in class in a mix of Spanish and English and felt pleased by the end of the semester that she had the opportunity to take this course in Spanish. Still, the encounters she had with monoglossic ideologies as a child were an important part of her linguistic history.

Olivia recounted an experience similar to Meredith’s during both her interviews with me and through her Photovoice assignment. In her case, her older sister’s experience in bilingual education affected her own transition to almost exclusive use of English as a child:

My sister was put into bilingual classes, because my mom thought...since we spoke it at home, that obviously we had a good knowledge of (Spanish). But then they ended up failing her, because she didn’t know the proper Spanish. So she got held back a year, so

my mom immediately took me out of bilingual classes and decided you know what, no, let's just stick to English so you guys can succeed. And that way, you know, we'll practice your Spanish here at the house. (Olivia, Photovoice 1, 02/17/2023, transcribed oral response)

We spoke Spanish, but once my mom put my sister in bilingual classes and they held her back a year, that's when she was like "No, only English. Forget Spanish, focus on English." But then I would say maybe around like 10, 11...she started going back, like, okay, no, you guys are losing your Spanish. And I don't want that. So then she started bringing it back in, and she was like I'm only going to speak to you guys in Spanish so you better learn." (Interview 1, Olivia, 01/31/2023)

The notion that Olivia's sister did not speak "the proper Spanish" points to ideologies of linguistic purism that served as an impetus for her transition to monolingual classes, and indirectly Olivia's transition as well. Additionally, the perception of Olivia's sister's Spanish as lacking, or not proper, served as a cause for failing her in school. Olivia's mother followed the school transition with a linguistic transition at home. Her statement of "forget Spanish, focus on English" shows that the hegemony of English in school entered the home as well, although Olivia's inclusion of her mother's later decision to speak to her daughters only in Spanish demonstrates Olivia's awareness of an agentive move by her mother in pushing back against this dominant ideology.

Olivia feels that "Now today, I speak more English, but I'm trying to get back (to speaking Spanish), especially after being in this class" (Olivia, Interview 1, 01/31/2023). She indicated that her transition to English as a child continues to affect even the language choices she makes today with her own son. Olivia's son is two years old and enrolled in Headstart, which

is taught in a dual language format at his building. She is grateful that he has exposure to Spanish at school, because she feels that it is sometimes difficult to create the bilingual atmosphere that she would like to at home. She often relies on her mother and grandmother to speak to her son in Spanish in addition to what he learns at school. She indicated that “I try, but it’s hard because I am mostly an English speaker...[I’m] trying to be more consistent myself in speaking Spanish at home, but it’s hard” (Olivia, Interview 1, 01/31/2023). The linguistic insecurity evident in Olivia’s narrative could thus be felt in her current trajectory as an educator as well as in her personal life, as she sought to avoid a similar path for her son and for future students. She noted that she was “definitely trying to keep that instilled in him so it doesn’t get lost in the generations to come” (Olivia, Interview 1, 01/31/2023), and later made similar indications regarding students in her future classrooms.

Olivia discussed linguistic choices with her son multiple times during the semester, even asking Dr. Wilson at one point how he had ensured that his children had become bilingual. It was evident through phrases like “trying to keep it instilled in him” and that she did not want it “to get lost” that it was important to her that her son learn Spanish, but that she felt that she was not always qualified to be the one to teach him Spanish due to being “mostly an English speaker.” Indeed, discussions surrounding language use with PSTs’ own children was an often-discussed topic during class meetings, particularly as they began to consider choices they were making to instill bilingualism in their own homes. In an interview, Lluvia recalled a pediatrician discouraging her and her husband from speaking to their young daughter in both Spanish and English in a fluid, back-and-forth fashion in order to avoid confusing her. As she considered what she had learned about translanguaging during the BED course, however, Lluvia noted that

what the doctor had said “didn’t make sense,” since this hybrid language style represented the linguistic repertoire of their home and did not, in fact, seem to be confusing her daughter at all.

In spite of her early interactions with monoglossic ideologies that Olivia felt contributed to her now being more comfortable with using English than Spanish, she was one of the most active participants in the BED course throughout the semester. During a discussion on the same article on languages during colonialism in the U.S. (Iyengar, 2014), Olivia noted that the monoglossic ideologies that were evident during colonialism are still evident today: “This is how we look at language also. We idolize English. And if you don’t speak it properly, it’s not okay” (Field Notes, 01/30/2023). When a question arose amongst the students regarding why they had never learned about the concept of languages being taken from Native Americans through colonial processes, Olivia responded, “Probably they didn’t teach us because we would begin to question it, interrogate it” (Field Notes, 01/30/2023). Over the course of the semester, I noticed that Olivia was more likely than many students to notice dominating forces at work behind decisions, actions, and policies that were covered, making statements such as “It was good for the white people,” or “They were colonizing it” when studying a case about a group of white middle class parents shifting the balance in a New York City middle school by creating a gentrified French-English dual language program (Joffe-Walt, 2020). She avidly took on the concept of translanguaging and practiced using it during class time. She also led the group in a discussion regarding how to “push back” against classroom practices that several PSTs had described during their Service Learning Project hours which did not coincide with the ideas promoted during the course. For example, some PSTs described dual language settings in which a strict separation of languages was enforced. Olivia herself was placed in a second-grade classroom that was labeled a bilingual class, but she described a setting in which all instruction

was delivered in English with little native language help provided for students who had recently arrived from México. She reflected with classmates and Dr. Wilson regarding a possible way to question the monoglossic language ideologies she was witnessing enacted through classroom language policies while still remaining a respectful guest within the setting of the SLP.

Olivia noted in her final paper having been profoundly impacted by the content and experience of the BED course, to the extent that she was considering adding an ESL and possibly bilingual certification to her major in the future:

I now desire to be an ESL teacher and better learn how to speak and write in Spanish to be a part of this change happening with the new generation of teachers. I will make it a point to learn how to write and read in Spanish so I can try and get licensed as a bilingual teacher later in my career. I am so grateful for having Dr. Wilson as my professor, for making a new way to teach this class, and for helping me see how blessed I am to speak two languages and how I can use that to connect with my students. (Olivia, Final Paper, 05/10/2023)

This excerpt shows a shift in Olivia's thinking due to interactions with the content in the BED course. She still perceived a need to learn to speak and write "better" Spanish if she was to seek ESL or bilingual certification, demonstrating a continued linguistic insecurity after the experiences of her childhood. However, Olivia also notes that she is "blessed to speak two languages," defining herself as a bilingual person who is able to "connect with my students" through the bilingual abilities she possesses. Reframing of bilingualism for Olivia thus touched on matters of identity which may come to affect her career decisions as an educator.

Conclusions and Implications

This paper explored the interactions between PSTs' linguistic histories and the language ideologies in circulation and development within a teacher education program. It became evident during my analysis that every participant in this study had experienced a monoglossic framing of their bilingualism during their K-12 schooling that propelled them towards English in different ways. Three of these are explored in depth in this paper. These transitions were in many ways driven by ideologies that favor English as the language of power and the standard for which to strive. They were also made more complex by the identities and experiences that define life on the border (Vila, 1999, 2005).

During their time in the BED course and the teacher education program as a whole, PSTs had opportunities to reflect on their own linguistic histories and consider the ways their learning might redefine their understandings of their own bilingualism. Such reconceptualizations were driven in part by a shift from monoglossic understandings of language towards a heteroglossic stance that embraces translanguaging practices as a norm among bilingual individuals.

Additionally, PSTs were introduced to the dual language model of bilingual education, in which the overarching goals of bilingualism and biliteracy prompted PSTs to redefine notions of success in relation to the more pluralist language ideologies evident in DL programs. Of course, these reframings are complex, as standardized ideas about academic Spanish that can be present in DL classrooms played a role in PSTs' continued process of reconceptualizing.

Teacher education programs in cities on the U.S.-Mexico border engage in the important task of preparing a largely local group of PSTs to enter the work force in classrooms close to home. Implicit in this work are the intricacies of linguistic history that future bilingual teachers carry with them into teacher education and into future classrooms. It is important for teacher education programs to consider and understand the varied histories of borderland PSTs enrolling

each year, particularly narratives such as those explored in this paper. Beyond attempts at understanding, programs can provide repeated and specific opportunities for PSTs to reflect on their linguistic histories and interrogate the ideologies that may have been involved in forming deficit notions of bilingualism. Such opportunities are a vital part of the process of developing ideological clarity (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017), leading PSTs to change the course for future students in the process of forming their own linguistic histories. Since stories like those of Cintia, Meredith, and Olivia are overwhelmingly common in borderland contexts, it is imperative for teacher education programs to recognize the significance of breaking such cycles for current bilingual K-12 students through the intentional and critical pedagogies they implement.

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CHAPTER 3: BECOMING A BILINGUAL TEACHER ON THE BORDER: SUCCESS AS A LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

Texas has been tracking a shortage of bilingually certified teachers for some time. While the percentage of emergent bilingual⁴ students in the state continues to climb each year, the number of bilingual teachers has fallen instead of risen to meet the needs of the student population (Sikes and Villanueva, 2021). Conjectures surrounding the reasons for this shortage vary. Bilingual teachers in Texas must pay for and pass two additional certification exams on the road to entering the classroom. Some worry about the added responsibilities indicated by bilingual certification, such as the need to translate content for students (Swaby, 2017).

Prospective teachers in cities on the U.S.-Mexico border often face additional challenges. Many teacher candidates in Texas border cities grew up attending K-12 schools in the same communities where they will soon be teachers. In these settings, school systems may have viewed their bilingualism as unnecessary, or even as a problem to be resolved. Studies show that bilingual teacher candidates report having lost abilities to communicate in Spanish during their K-12 school years, only to work at regaining those abilities in order to become bilingual teachers (Ek et al., 2013; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Venegas et al., 2020). While some prospective bilingual teachers view their own linguistic histories as a motivation to serve future emergent bilingual students in classrooms, the regaining of academic Spanish abilities necessary for bilingual teachers may pose a larger challenge for others. Many find themselves in

⁴ In an effort to move the focus away from learners' "need" to learn English and towards an asset-based view of bilingualism, scholarly literature has replaced the English Language Learner (ELL) label with emergent bilingual in recent work. While perhaps a better representation than earlier labels given to students who find themselves in the language learning process, the term "emergent" implies that an ending or point of defined proficiency also exists on the multilingual continuum (Martínez, 2018). Due to the hybrid and dynamic linguistic context of the borderlands in which this study took place and in which my own multilingualism has developed, I choose to use *multilingual* instead of *emergent bilingual* to describe individuals who use or are learning more than one language. I will, however, use *emergent bilingual* when referring to literature or pedagogical practices that describe multilingual individuals in this way.

both groups, challenged by the place in which their linguistic histories have left them but motivated by the very same challenge to change the linguistic landscape for future students.

This paper is part of a larger study examining the development of ideological clarity among preservice teachers (PSTs) at a border city Hispanic Serving Institution. In this analysis, I examine the ways that PSTs experienced particular definitions of success as bilingual individuals by means of standardized testing at two points in their paths towards becoming bilingual teachers. These definitions came about through systems, programs, and people that viewed their bilingualism through a monoglossic lens, initially during their K-12 school years as children. During their time in the teacher education program, they began to reframe their understandings of what it means to move towards success as a bilingual person. However, dominant ideologies defining their Spanish as not academic enough or not proper surfaced while preparing to take the Bilingual Target Language Proficiency Test (BTLPT) in the process of certification as bilingual teachers in Texas. This paper looks at the ways that standardized testing has thus come to define success for many bilingual PSTs at two points in their trajectories in becoming bilingual teachers. This framing of success can be particularly problematic in Texas, where an urgent need for more bilingual teachers exists, but PSTs may be pushed out of the pipeline by the seemingly insurmountable challenges placed upon bilingual teachers.

I begin by describing the theoretical frameworks I use to understand how people conceptualize bilingualism, particularly within the borderland context of this study, including relevant literature in this area. I continue with a description of the methodology of the study, followed by a description of the findings. The article closes with a discussion of conclusions and implications, including the ways that the findings of this analysis may be useful in bilingual teacher education and educational policymaking.

Conceptualizations of Bilingualism

Language ideologies are systems of beliefs about languages and those who use languages in different ways and contexts. They can also be understood as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). It is often said that language ideologies are never only about language, but rather they represent connections between language and identity, nationality, race, values, and social systems (Farr & Song, 2011; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994).

A key part of the study of language ideologies is the way we understand what languages are and how they work together. Historically, languages have been understood as discrete entities, with bilingual individuals possessing separate linguistic codes that operate in isolation from one another (Irving & Gal, 2000; Far & Song, 2011; García & Otheguy, 2017; Martínez, 2018). Such monoglossic ideologies view monolingualism as the norm as well as a goal for educational systems (García, 2009). Monoglossic ideologies also influence the ways that bilingual individuals are viewed or evaluated. The goal of many bilingual education programs is for students to become balanced bilinguals, with comparable communicative abilities in two languages based on perceived societal norms for linguistic fluency (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014; Grosjean, 2010). The ideology of the balanced bilingual also extends to evaluations of bilingual teachers, whose language proficiency is assessed in two languages separately in order to gain certification in their field of work (Petrón & Berg, 2021).

More recent research has shifted to what García (2009) denotes as a *dynamic* view of bilingualism. While previous views of bilingualism conceptualized a second language (L2) being added to a first (L1), dynamic bilingualism transforms our understanding of linguistic practices to be much more complex (García & Wei, 2014; Grosjean, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012).

Dynamic bilingualism accounts for the ways that languages are socially constructed and posits that the languages of bilinguals exist in a single linguistic repertoire. Within this heteroglossic conceptualization of bilingualism, scholarly writing on the practice of *translanguaging* has expanded in recent years⁵. García, (2009), defines translanguaging as “the *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*” (p. 45). Translanguaging has also been defined as “both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them” (Wei, 2009, p. 1223). While some definitions of translanguaging stop at the fluid, back-and-forth oral practice of most bilingual people (common in the borderland context of this study), the definitions offered here are helpful in understanding the multimodal and active processes that are involved as bilinguals draw on their full linguistic repertoires to make meaning.

A monoglossic view of languages tends to place value on individuals’ abilities to reach a standardized level of achievement in English or reach the imagined ideal of balanced bilingualism. A dynamic understanding of languages, however, values the multiple and fluid language practices of multilingual individuals, which can vary based on the social context in which languages are used. This is particularly important within the borderland context of this study, where a majority of the population uses Spanish and English to some degree, but the hybrid language practices used in varying social contexts are sometimes valued and at other times regarded as inferior. I will discuss this phenomenon further in the following section.

Language Ideologies on the Border

⁵ It is important to delineate the differences between translanguaging practices and translanguaging pedagogies. While this discussion is beyond the scope of this paper, several authors offer helpful commentaries on the distinctive qualities of each (Dolsa, 2020; García & Wei, 2014; García et al., 2016).

Specific to the context of this study, the borderlands of northern México and the southwestern U.S. are influenced economically, socially, and linguistically by high levels of international industry and trade in the region. The maquiladora industry in northern México brings workers to the border from every state in the republic, and individuals who speak academic Spanish without revealing an accent from their region of origin are regarded as highly educated (Hidalgo, 2001; Villareal et al., 2019). The ability to speak English within this context can equate to a step up on the economic ladder, particularly if the English that one speaks is viewed as “correct” or “unaccented” (Petrón & Greybeck, 2014; Rangel et al., 2015; Villareal et al., 2019). Individuals of Mexican origin living on the U.S. side of the border who are thought to speak a non-standard form of Spanish are often referred to as *pocha/o*. This term labels them as “less than”: less Mexican, less educated, and less proficient in what “should” be their heritage language and culture (Fallas-Escobar, 2023; Valenzuela, 2004). Within this complex space that views standardized language as an ideal (although the “standard” can be defined as academic Spanish or unaccented English in differing settings), bilingualism is often viewed through a monoglossic lens. In many cases, bilingual individuals are those who are able to speak “pure” forms of both Spanish and English *sin pochar*: that is, without the need to mix the two languages in what is viewed as a nonstandard language form (Fallas-Escobar, 2023; Villareal et al., 2019).

In other borderland social contexts, the fluid, dynamic use of Spanish and English is viewed as the norm. Anzaldúa (1987/2012) described the hybrid, in-between spaces of the border, noting that “to survive the borderlands, you must live *sin fronteras*, be a crossroads” (p. 217). Her descriptions of language use on the border importantly express the ways that Spanish and English become a single entity for many people, and numerous authors use her work as a

foundation for studies situated through a borderlands lens. Recent empirical studies conducted in educational settings on the border that take a dynamic view of bilingualism have shown the ways that students benefit from such a stance. For example, de la Piedra et al.'s (2018) case study in a borderland dual language classroom showed the many ways that translanguaging as a practice and a pedagogy was beneficial for emergent bilingual students. Although the language policy of the dual language program involved keeping Spanish and English separate for instruction, the teacher provided a space that was supportive of students' linguistic repertoires and that intentionally incorporated translanguaging as a pedagogy. Similar work suggests the importance of reframing both K-12 and higher education programs to allow for a more dynamic understanding of bilingualism (Garza & Arreguín-Anderson, 2018; Henderson & Ingram, 2018; Tian & Zhang-Wu, 2022).

Bilingual Education and Standardized Testing on the Border

Within the ideological context described in the previous sections, K-12 schools on the U.S.-Mexico border are an important site for acquiring academic content and language learning in English, Spanish, and often a combination of the two. A report published by the National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance (Sloat et al., 2007) defines border school districts as those located within 20 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border, which are typically home to high numbers of economically disadvantaged students. Additionally, an average of 90% of student populations in border districts are classified as Latinx and speak Spanish at home. These districts employ a larger number of Latinx teachers than in other Latinx-majority communities, and teachers often work in the same communities in which they attended school as children. It is estimated that in the region of Texas in which this study was conducted, over 80% of teachers are Latinx (Texas Education Agency, 2020).

Studies show that border city schools often resort to skills-based instruction in order to help economically disadvantaged and emergent bilingual students pass required standardized tests (Ocasio, 2014; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2014). For example, Ostorga and Farrugio (2020) discuss their study with bilingual teacher candidates in the Río Grande Valley of Texas. During focus groups, participants commented on the ways that standardized testing appeared to drive instruction in the classrooms they visited for their field experiences. They described classrooms as teacher centered and learning as not meaningful for students. These practices did not align with the critical nature of the pedagogies that participants were learning in their teacher education program. These findings are not unique, as other studies have described the K-12 educational climate in Texas border cities to be centered on standardized testing and in turn generally monolingual in nature (Bach, 2020; Valenzuela, 2005; Williamson, 2017).

Teachers in border city schools report having experienced hegemonic language practices in school as children in such environments, which can have an impact on the ways they currently understand and practice their own bilingualism within the context of border city schools (Ek et al., 2013; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Venegas et al., 2020). In many cases, monoglossic ideologies evident even in bilingual education programs meant that as children, PSTs transitioned into English-only schooling. In multiple studies with bilingual PSTs, participants described feeling a need to regain the ability to speak, read, and write in Spanish, despite this having been the language they learned at home with their families (Guerrero & Guerrero, 2017; Nuñez et al., 2021; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2020). The current study uncovered connections between teachers' narratives of transitions toward English during their own K-12

schooling years and the focus on standardized testing that has been described in borderland schools in previous studies.

A Standardized Approach to Success

For multilingual learners in U.S. classrooms, success can be an elusive idea defined by multiple standardized factors. Families enrolling children in school in Texas for the first time must fill out a Home Language Survey, answering the following questions:

- What language(s) is/are used in the child's home most of the time?
- What language(s) does the child use most of the time?
- If the child had a previous home setting, what language(s) was/were used for communication in that home setting? (Texas Education Agency, 2023)

If a language other than English is included on the Home Language Survey, students must take a state-approved language proficiency test to determine whether they qualify for bilingual education services. Students who are determined to be less than proficient in English as defined by this assessment are labeled as emergent bilingual and in need of bilingual education services. Each spring, emergent bilingual students must take the Texas English Language Proficiency Assessment System (TELPAS), a series of tests and observations to determine proficiency levels in listening, speaking, reading, and writing in English. Students receive a rating of four possible levels: Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced, or Advanced High. These scores, together with their performance on the State of Texas Assessment of Academic Readiness (STAAR) exams, help to determine their eligibility for reclassification from emergent bilingual status.

Emergent bilingual students may be considered “successful” by schools, districts, and the Texas Education Agency (TEA) upon climbing through the four determined levels of English proficiency rated through the TELPAS system. Academic success in school is determined by classroom performance, grades, and yearly standardized test scores in various content areas. Such academic measures are intrinsically tied to language for all students, but most notably for

multilingual learners. Studies have shown that standardized tests that purport to measure academic objectives must also by default be a test of students' English language abilities due to the linguistic demands of assessments in all content areas (Menken, 2006).

Research has repeatedly problematized the systems of standardized testing that have been shown to be inequitable for multilingual learners as well as complicating bilingual education programs through an inherently monolingual approach to evaluation (Bach, 2020; Menken, 2006; Henderson, 2017; Palmer et al., 2015). For example, most statewide assessments are delivered only in English, leading schools and districts to “teach to the test” (Menken, 2006) in a skills-based approach that favors English. Even for multilingual learners in dual language programs, the pressures of standardized testing have been shown to motivate the dismantling of what could be a more heteroglossic approach to bilingual education to instead favor English as the language of testing (Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al., 2017; Henderson, 2017; Palmer et al., 2015).

In this analysis, I will consider the construct of *success* as a language ideology. In schools, multilingual students are defined as successful through a process of standardized testing that is conceptualized through a monoglossic understanding of language. In society at large, multilingual individuals may be defined as successful based on the ways their linguistic abilities in one or more languages allow them to achieve amongst standards such as college and career paths and future income levels. Each of these understandings assume the notion that success can be measured, and that the goals for success of a multilingual person align with those of a largely monolingual society. I argue that there can be alternative framings to our understandings of success, particularly as I consider the path to becoming a bilingual teacher within the context of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.

In this paper, I analyze the experiences of bilingual preservice teachers at a border city teacher education program. I argue that monoglossic ideologies driving a standardized testing culture in border city K-12 schools leads to the conceptualization of success as a language ideology as well. The same ideology re-emerges for bilingual PSTs on the path to becoming teachers as they prepare for and pass required teacher certification exams.

Methods

This article forms part of a larger qualitative case study exploring the development of linguistic ideological clarity among preservice teachers at a border city Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI). Specifically, this portion of the study was guided by the following question: How do PSTs' linguistic histories interact with language ideologies in circulation and development within the teacher education program?

Purposive sampling was used to select 11 participants for the study. Six participants were preservice teachers enrolled in one section of an introductory bilingual education (BED) course at Del Valle University. The instructor of this course was also considered a participant of the study. Additionally, four participants were enrolled in their final semester of the teacher residency program at Del Valle. This analysis focuses on five participants in particular: four teacher residents and one PST enrolled in the introductory BED course. Paris (2011) discusses the importance of humanizing research through building caring relationships between researchers and participants. I was able to build relationships with participants through continued connection with them beyond the semester of data collection as well as providing advice when solicited related to teacher certification exams, future teaching jobs, and a variety of aspects related to raising our children bilingually. Additionally, part of the methodology of this study included providing PSTs with a gift card as a form of reciprocity for their participation in the study. In this

way, I sought to convey value for the time participants gave to the study as well as build reciprocal relationships with each of them. Table 1 provides basic demographic information about each of the participants in the study.

Table 1

Study Participants

Participant Name	Course Enrolled	Age	Gender	Originally From	Language of Comfort⁶
Dalia	Residency	24	Female	Border City	Spanish
Liliana	Residency	26	Female	Border City	English
Raquel	Residency	28	Female	Border City	Spanish
Sofia	Residency	22	Female	Cuahtémoc, México	Spanish
Leila	Intro BED	21	Female	Ciudad Frontera, México	Spanish
Dr. Wilson	Course instructor	51	Male	Pennsylvania	English

Data for this study were collected via multiple sources in seeking an in-depth understanding of the case under consideration (Creswell, 2013). Each of the participants took part in two semi-structured interviews lasting between 40 and 70 minutes. These interviews focused on PSTs' experiences with language use and learning, their understandings of bilingualism, and how their ideas about language had developed over the course of the semester/program and during their field experiences/residency. Participants completed a

⁶ Due to the nature of language use among multilingual individuals and of language on the border, the constructs of "first language" and "second language" are often inadequate. All participants use English and Spanish in both oral and written form, and they all demonstrated an array of hybrid language practices at different points in the study. I asked them to help me define their language of comfort for the purpose of this table to help the reader get to know them better; this is meant to represent the language(s) in which they feel most comfortable communicating in most situations.

linguistic timeline, describing their personal experiences with language learning. They answered questions about language learning at home and at school growing up, as well as questions about their interactions with language during the teacher education program. Later interviews focused on their work with students during field experiences. All interviews were audio-recorded for the purpose of later transcription and data review.

As noted above in Table 1, Leila and Dr. Wilson were participants in this study involved in an introductory BED course at Del Valle University. I conducted thirty hours of observations in the course during the Spring 2023 semester, which were video- and audio-recorded for later analysis. I kept detailed field notes during observations aimed at being both descriptive and reflective of ideas about language in use within the research setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I collected artifacts over the course of the semester as well, to include 92 samples of student work from the BED course as well as articles, book chapters, videos, podcasts, and images used in course instruction.

In order to increase the validity of findings, I have conducted member checks with participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I asked participants to review my English translations of their written and oral responses provided in Spanish to ensure that I maintained their intended meaning. I also checked in with participants at a few points during data analysis, and all participants reviewed a final draft of this paper.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an inductive and recursive process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and data were analyzed throughout all stages of the study. I transcribed all interviews, audio recordings of student work, and key sections of observation video recordings. I then performed multiple rounds of open and focused coding on all transcriptions, observational field notes, and student

work samples (Saldaña, 2016). The use of NVivo software helped me to create, break apart, and recreate categories for codes related to participants' linguistic histories and language ideologies in the teacher education program. Saldaña's (2016) method of moving from codes to categories to themes was helpful in conceptualizing the overarching idea of *monoglossic definitions of success*. For example, I began with codes such as *language in K-12 school*, *bilingual education in childhood*, *standardized testing*, and *transnational education*. As I examined the data under these codes, they began to fit under the categories of *transitions in K-12 school* and *testing defines success*. Eventually, the data associated with these categories pointed to an overarching theme of *monoglossic definitions of success*. Codes that were initially understood separately, such as *proper Spanish*, *language on the border*, *pocha*, *standardized testing*, and *power* were reorganized using NVivo to conceptualize categories and the eventual overarching theme. Throughout the study, a process of memo-writing was helpful in reflecting on emerging themes as well as in revising my focus for upcoming observations and interviews (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Positionality

My interest in this study has developed out of the combined experiences of my career as a dual language educator in a border city, my studies of language ideologies and teacher education within my Ph.D. program, and raising my own bilingual and bicultural children while living life in between the border cities of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. I am a white, non-Hispanic woman who grew up speaking only English until my teenage years. My development of Spanish was, and continues to be, a long process, beginning with foreign language classes in high school, stretching into non-profit work on the border after college, and continuing through my adult life in which two languages and cultures are equally influential. As a dual language

teacher, I watched school, district, and state policies about standardized testing directly influence the notions of academic and linguistic success that students took upon themselves in my elementary classrooms. I recall feeling the need to protect students from the ways that “the test” framed them as successful or unsuccessful, while also feeling powerless to effect any substantial change in such a complex system. As a parent of bilingual children, I have felt the same tension, promoting the importance of continued development of Spanish and English in my home and calming my children’s anxieties as state testing draws near each year, while harboring a sinking feeling that their ultimate success in school will be measured by their ability to score well on “the test” in English.

Each of these experiences has made reflexivity a vital part of the research process. As a doctoral student, I have developed a fear of misrepresenting the individuals with whom I conduct research and about whom I write. While I have now lived half a lifetime on the border, feel comfortable communicating in English and Spanish, and have married into a Mexican family, I still identify as a white woman, a U.S. citizen, and a person who spoke only English for the first 15 years of my life. These factors cause me to wrestle with the question of “Who am I to tell this story?” They are identifiers that help me to benefit from the same dominating ideologies that I hope to expose and reverse through my research. Through this study, I feel hopeful that I might illuminate the stories of bilingual teachers on the border as a means of informing policy and practice in teacher education and certification. My time spent with the participants in this project has forever changed how I understand education, language, and life on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Context of the Study

The U.S.-Mexico border spans almost 2,000 miles, cutting through sprawling cities and vast deserts. It is defined in some places by ominous metal barriers, in others by the Río Grande

(known on the Mexican side as the Río Bravo), and in some areas only by the tire marks left by the SUVs belonging to the migras (U.S. Customs and Border Patrol). It joins the Pacific Ocean and the Golfo de México while dividing four U.S. states and six estados mexicanos. Writers have theorized about the border for generations, describing the interdependent and fluid nature of the space as hybrid and also fractured (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012), a crossroads of unpredictability and transition (Masta, 2021). On my weekly drive down the interstate to perform observations for this study, Del Valle University sat at the exit to my left while Ciudad Frontera, the neighboring Mexican border city, sprawled directly to my right. It felt as if I was driving through both at the same time, and this connected nature of the two cities permeates areas of life ranging from work to school, social circles to family gatherings, and everything in between.

Del Valle University is designated as a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), an institution for whom total enrollment is at least 25% Hispanic (Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, 2022). This percentage is much higher at Del Valle, with 84% of students identifying as Hispanic or Latino. Additionally, a considerable number of students are considered transfronterizx, as they spend a portion of their time in México and a portion in the U.S., crossing the international bridge between Ciudad Frontera and Border City, Texas, in order to attend school in the U.S. This distinctive binational identity plays a key role in many aspects of the university's day-to-day activities. The College of Education at the university holds an important place in the overall educational landscape of Border City, providing approximately 70% of the city's classroom teachers upon graduation from the program.

This study was conducted during the first semester that the introductory BED course was listed as having a separate section taught in Spanish at Del Valle University. Instructors of this course and others have used varying language policies and practices accommodating the use of

English and Spanish in the past, but this semester was the first time that an official section to be taught in Spanish was advertised to PSTs seeking bilingual certification. Bilingual teacher candidates have historically taken two courses in Spanish during their time in the program, but the change to teaching this course in Spanish is a step towards providing more opportunities for PSTs to prepare linguistically for their careers as bilingual teachers. Dr. Wilson, the instructor of the BED course, explained this in an interview: “There’s a real push to offer more courses in Spanish to undergrads...This is like our realization that our preservice bilingual teachers need more opportunities to interact with bilingual pedagogies or translanguaging pedagogies in their coursework” (Dr. Wilson, Interview 1, 01/31/2023). As with all new programmatic shifts, Dr. Wilson acknowledged that teaching the course in Spanish was a work in progress, but he felt it was progress in a positive direction. This semester, due to a number of students enrolled not seeking bilingual certification, he had made the decision to teach using translanguaging pedagogies in order be inclusive of all students. Course readings, materials, and PowerPoint slides were in English, while Dr. Wilson steered discussions towards Spanish as much as possible. He encouraged students to participate in class in whatever language(s) they felt comfortable. Students seeking bilingual certification were asked to turn in written work in Spanish, and others could use whatever language(s) they chose for written work.

Del Valle University has a year-long teacher residency program that was in its fourth year of existence during the time of this study. Teacher residents are paired with mentor teachers who have received extensive professional development as a part of the program. Residents experience an entire school year and are also paid, allowing them to immerse themselves in the experience as well as the courses they take during each semester of residency. Studies have shown year-long residency programs to be more effective than shorter student teaching experiences at building the

skills and confidence needed for teacher candidates preparing to enter classrooms (Darling-Hammond et al., 2005; Davis & Higdon, 2008; Sarvis & Silvers, 2019). Four of the participants in this study were completing their second semester of the teacher residency, and they were each paired with dual language mentor teachers at elementary schools in Border City, Texas. They spoke in an overwhelmingly positive manner about the opportunities gained through the full year of residency they were completing.

The PST participants in this study follow many of the patterns common to the literature mentioned above. They were born and raised in Border City and planned to remain there as they began their teaching careers. They told stories of family immigration from Mexico and of continued ties to both sides of the border, including important themes of resilience and agency as they navigated a new educational system, language, and cultural practices. Their narratives also revealed the highly complex nature of the border, defined by an identity-building process tied to physical movement, hybrid language practices, and multiplicities specific to this region (Vila, 1999, 2005).

Findings

The larger theme of this study involved seeking an understanding of the process of linguistic ideological development among PSTs at a border city HSI. This paper reflects on one portion of this process: the interaction of PSTs' own linguistic histories with the language ideologies that circulate and develop within the teacher education program. While a number of interesting themes emerged from the analysis of participants' linguistic histories, I will focus on the ways participants' narratives entailed ideologies of success, particularly as this related to their use of English in school and later to their qualification for teaching in Spanish. In the process of analysis for this paper, it became evident that the idea of success for many participants in the

broader study was tied to exiting bilingual education, navigating the realities of life as a transnational student, and passing the bilingual teacher certification exams. I will focus here on the narratives of five participants for whom these themes were particularly salient.

Dalia and Raquel: Success as Exiting Bilingual Education

Dalia and Raquel transitioned out of bilingual classes and into monolingual classes in fourth grade after it was deemed that their English was proficient enough for them to exit the bilingual program. While neither of them was able to tell me precisely what type of bilingual program they had initially attended, I can make a reasonable assumption that they were both enrolled in transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs based on the history of the district they grew up attending and the approximate timeline they drew for me during their initial interview. TBE programs seek to “transition” students to English by the middle or end of elementary school based on a variety of success criteria. In Texas, standardized testing plays a large role in determining exit status. Dalia and Raquel were both serving as teacher residents in the same school district which they had attended as children. Border City School District was implementing a 50-50 dual language (DL) program district-wide at the time of this study, within which the stated goals were bilingualism and biliteracy, high academic achievement in English and Spanish, and sociocultural competency. While “exiting” a DL program should not occur as it does in TBE, since the goals include strengthening and valuing both languages instead of transitioning to English, a formal exit of emergent bilingual status still occurs, marking a degree of success in English language acquisition for DL students. The idea of transition based on exiting bilingual programs upon “successfully” learning English has been discussed in other studies as existing as a language ideology of its own, particularly within the culture of standardized testing that is common in many states (Henderson, 2017; Palmer, 2011).

Raquel recalled her transition from a bilingual class to a monolingual class in 4th grade. She described her English proficiency as having been tied to the state’s standardized test:

And that year I did like a perfect score on my TAKS⁷. So after that they decided that I had to...like they actually had to transition me into monolingual, because they thought that I was ready for it. So they had a meeting with my mom. And they looked at my scores and my grades. And they talked her through it and they told her that it probably would be the best option. And she said yes. And so I transitioned... That’s probably the year I’m never going to forget, of my whole, like, education. Because as a second language learner it was very hard for me. That transition was rough. It was very rough.

(Raquel, Interview 1, 02/27/2023)

It is interesting that Raquel still remembers achieving a perfect score on her TAKS test in 3rd grade, possibly revealing the importance placed upon standardized testing even in early elementary years. In the excerpt above, she reports that her school “had to” transition her to a monolingual class based on her test score, reflecting a system in place designed to move students experiencing academic success as measured by the state exam to a class in which they would no longer receive linguistic support. Raquel’s school had determined that she was “ready” to transition to the monolingual class due to a perceived attainment of success with English acquisition. This success was defined by her performance on a standardized academic assessment given in English, and it reveals an underlying monoglossic ideology that views the purpose of bilingual education to be a move towards English instead of also providing continued growth in students’ native language. Raquel, however, described her transition to English-only schooling as “very rough” and “the year I’m never going to forget” due to the abrupt nature of the shift.

⁷ Previous to the current STAAR test, Texas administered the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills, or TAKS test.

Dalia recalled a similar transition to a monolingual class in 4th grade. She described attending bilingual classes through 3rd grade where most of the instruction was in Spanish, followed by an abrupt transition. She explained, similar to in Raquel's case, that she had been deemed as ready to transition by the school. Dalia indicated, however, that she did not believe her parents were a part of making the decision to transition her to a monolingual class. She recalled, "I don't know if my parents really knew or if they were ever informed that I was now in an English only classroom, but... I don't remember struggling. So I guess my parents never really took it as a concern" (Dalia, Interview 1, 02/18/2023).

In Dalia's and Raquel's cases, the transition to English-only classes came due to a defined arrival at English proficiency derived by grades, classroom performance, and standardized test scores. Equating linguistic success with these standards and subsequently labeling students as "ready" to transition to English reveals monoglossic ideologies favoring English as the goal of achievement, even within district programs which carry the name "bilingual programs." While dual language programs take a more additive approach, focusing on developing two program languages without transitioning to one at the expense of the other, the dominating idea of a move towards English as an end goal still underlies many curricular materials, student and teacher resources, and even state and federal policy. Dalia's and Raquel's stories of linguistic success tied to standardized test scores is consistent with what is described in related literature (Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al., 2017; Henderson, 2017; Menken, 2006; Palmer, 2011; Palmer et al., 2015), particularly in borderland contexts where large percentages of student populations speak a language other than English at home.

As teacher residents, both Raquel and Dalia were placed in dual language classrooms for the school year. Both expressed high regard for the goals of the residency program in general as

well as the specific experiences they had over the course of the year. After reflecting on her own rapid transition to monolingual education tied to notions of success defined by standardized testing, Raquel had the following to say about dual language:

Because back in the day, either you were mono....like you were mono but like you were Spanish class or you were English class. And that was it. You know? And yes, you got that English on the side, but it wasn't bilingual. They would only stuck to that one language. And I think for our generation that's what made it harder to transition into being bilingual. Because we were so used to wanting only our language 1, and then from one day to another they would just move you into the other language. And that was a hard transition for me. Like I had told you last time, that was very hard for me. Because even though I knew the English, or I was exposed to it, it was not the same thing as maybe having my dual class of having English, Spanish, English, Spanish, and learning along with both than from one day to another just being caught in there and telling you oh, you're going to learn in English now. So I think that's a difference that I see, from when I was learning. (Raquel, Interview 2, 05/10/2023)

Raquel was reflective about how what she was experiencing in the dual language classroom was different from her own abrupt transition to English, and she revealed thoughtful support of the heteroglossic ideologies that underlie the program's setup. She also talked about preparing her students for standardized testing in the spring semester of her residency, noting that 5 of her 4th graders had taken the STAAR exam in Spanish and the rest had taken it in English. Her descriptions of preparing for exams in the dual language setting, however, included instruction in both Spanish and English as well as translanguaging pedagogies that were absent from her own experiences in school.

Dalia also spoke highly of her experience in the dual language classroom. In contrast to her experience of transitioning to monolingual classes in elementary school, she was impressed with the variety of content her students continued to learn in both Spanish and English in 5th grade. She noted that as a resident, she was learning content-specific vocabulary in Spanish along with her students: “Because all of this was in English always. So now I’m learning how you say like gross income, or net income, or just...vocabulary in Spanish...I didn’t know until now, as an adult” (Dalia, Interview 1, 02/18/2023). While she had successfully transitioned to a monolingual program during her own elementary years via the ideologies of the state’s standardized testing system and her school’s criteria, this comment reveals the interesting dichotomy experienced by many bilingual PSTs who find their opportunities to develop content-specific Spanish abilities cut off by monoglossic ideologies in school. As a resident, Dalia reported an overall positive experience in the dual language setting, as well as in learning to navigate teaching in two languages and helping students take in content in two languages. It appeared that for Dalia’s and Raquel’s students, the experience of “exiting” the dual language setting based on standardized test performance was not at the forefront of conversations with their mentor teachers, particularly in the way it had marked their own linguistic histories.

Still, the ideologies that were present in these teacher residents’ childhood trajectories are still evident, even in the background of dual language programs today. Dalia described the way her mentor teacher helped her to understand which students in their two-way⁸ dual language classroom were considered to be emergent bilingual students in the following way:

⁸ Two-way dual language programs are those in which approximately half of the students are considered to be learning English and approximately half are considered to be learning the partner program language (in this case, Spanish) as their second language.

So at first, like I kind of had an idea like who maybe was an emergent bilingual and who wasn't. It wasn't until they took the TELPAS that my mentor teacher showed me, like oh look, this is how they're classified. They do a survey. The parents are able to decide if they...so it wasn't until they took that that I was like ok, so these are emergent bilinguals in this class, because they were taking the TELPAS. (Dalia, Interview 2, 05/06/2023)

In this excerpt, Dalia was referring to the process laid out by the State of Texas that determines which students receive a label of “emergent bilingual” as discussed in a previous section of this paper. In Dalia’s description above, her mentor teacher helped her to understand which students in the class were considered emergent bilinguals by the State of Texas “because they were taking the TELPAS.” In reality, however, every student in her dual language classroom was a multilingual learner, demonstrating a variety of linguistic repertoires as they learned in Spanish and English in school and as many of them used both languages at home as well. This heteroglossic view of bilingualism was evident in learning that I observed in an introductory bilingual education course at Del Valle University, but when teacher residents spent an extended amount of time in classroom practice, such ideologies were embodied in a more complex manner (see also Chapter 2).

Sofía and Leila: Success as a Transnational Student

Due to the borderland context of this study, it is important to understand the situation of the thousands of transnational students who study in border city schools every year. Many transnational students make a one-time, permanent move to the U.S. – often from México, and sometimes from Central America or beyond. Others, known as transfronterizx students, cross the border as often as daily or weekly from México to attend school in the U.S (de la Piedra et al., 2018). The situations of these students are highly diverse. Many families bring their children to

U.S. schools in hopes that they will have a high-quality education, learn English, and gain opportunities in the job market. Others come fleeing violence or extreme economic hardship in their home countries and desire a safe place for their children to grow up and attend school. For some transnational families, their children's progress in learning English and graduating from high school may later translate into legal immigration paperwork and stability for the family in the future (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). The complexities of transnational students' narratives in borderland schools means that the idea of success can be highly dependent on students' specific situations. The transnational students in this study demonstrated a particular resilience and drive to be defined as successful according to the measures of the schools they attended in the U.S.: for them, success meant learning English, passing state-mandated standardized tests, and obtaining good grades in advanced coursework.

Sofia and Leila both moved to the U.S. from México in 9th grade to attend high school in Border City. Leila grew up in the neighboring city of Ciudad Frontera. Her transition from middle school in México to high school in the U.S., where all classes were delivered in English, is a common experience for students in border cities. A dominant theme surfaced in Leila's interviews, participation in class, and written assignments: her ability to quickly learn English in the midst of this transition, and how her success at this was measured by the systems in place around her. Leila was enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) during 9th grade, and she described her ESL teacher as understanding and helpful during this time of transition. She had not, however, passed the English I End of Course (EOC) exam required by the state of Texas for high school graduation. Texas requires students to retake the EOCs until they pass them in order to graduate, and Leila took the English I exam three times. She describes her experiences with her high school English department here:

Era yo una sophomore en la preparatoria, yo estaba en la clase de ESL en mi segundo año de preparatoria, debo resaltar que no me gustaba y no hacia el trabajo desde que comenzo el ciclo escolar. Yo deseaba siempre estar en la clase normal de ingles para avanzados, fue ahi en donde fui hablar con mi maestra de el semestre pasado para que me orientara en que podia hacer, ya que no habia pasado el examen estatal del primer año, pero habia una chanza en el que yo podria estar en la clase de avanzados. Dias despues, fui con el encargado de el departamento de ingles de la escuela e hicimos una junta con mi mama para ver que se podia hacer. El dia de la junta estabamos mi mama y yo en la oficina del encargado del departamento de ingles, y menciono algo que a mi me impacto mucho, que era que “tu no estas calificada para tomar esa clase de ingles por que no tienes un nivel de ingles bueno, pero te voy a poner en la clase.” el me advirtio que la clase era dificil. A la mejor no tuve lesiones fisicas como las que Maggie Marquez tuvo, pero si tuve lesiones mentales. Me hirio su comentario realmente, pero yo le pude probar a el que pude pasar la clase y mas aparte el examen estatal para ese ciclo escolar. (Leila, RDJ1, 01/31/2023)

I was a sophomore in high school, and I was in the ESL class my second year of high school. I should emphasize that I didn't like the class and I had not done any of the work since the beginning of the year. I had always wanted to be in the normal English class for advanced students. So that was when I went to talk to my teacher from the previous semester so that she could orient me on what I could do, since I had not passed the state exam during my first year, but there was a chance that I could still be placed in the advanced class. A few days later, I went to see the head of the English department, and we set up a meeting with my mom to see what could be done. The day of the meeting my mom and I were in the office with the head of the English department, and he said

something to me that really impacted me. He said, “You are not qualified to take this English class because your level of English is not good, but I’ll put you in the class.” He warned me that the class was difficult. Maybe I didn’t have physical bruises like Maggie Marquez had, but I did have mental wounds. His comment really hurt me, but I was able to prove to him that I could pass the class and also pass the state exam that year. (Leila, RDJ 1)

Leila’s transition to a U.S. school as well as to learning a new language in 9th grade was intricately tied to the ways that the school system defined her success at becoming proficient with English. In the written assignment above, she compared her experience to an NPR Story Corps video used as a discussion piece during the BED course (Warren, 2017). In this video, Maggie Marquez, a native of Marfa, Texas, described her experiences growing up in the 1950s, when she was abused both physically and emotionally for speaking Spanish in school. Indeed, the narratives of linguistic violence (Ek et al., 2013) common in literature were both prevalent and highly complex among participants, as Leila demonstrated in her combined desire to succeed according to the school system’s standards and later comments displaying frustration with expectations of such a fast transition to English:

Es que no es lo mismo para uno que viene de otra ciudad, aprender inglés, de una persona que está aquí hace 14 años...o sea hablarlo tú en un año. Es muy difícil. Es muy complicado...Porque yo hasta sentí presión al aprender el inglés. O sea es que yo decía, yo tengo que pasar este examen. O sea, hablando inglés o no hablando inglés, sabiendo inglés o no sabiendo inglés tengo que pasarlo. Porque...pues sí, así es. Así era la ley en ese entonces. (Leila, Interview 1, 02/13/2023)

It's not the same for someone coming from another city to learn English as for someone that's been here for 14 years...I mean for you to just learn it in one year. It's very difficult. It's very complicated...Because I felt pressure to learn English. I mean it's because I said I have to pass that exam. I mean, speaking English or not speaking English, knowing English or not knowing English, I have to pass it. Because...well that's how it is. That's how the law was at that time. (Leila, Interview 1, 02/13/2023)

Leila recognized that despite her abrupt transition to English-only classes in 9th grade, her success as a student was to be measured by her ability to pass a single standardized test imposed by the State of Texas. Interestingly, she did not feel that a working knowledge of English was as important as passing the exam, since her score would determine her status for graduating from high school and later entrance to a college and career pathway. During her high school years, she navigated ideologies of linguistic purism that initially kept her out of upper-level English classes. Such classes, of course, are not designed as English language instruction for newcomer students like Leila, but instead they center on reading and writing skills that many multilingual learners have already mastered in one or more languages. Leila recalled working hard to make her way through literature such as *Beowulf* in high school English, but doing so to prove to teachers and to herself that she could be successful according to the standards set by the school she attended.

While Leila's narrative included conceptualizations of success tied to her ability to pass academic standardized exams in English, her semester in the BED course created new experiences with bilingualism and reconsiderations of what it meant to be a successful bilingual person. Leila generally felt more comfortable communicating in Spanish and was the only participant who chose to answer all interview questions in Spanish, but she expressed that she felt "strange" at first taking a university course in Spanish, since she had not done so since

middle school. As the semester progressed, however, she felt comfortable interacting with course content in Spanish, indicating that even turning in written assignments in Spanish “fue como que otra oportunidad para mí” (it was like another opportunity for me) (Leila, Interview 2, 05/07/2023). Along with the rest of the students, she built an understanding of translanguaging, calling it “un arte” and “un skill” (an art and a skill) (Leila, RDJ 3, 02/14/2023) within her broader understanding of translanguaging as a practice and a pedagogy. She even mentioned having taught her planned lesson in a translanguaging format during her field experience hours that were part of the BED course.

During her field experience, Leila met two students who were finishing their final semester as teacher residents with Del Valle University. She expressed frustration over a conversation with the residents in which they told her why they had chosen not to become bilingual teachers, since they felt that bilingual teachers generally have a harder path to follow than monolingual teachers do. During her final reflective essay, Leila described the experience in this way: “Me senti positioned en este momento ya que en mi mente solo pensaba yo en si seguir mi pathway de ser maestra bilingue o no, pero tambien por lado pense en que me iba a beneficiar mucho en un futuro” (I felt positioned in that moment, since in my mind I could only think about whether or not to follow my pathway as a bilingual teacher, but on the other hand I also thought about how this would benefit me in the future) (Leila, Final Reflective Essay, 05/10/2023). Leila discussed the interchange with the teacher residents at length during a class session, noting that their comments regarding the added difficulties that bilingual teachers may face in the profession made her question her career path. Upon reflection, however, she applied theory learned in the BED course (“me sentí positioned”), indicating that the residents’ comments had positioned her in a branch of education that involved helping emergent bilingual students to become proficient

in English, which they had deemed both more difficult and less important than other educational tasks. Leila's experiences with returning to academic writing in Spanish, considering the concept of translanguaging, and strengthening her intent to become a bilingual teacher helped her to reconsider a portrait of a successful bilingual person after her high school had done this for her in a different manner.

Leila's narrative is not uncommon in the borderland context, as is evident with a look at Sofia's story. Sofia moved to Border City from México in 9th grade as well, and she told similar stories of her transition to the U.S. and to learning a new language in an English-only setting. She felt supported by her ESL teacher but positioned as inferior or less able by other teachers who were not as understanding of her trajectory as a multilingual learner:

I had AP Algebra and I had AP Biology. Oh my God, it was the worst. Because I remember my AP Biology teacher was like, "Oh, so you don't know English? I'm not going to talk to you in Spanish. I don't know if you want to move to a regular class. And I was like, "Ok." But no, I didn't move, because I am smart in biology, and I love biology. So I was like no, if I'm in the AP program, it was because of my grades in Mexico, because they transferred. So I found my friend...and she helped me a lot to write my essays, to write everything. So it was a good help. But yeah, at the end of that class I had a 100. The teacher was so surprised, but I was like, (waved hands in the air as a signal of celebration) you know? Yeah, it was my first year. That's why I was so shocked. (Sofia, Interview 1, 02/10/2023)

Sofia felt that she had to prove that she could be academically successful even after her transition to the U.S., despite receiving all content instruction in a language that was new to her. This was

also true when the school system defined success by passing EOC exams in English. She described one such experience in an interview:

I think it was junior year when you take the U.S History STAAR? Oh my God. I remember that my history teacher told me, oh, if you need a translate dictionary, I cannot provide that to you (spoken sternly). And I was like oh, don't worry, I don't think I'm going to need one. And then she was like, "Are you sure? You can ask the district or something, or someone else" (spoken sarcastically). And I was like "no, don't worry. I won't use it." And then I took the test and my friend, she grew up here, and she didn't pass the test. But I did. And my teacher was surprised, and she was like, "Do you want to know your score?" (spoken in an insincere sweet voice). I told her "Sure." And then she was like, "Oh, well you passed" (bluntly). And I was like, "Oh, great." I knew I would pass, because I know myself, no? And she was like "Uh huh." And she was mad! And I was like "¡Eh pa!" Orgullosa. (Laughing) (Sofia, Interview 1, 02/10/2023)

This is a difficult anecdote to recreate on paper. Sofia was visibly animated upon narrating this story, giving voices to her teacher to express a lack of desire to help Sofia through the process of succeeding on the EOC. Sofia explained her frustration through adding a stern tone of voice when the teacher indicated that she would not provide a bilingual dictionary contrasting with feigned tones of helpfulness to indicate that the teacher truly did not intend for Sofia to seek out a dictionary through another source. Her pride in having passed the exam without needing a bilingual dictionary for help with translation was also visible: she had succeeded in this rite of passage placed upon all students in Texas, and one that is particularly challenging for those who have navigated the complexities of transnational life that can make success a moving target. For Sofia, as for many transnational students in a similar situation, a content area test such as a

history test had also become an assessment of her English proficiency after just three years in the U.S. Additionally, while many transnational students arrive in the U.S. with considerable knowledge of their own country's history through coursework already completed, an exam such as the U.S. History EOC administered in English reveals both monoglossic language ideologies as well as assumptions regarding the content knowledge they will need to successfully continue down an academic or career path.

During her residency, Sofia taught in a 3rd-grade self-contained dual language class in the same school as Dalia. She spoke positively about her year and the many opportunities she had for hands-on teaching in English and Spanish. As of our second interview, she was looking forward to giving each student in her class a small game of Lotería⁹ to take home as an end-of-year gift. I asked Sofia at one point if she ever shared her own experiences of learning English with her students, and she related this story:

Yes, I have. Well, my Spanish speaker, he asked me oh, so how did you learn English?

Because I remember one time he was frustrated and I go don't worry, you're going to get it. Because it takes time. It takes practice, but you're going to get it. And then he would say how did you learn English? And I was like, imagine? I was in high school. It was difficult. You can do it. You're little, you're going to get it. You're going to get it fast.

And then he would say oh, I guess so. Because he tries. He tries a lot...But I have told them that I struggle too. And I keep learning more and more. (Sofia, Interview 2,

05/04/2023)

⁹ Lotería is a Mexican party game similar to Bingo, in which a leader calls out words (la sirena, el melón, el gallo, etc.) from brightly colored cards and players hope to obtain four in a row or a blackout by covering corresponding spaces on their game mats. Sofia and her host teacher had used the game for Spanish vocabulary building at different points during the school year.

Sofia's reflection with her students of language learning as a process without a defined endpoint ("I keep learning more and more") shows a different definition of success than the one that was projected onto her by the school system she entered in 9th grade. In the DL classroom where Sofia was working as a resident, the goal was for students to become bilingual and biliterate in both Spanish and English, as opposed to the ESL program that Sofia experienced in high school in which the goal was to transition students to English. The ways in which bilingual students view their languages as continuously emerging has been explored in previous research (Mortimer & Dolsa, 2020). This conceptualization is important, because it shifts the notion of a successful bilingual away from an imagined endpoint defined by standardized testing and towards a more dynamic understanding of bilingualism as viewed through a heteroglossic lens.

Dalia and Liliana: Success as a Teacher Resident

Due to their current position in their final semester before graduation, teacher residents were forthcoming about feelings of apprehension surrounding the certification exams still needed in order to move forward with their immediate plans. For most, the bilingual exam requiring teacher candidates to demonstrate a command of the Spanish language was the greatest cause of worry, but it also represented a marker of success in their journey toward becoming a bilingual teacher. All teacher candidates in Texas must pay for and pass a grade-band specific content exam as well as the Pedagogy and Professional Responsibility (PPR) exam, with some opting for additional exams for supplemental certifications. In addition to these two required exams, Bilingual teachers in Texas are required to pass two additional exams: a test of knowledge about bilingual education and an additional certification exam called the Bilingual Target Language Proficiency Test (BTLPT), which tests their listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in the language other than English in which they intend to teach. While advocates of bilingual

education, particularly in the borderland, have been working to increase the number of certified bilingual teachers in Texas, the passing rates of the BTLPT can be discouraging for bilingual PSTs. The Texas State Board for Educator Certification (2023) lists the percentage of PSTs passing the BTLPT on their first try over the past five years as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

BTLPT Passing Rates

2017-2018	2018-2019	2019-2020	2020-2021	2021-2022
63%	62%	71%	62%	53%

Dalia passed her BTLPT during the course of data collection for this study. She expressed relief mixed with frustration at the variety of language tested on the exam: “I don’t see myself teaching that kind of Spanish to, like, elementary. I understand they want to test your proficiency. But I was like wow, this is very, very, very advanced Spanish” (Dalia, Interview 2, 05/06/2023). The need to successfully pass a certification exam with what Dalia described as “very advanced Spanish” appeared to be a contradiction to the transitions towards English that had left many questioning their abilities in what they once considered their native language. Dalia’s evaluation of the language of the BTLPT as “very advanced Spanish” follows what other studies have discussed as a move towards ensuring the abilities of bilingual teachers to use academic language in a language other than English (Guerrero & Guerrero, 2017). The idea of academic language, however, has been problematized in recent work, particularly as it applies to contexts in which student populations are linguistically diverse (Flores, 2020; Flores & Rosa, 2015). Within this body of work, researchers have pointed out the raciolinguistic ideologies that are foundational to the idea of academic language, as the language practices of racialized students, particularly those

from bilingual homes, are often undervalued in school settings. Flores (2020) points out the ways that educational systems tend to describe racialized students as lacking or deficient in academic language, or the language of school, tending towards a remedial approach to language that overlooks students' strengths. Despite the potential functions of the BTLPT to protect the development of PSTs' Spanish against the hegemonic forces favoring English in most spheres, the ways this plays out in practice can thus be fraught.

Liliana also spoke candidly about all of the teacher certification exams as being the most challenging part of her residency year, and the BTLPT as the most particular cause for concern. Liliana had grown up speaking both Spanish and English at home and attended bilingual classes through 5th grade as a child. She transitioned to fully English classes in 6th grade, and she now describes herself as "I'm not a pro Spanish-speaker no more. Because I focused mainly on English, you know?" (Liliana, Interview 1, 02/26/2023). She reflected on taking the BTLPT exam in the following way:

And I haven't taken my Spanish...it's called the BTLPT, I haven't taken it. And it's all Spanish. (Spoken in a worried tone and placed hand over face.) But then I got some insight from fellow residents and they're telling me okay, so they're going to make you wear headphones and do like 10 scenarios. And you just pretty much like respond to those scenarios. And then with parent communication I feel like I'm going to have to do a lot more research on parent communications in Spanish. Because I know they're going to ask to do like an email as if you're emailing a parent. So I really want to practice a lot on parent communication, because I haven't really been doing that with the residency. So I feel like I want more experience on that. (Liliana, Interview 2, 04/29/2023)

Liliana expressed that her concerns about the BTLPT were rooted in the manner in which she currently defines her own bilingualism. The monoglossic ideologies favoring a transition to English that placed her in English-only instruction from middle school forward became associated with her feelings of no longer being a “pro-Spanish speaker.” In preparation for the exam, she felt she needed to practice writing in Spanish, as she would be expected to write an email to a parent to meet one of the standards. Liliana’s apprehensions about writing in Spanish were consistent with those of the PST participants in the BED course portion of this study, who were expected to write in Spanish on a weekly basis as part of the course activities. Dr. Wilson, the instructor of the BED course, communicated to me that transitioning this course towards being taught in Spanish was part of the university’s goal of providing more opportunities for bilingual certification PSTs to prepare in Spanish for their future career path (to include the BTLPT). The participants in the course expressed feeling “strange” and sometimes spending hours on short writing assignments at the beginning of the semester, but in their final interviews they were generally grateful for the opportunity to have practiced writing in Spanish.

The BTLPT represented a complex space for teacher residents on the path to becoming bilingual teachers. On the surface, it was part of a series of standardized tests to be passed in order to earn a teacher’s license, much like doctors, lawyers, and accountants must do in order to be certified in their areas of expertise. On a deeper level, however, the BTLPT mirrored a web of dominant language ideologies evident in schooling decisions and practices that had been imposed upon residents years ago. As Dalia indicated, she was learning a great deal of content-specific vocabulary in Spanish along with her 5th graders during the residency, since she had not had the opportunity to learn it in school despite Spanish being her language of comfort. Still, she

defined the level of Spanish used on the exam as “very, very advanced,” and wondered if she would need this type of Spanish to teach elementary school.

Liliana had also transitioned to monolingual schooling in 6th grade via the monoglossic goals of transitional bilingual education, removing the opportunities to continue developing her Spanish language abilities in an academic setting. Preparing for an oral and written test in academic Spanish now appeared to be a daunting task as she sought to make up for lost time. Both experiences resonate with those described in other studies that have discussed the ways that PSTs in the borderlands experience the monoglossic dominance of English during their K-12 school years, only to later learn that their Spanish is not “proper” or “academic enough” to be successful as a bilingual teacher (Ek et al., 2013; Guerrero & Guerrero, 2017; Smith & Murillo, 2013). When PSTs like Dalia and Liliana are faced with preparing for and passing an oral and written exam in what they believe to be a pure or academic form of Spanish, they invest time in relearning language that was taken from them via monoglossic ideologies that favored English when they were in school. In the end, the same ideologies of linguistic purism and language standardization underlying PSTs’ transitions towards English as children drove the success-defining features allowing them to proceed in their career paths by passing the BTLPT to become bilingual teachers in Texas (Briceño et al., 2018; Szwed & Gonzalez Carriedo, 2019; Varghese & Snyder, 2018).

As is evident from the narratives of participants in this study, success can manifest as a language ideology in a variety of ways. Students in bilingual education are viewed as successful when their performance on standardized assessments in English positions them as ready to transition to English-only programs. Adults who have experienced this transition as children and later consider a profession as bilingual teachers seek success on monolingual Spanish

assessments in order to prove their abilities to teach in a bilingual classroom. In the process, many find themselves relearning the “academic” Spanish that they were not able to develop in school due to the success they demonstrated in English. Such narratives often become cyclical, pushing potential bilingual teachers out of their chosen profession and revisiting the effects of monoglossic ideals on future generations of students.

Discussion

This paper explored the interactions between PSTs’ linguistic histories and the language ideologies in circulation and development within a teacher education program. As I analyzed each participant’s narrative, it became evident that the monoglossic ideologies involved in standardized testing were present in PSTs’ linguistic histories in a variety of ways. While the experiences they reported were each unique and displayed the complex and varied nature that defines life on the border (Vila, 1999, 2005), the commonality of standardized testing pointing to monoglossic ideologies favoring English as the language of power surfaced in each story. PSTs had opportunities to reflect upon the ways that standardized testing had defined their success as bilingual individuals through courses like the BED course I observed during this study as well as through hands-on practice like the teacher residency program. Participants gained new ideas about the goals of bilingual education and the value of their own languages as bilingual people, in contrast with the ways their bilingualism had been defined through the monoglossic lens of standardized testing during their K-12 education (see also Chapter 2 and Chapter 4).

I was also able to understand the ways that bilingual PSTs continue to encounter dominant ideologies through standardized testing, long after they may have imagined having finished with the tests that defined their early educational years. While the ostensible goal of the BTLPT is to ensure that emergent bilingual students in Texas have high quality teachers that

speak a high level of academic Spanish, the exam has come to function as another monoglossic frame of borderland bilingualism. PSTs who “successfully” passed state tests in English during their K-12 school years now find themselves relearning the Spanish that they feel was taken from them during childhood in order to pass the BTLPT. Through this process, PSTs found that what had been deemed “success” during their K-12 schooling had in reality come to deny them the ongoing development of academic Spanish they would later need to achieve success on the BTLPT in order to become bilingual teachers. Viewed through the lens of this process, the BTLPT could be considered an assessment for bilingual teachers delivered through monolingual means: Bilingual children in Texas undergo processes in school that remove opportunities for Spanish language development and frame English as the primary goal for attainment. Later, on a path to becoming bilingual teachers, the same bilingual individuals must pass a monolingual Spanish exam designed for people who have had years of academic Spanish language development. While at best this scenario may be unfair, at worst it may be denying many bilingual teachers the opportunity to become educators in Texas (Arroyo-Romano, 2016; Petróñ & Berg, 2021). Ultimately, it is a cycle that contributes to a shortage of bilingual teachers in a state where they are most needed and consequently denies bilingual children the opportunity to receive an education from bilingual educators prepared to teach in Texas classrooms.

Implications

The findings indicated in this analysis hold implications at multiple levels. In exploring the path towards bilingual teacher certification in the borderland, it is important to first consider the opportunities provided for multilingual learners in K-12 schools for Spanish language development. In recent years, progress has been made in providing dual language programs as one means of helping students maintain and develop Spanish spoken at home. However,

bilingual teachers require the development of more content-specific discourses in Spanish that are developed later in math, science, social studies, literature, and writing courses during middle and high school. It is therefore important that secondary dual language programs are supported and continually improved in order to grow the group of potential bilingual teachers in borderland schools that are prepared to teach in Spanish and English. Such support is not only a different approach to the monolingual “success” stories experienced by the participants in this study, but it is vital to addressing the shortage of bilingual teachers in the borderland and beyond.

At the level of teacher preparation, helping PSTs learn about assessments like the BTLPT and take a critical approach to them can be important steps to helping break the monoglossic cycle that can ultimately discourage many from pursuing careers as bilingual teachers. By walking PSTs through a cycle of historicizing their own experiences with language, interrogating the power behind decisions and frameworks at work in bilingual education, and engaging in praxis with a goal of effecting change in larger systems, teacher educators can help to change the narrative for many prospective bilingual teachers (Palmer et al., 2019; see also Chapter 4). Admirably, this work is already underway at Del Valle University, as the Teacher Education Department has added coursework in Spanish for PSTs seeking bilingual certification and continues to refine courses to more explicitly include a critical perspective that helps PSTs develop ideological clarity during their time in the program. Additionally, instructors have begun to offer seminars to help students specifically prepare for the BTLPT, from a content and language perspective as well as in viewing the assessment through a critical lens. Finally, it is essential for policymakers to be aware of the language ideologies that ultimately affect the decisions of bilingual individuals to pursue (or not to pursue) certification as bilingual teachers. State-level bilingual education policy should encourage dual language programs to

continue at the middle and high school levels in order to provide further opportunities for multilingual students to develop skills in content-area Spanish. Additionally, teacher educators who consult with policymakers can provide important suggestions related to future revisions of language assessments like the BTLPT, as such assessments directly affect the future of bilingual teachers and students in our classrooms.

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CHAPTER 4: CENTERING PRACTICES AND LIBROS ACOMPAÑANTES: PEDAGOGIES FOR DEVELOPING IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY

For many teacher education programs, preparing teacher candidates for today's diverse classrooms means following research-based best practices, such as programmatic coherence, content knowledge, an emphasis on practice, and analysis and self-reflection (Darling-Hammond & Oakes, 2019; Darling-Hammond et al., 2005; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Hernández Sheets et al., 2010). Other programs place further emphasis on preparing preservice teachers (PSTs) for teaching multilingual learners, such as engaging in discussions of second language acquisition, teaching specific pedagogies for multilingual learners¹⁰, and providing opportunities for hands-on practice in linguistically diverse classrooms (De Jong & Harper, 2011; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Villegas et al., 2018). While it often receives less attention in teacher education, a need also exists to help prepare teacher candidates to understand deeply and think critically about social ideas about language, or *language ideologies*. Literature surrounding language ideologies in educational contexts has expanded in recent decades, but fewer studies focus on the language ideologies that circulate within and develop through teacher education programs. Published work suggests the integral role that the development of *ideological clarity* plays in teacher education (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Lucas & Villegas, 2013), particularly as teachers encounter increasing numbers of multilingual learners in their classrooms. Scholars define

¹⁰ In an effort to move the focus away from students' "need" to learn English and towards an asset-based view of bilingualism, scholarly literature has replaced the English Language Learner (ELL) label with emergent bilingual in recent work. While perhaps a better representation than earlier labels given to students who find themselves in the language learning process, the term "emergent" implies that an ending or point of defined proficiency also exists on the multilingual continuum (Martínez, 2018). Due to the hybrid and dynamic linguistic context of the borderlands in which this study took place and in which my own multilingualism has developed, I make the active decision to use *multilingual* instead of *emergent bilingual* to describe individuals who use or are learning more than one language. I will, however, use *emergent bilingual* when referring to literature or pedagogical practices that describe multilingual individuals in this way.

ideological clarity as an ongoing process through which individuals can critically consider their ideological orientations as well as dominant ideologies that favor those in power, with an aim of becoming critically conscious agents of change through such a process (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bartolomé, 2002). Through intentionally constructed conversations surrounding language ideologies in teacher preparation programs, PSTs are more likely to develop an agentic approach and interrogate hegemonic ideologies present in the schools in which they eventually teach (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Feiman-Nemser, 2001). Beyond theoretical notions of conversation and reflection, however, studies surrounding pedagogical practices related to the development of ideological clarity in teacher education programs are few (Briceño & Zoeller, 2022; Expósito & Favela, 2003; Nuñez & Espinoza, 2019; Pacheco et al., 2019; Varghese & Snyder, 2018; Woodard & Rao, 2020).

This paper forms part of a larger study examining the development of ideological clarity among PSTs at a teacher education program in a city on the U.S.-Mexico. The context of the study played an important role in data analysis due to the hybrid language practices common to the area as well as the fluid and complex nature of life on the border (Vila, 1999, 2005). This paper focuses on a group of 6 PSTs and their instructor during a semester-long introductory bilingual education (BED) course in the teacher education program. The instructor made numerous pedagogical moves during the course that contributed to the process of ideological development. In this paper, I will focus on two of these pedagogies: the centering practices and *libros acompañantes*.¹¹ Through examining the ways these pedagogies were used and were useful in the BED course, I hope to suggest a means by which teacher education programs can make a

¹¹ I have chosen to portray all features of language in this article without the use of italics in an effort to both take up a translanguaging stance and also to demonstrate the variety of hybrid ways in which participants used language during this study.

shift towards coursework that includes actionable pedagogies to maintain ideological clarity as a goal.

I begin by describing the theoretical frameworks I use to frame the study. I then examine relevant literature related to the development of ideological clarity in teacher education programs. I continue with a description of the methodology of the study, followed by a description of the findings. The article closes with a discussion of conclusions and implications, including the ways that the findings of this analysis may be useful in bilingual teacher education, particularly in the context of borderland cities such as the context of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Language Ideology Theory

Language ideologies are systems of beliefs about languages and those who use languages in different ways and contexts. They can also be understood as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). It is important to note that language ideologies are never only about language. To the contrary, they construct connections between language and identity, nationality, race, values, and social systems, and by definition they are complex, varying, and multiple (Farr & Song, 2011; Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994). In this way, while language ideologies are often viewed as beliefs about language as well as about the users of language, it is important to also understand the complex ways in which these beliefs intersect with and can also appear at odds with the ways that groups of people use language in their social contexts. Henderson and Palmer (2015) note that language ideologies are less about beliefs as a noun and more about the active ways these beliefs are evident in practice. That is, we connect our beliefs about language to the social contexts in which we operate and act upon these

connections, constructing and reconstructing language ideologies that circulate among a variety of social groups.

Ideological Clarity

Recent calls for improvement in teacher education have pointed to the importance of leading PSTs towards *linguistic ideological clarity* as a means of better preparing them to challenge the dominant ideologies they will encounter in schools. Ideological clarity can be understood as an ongoing process through which individuals can critically consider their ideological orientations as well as dominant ideologies that favor those in power, with an aim of becoming agents of change through such a process (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bartolomé, 2002). Bartolomé (2002) explains ideological clarity in the following manner:

Ideological clarity requires that teachers' individual explanations be continually compared and contrasted with those propagated by the dominant society. It is to be hoped that the juxtaposing of ideologies forces teachers to better understand if, when, and how their belief systems uncritically reflect those of the dominant society and support unfair and inequitable conditions. (p. 168)

Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) have also defined this concept, indicating an “urgent need to help mainstream teachers develop ideological clarity that will enable them to interrogate their own deficit views of low-SES emergent bilinguals, and of the nonstandard languages they bring to the classroom” (p. 11-12). As teachers are tasked with educating increasingly diverse groups of students each year, this need appears to grow more urgent, particularly in a social and political landscape that often does not appear to favor such a critical stance.

Importantly, Alfaro (2019) considers ideological clarity as part of the process of development of critical consciousness, which others have indicated is a key to creating equitable

learning spaces in bilingual education programs (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019; Valenzuela, 2016). Alfaro (2019) considers critically conscious teachers to be those who take an agentive stand against the injustices that are prevalent in schools, noting that teachers undergo constant stages of development of critical consciousness as they face varying challenges and inequities throughout their careers. For bilingual education teachers in particular, ideological clarity serves as a “framework of thought” (Alfaro, 2019, p. 195) as well as a guide in the process of development of critical consciousness.

Literature Review

Developing Ideological Clarity

Preparing teachers for linguistically diverse student populations is a deeper task than adding second language acquisition and pedagogical tips for multilingual learners to teacher education course syllabi. Recent research points to the importance of helping teachers develop ideological clarity before entering classrooms (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Lucas & Villegas; 2013). It is common for PSTs to arrive at teacher education programs without ever having had opportunities to reflect on or critically question the language ideologies that have informed their thinking for years (Alfaro, 2018). Because language ideologies exist in the unconscious, however, it can be difficult to provide tangible opportunities for such a process. In the following sections I will review the limited studies that have examined this idea in practice.

Instruction and Analysis of Language Variants and Usage

As PSTs prepare to take on the responsibilities of teaching students from a variety of linguistic backgrounds, they must also be aware of the language ideologies circulating in the school contexts into which they will soon enter. Studies suggest that intentional discussion surrounding beliefs about language that PSTs carry with them upon arrival at teacher education

programs can be key to helping them interrogate and change course from the dominant ideologies they will encounter upon entering school buildings (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Feiman-Nemser, 2001). For example, Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) note the importance of instructing PSTs in the area of nonstandard language variations. The authors discuss the dominant, hegemonic ideologies surrounding these variants that PSTs must understand as well as the importance of helping PSTs to interrogate their own deficit views of nonstandard language use. Such discussions also lead to instruction on translanguaging theory and pedagogies, which are key for PSTs as they work towards a fuller understanding of multilingual practices in their future classrooms.

Additionally, a few key studies have shown that field experiences that help PSTs see and understand language ideologies in action coupled with guided analysis and reflection about these experiences can be important in helping them develop ideological clarity during their time enrolled in teacher education programs (Nuñez & Espinoza, 2019; Pacheco et al., 2019; Varghese & Snyder, 2018; Woodard & Rao, 2020). In a case study along these lines, Nuñez and Espinoza (2019) explored the ways that the language ideologies that were evident among a group of bilingual PSTs influenced their practices during their internship. The authors found that, when PSTs were placed with teachers who demonstrated supportive language ideologies and practices in their bilingual classrooms, the PSTs were inclined to adopt such ideologies and practices as their own. Some of these included translanguaging pedagogies, the use of Spanish and English for instructional purposes, the use of biliteracy pedagogies, allowing students flexibility in language use, and selecting instructional materials that were culturally and linguistically relevant for students. Other participants in the study found themselves at odds with cooperating teachers who enacted more subtractive language ideologies. These PSTs often found themselves in an

agentive position as a means of supporting students' linguistic needs through the practices listed above. The findings of this study are consistent with those of other studies, which point to the ways that the ways that PSTs act upon their articulated ideologies of language may be impacted by the experiences they have in field placements (Varghese & Snyder, 2018; Woodard & Rao, 2020). Due to the weight of these influences, it is recommended that teacher education programs work hard to ensure that field placements form part of the ideological development of PSTs. Additionally, it is important to recognize the key role that school districts play in cooperation with teacher education programs in preparing cooperating teachers for the myriad aspects of internships for which they must be prepared (Nuñez & Espinoza, 2019).

Opportunities to Interrogate Personal Experiences

Much of the literature surrounding ideological clarity focuses on the need for PSTs to have opportunities to interrogate, or critically question, their own beliefs about language. Several authors comment on the fact that teacher candidates often ascribe to dominant ideologies that reflect the deficit views that are common in many spheres of society (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Villegas et al., 2018). An important step in developing ideological clarity is critically examining these deficit views and working to change them. Still, a more detailed description of pedagogical possibilities is necessary for teacher education programs moving towards implementing such an approach.

In one example of a study describing specific pedagogies for the development of ideological clarity, Expósito and Favela (2003) participated in an ethnographic study with teacher interns in California. The interns began the process by sharing their personal story of development, how they grew up, why they decided to enter the field of education, and how their experiences may impact their interactions with students. During the school year, interns chose

and followed the progress of five students in their classrooms who were culturally or linguistically different from themselves, analyzing their academic and linguistic progress as well as participating in home visits and various school events. The interns continued the study by delving into the history of the community, state and national policies, and the broader social and political context that affected education in the area. The study concluded with closing reflective statements from interns related to their emerging philosophies. While the breadth and depth of this study may be difficult to carry to scale at a full teacher education program, the components of this process that were successful in producing ideological reflection in the cohort of PST participants provide helpful insight for further study.

Due to the specific borderland context of the current study, it is helpful to consider research that has been conducted on the border as well. For example, Ostorga and Farrugio (2020) conducted research with teacher candidates in the Río Grande Valley of Texas. As part of this study, PSTs spent time during their field experiences reflecting on connections between the hegemonic language practices they experienced in bilingual education programs as children and those that were still evident in classrooms today. Conversations during focus groups and online discussion forums revealed feelings of inadequacy due to PSTs having lost much Spanish ability in subtractive bilingual programs as children, a critical analysis and questioning of their own experiences with language in school, and conversations about the contradictions that were evident between additive views of bilingualism in the teacher education program and ideologies that still circulated in schools. These dialogues helped PSTs to both utilize their own experiences as a knowledge base and also to develop a critical stance that would help them feel confident as agents of change in their own future classrooms.

Intentional Use of Critical Multilingual Texts

Research has shown that the use of critical multilingual texts in K-12 bilingual education settings can be helpful in creating equitable environments for multilingual learners and fomenting spaces of critical consciousness in classrooms (España & Herrera, 2020; Espinoza & Ascenzi-Moreno, 2021). The incorporation of such texts in teacher education programs has also been shown to be effective in preparing PSTs for their future classrooms. España and Herrera (2020) have proposed a critical biliteracies approach that focuses on centering “bilingual Latinx students’ knowledge and ways of being” (p. 17). This approach is guided by four overarching principles: constant self-reflection of language ideologies through engagement with critical multilingual texts; practice of “unlearning” ideas of linguistic supremacy; analyze linguistic practices by understanding notions of power in texts; and celebrate multilingual practices by establishing translanguaging as the norm.

In a case study incorporating a critical biliteracies lens with PSTs in a teacher residency program, Herrera (2022) saw participants grow in their understandings of translanguaging as they reflected on and embraced their bilingualism. As PSTs made their way through the critical biliteracy cycle described in the four overarching principles above, they also expressed a desire to stand up to restrictive school district language policies experienced during their teacher residency program. These findings are consistent with other studies in which a critical approach to biliteracy partnered with reflection on PSTs’ own understandings of their experiences with language was used to motivate a process of reconstruction and shifting ideological stances (Briceño & Zoeller, 2022; Brochin Ceballos, 2012; Hill et al., 2020; Nuñez et al., 2021).

Much of the work discussed above references a variety of means by which translanguaging practices and pedagogies can play an integral role in the process of developing ideological clarity. Some have also critiqued the use of translanguaging pedagogies, noting that

they may unintentionally promote the hegemonic ideologies they are meant to undo. Guerrero (2023) notes that a lack of curricular materials in the non-dominant classroom language may force translanguaging pedagogies that favor English. From a theoretical perspective, MacSwan (2017) warns against a pendulum swing that would create a translanguaging stance free of the concept of any named languages, as such a proposition would also do away with the need for bilingual education programs. Instead, MacSwan (2017) proposes a “multilingual perspective” (p. 191) which accounts for the dynamic language practices of multilingual individuals described by translanguaging theory and the pedagogical advances provided by translanguaging (García, 2009). Teacher educators who provide space for translanguaging in developing ideological clarity will need to allow PSTs to consider these multiple perspectives as they form their own theoretical conceptualization of translanguaging. Additionally, teacher educators may consider Guerrero’s (2023) argument as they choose materials in English and other languages for coursework, and also as a motivation for writing future material in non-dominant languages as a means of increasing material available for use coursework.

As is evident from the literature explored here, specific and practical opportunities in teacher education programs that guide PSTs in a process of developing ideological clarity are possible. From the perspective of teacher educators, however, such pedagogies may be difficult to define in a manner that moves beyond the theoretical and towards the practical. In this analysis, I will describe two pedagogies used by a borderland teacher educator that were not only tangible, but key to the process of ideological development for bilingual teacher candidates in his course.

Methods

This article forms part of a larger qualitative case study exploring the development of linguistic ideological clarity among preservice teachers at a border city HSI. Specifically, this portion of the study was guided by the following question: What opportunities do PSTs have for to develop ideological clarity in the teacher preparation program?

Purposive sampling was used to select 11 participants for the study. Six participants were preservice teachers (PSTs) enrolled in one section of an introductory bilingual education (BED) course at Del Valle University¹². The instructor of this course was also considered a participant of the study. Additionally, four participants were enrolled in their final semester of the teacher residency program at Del Valle. This analysis focuses on the PSTs enrolled in the BED course and their instructor as. Paris (2011) discusses the importance of humanizing research through building caring relationships between researchers and participants. I was able to build relationships with the BED participants in particular due to the number of hours I spent in class with them. Through our time and interactions in class together, participants (and other members of the course) asked me for help and advice regarding course content, future teaching jobs, current work as substitute teachers, and raising their children bilingually. Additionally, part of the methodology of this study included providing PSTs with a gift card as form of reciprocity for their participation in the study. In this way, I sought to convey value for the time participants gave to the study as well as build reciprocal relationships with each of them.

Data for this study were collected via multiple sources in seeking an in-depth understanding of the case under consideration (Creswell, 2013). I conducted thirty hours of observations in the BED course over the course of five months, which were video- and audio-recorded for later analysis. I kept detailed field notes during observations aimed at being both

¹² All names of people and institutions are pseudonyms, with the exception of two participants whose real names are used with permission because of their importance to their stories.

descriptive and reflective of ideas about language in use within the research setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Each of the 11 participants took part in two semi-structured interviews lasting between 40 and 70 minutes. These interviews focused on PSTs' experiences with language use and learning, their understandings of bilingualism, and how their ideas about language have developed over the course of the semester/program and during their field experiences/residency. Participants completed a linguistic timeline, describing their personal experiences with language learning. They answered questions about language learning at home and at school growing up, as well as questions about their interactions with language during the teacher education program. Later interviews focused on their work with students during field experiences. All interviews were audio-recorded for the purpose of later transcription and data review. I collected artifacts over the course of the semester as well, to include 92 samples of student work from the BED course as well as articles, book chapters, videos, podcasts, and images used in course instruction.

In the case of participants' responses in Spanish, I have completed all translations to English when necessary. In many cases, a translation directly to English does not demonstrate the fluid use of the entire linguistic repertoire as it was employed in the original version. Additionally, I have chosen to leave participants' own use of Spanish and English intact with regards to grammar, spelling, vocabulary, etc. I have done this out of respect for their linguistic identities and the stories they have to tell through the language that is theirs. In just a few instances, I have added a clarifying word in parenthesis when the original did not convey the meaning intended by the participants.

In order to increase the validity of findings, I have conducted member checks with participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I asked participants to review my English translations of their written and oral responses provided in Spanish to ensure that I maintained their intended

meaning. I also checked in with participants at a few points during data analysis, and all participants reviewed a final draft of this paper.

My role as a researcher in the BED course can be described as that of a participant observer (Creswell, 2013). Because I was present for and actively participated in all class meetings, I was able to get to know the PST participants beyond their answers to interview questions and files submitted for class credit. The classroom was set up so that PSTs sat at round tables in groups of four, and I included myself in these table groups each week, participating in small group and class discussions and activities along with the PSTs. I believe that PSTs viewed me as both a fellow student and as an experienced educator, as I at times offered advice gained through my years of experience in elementary dual language classrooms. This level of involvement helped me gain a sense of the culture of the class and aided in my process of data analysis.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an inductive and recursive process (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), and data was analyzed throughout all stages of the study. I transcribed all interviews, audio recordings of student work, and key sections of observation video recordings. I then performed multiple rounds of open and focused coding on all transcriptions, observational field notes, and student work samples (Saldaña, 2016). The use of NVivo software helped me to create, break apart, and recreate categories for codes related to linguistic ideological development in the teacher education program. Saldaña's (2016) method of moving from codes to categories to themes was helpful in conceptualizing the overarching ideas of *libros acompañantes* and *centering practices*. Throughout the study, a process of memo-writing was helpful in reflecting on emerging themes

as well as in revising my focus for upcoming observations and interviews (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Positionality

My interest in this study has developed out of the combined experiences of my career as a dual language teacher in a border city, my studies of language ideologies and teacher education within my Ph.D. program, and raising my own bilingual and bicultural children while living life in between the border cities of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. I am a white, non-Hispanic woman who grew up speaking only English until my teenage years. My development of Spanish was, and continues to be, a long process, beginning with foreign language classes in high school, stretching into non-profit work on the border after college, and continuing through my adult life in which two languages and cultures are equally influential. When I began my Ph.D. studies, I was working as a 4th grade dual language teacher. As an educator who was highly invested in dual language in my school and larger borderland community, I was seeking further learning to enhance my own practice as well as to eventually become involved in teaching future dual language educators. I recall early emotions of enthrallment during my initial coursework as I became immersed in concepts that were new to me, but these feelings quickly shifted to wondering why current research on ideas like translanguaging and critical consciousness were not making their way into the hands of classroom teachers like myself. The need to bring theory into practice suddenly became a real idea for me.

It is my hope that this analysis is a “theory into practice” work for teacher educators. Through the pedagogies I describe in this article, I was able to observe the ways that theory became practical for the PSTs enrolled in the introductory BED course. While I have now lived half a lifetime on the border, feel comfortable communicating in English and Spanish, and have

married into a Mexican family, I still identify as a white woman, a U.S. citizen, and a person who spoke only English for the first 15 years of my life. I am also a relative newcomer to teacher education. These factors cause me to wrestle with the question of “Who am I to tell this story?” They are identifiers that help me to benefit from the same dominating ideologies that I hope to expose and reverse through my research. Through this study, I feel hopeful that I might illuminate the stories of bilingual teachers on the border as a means of informing policy and practice in teacher education and certification. My time spent with the participants in this project has forever changed how I understand education, language, and life on the U.S.-Mexico border.

Context of the Study

The U.S.-Mexico border spans almost 2,000 miles, cutting through sprawling cities and vast deserts. It is defined in some places by ominous metal barriers, in others by the Río Grande (known on the Mexican side as the Río Bravo), and in some areas only by the tire marks left by the SUVs belonging to the migras (U.S. Customs and Border Patrol). It joins the Pacific Ocean and the Golfo de México while dividing four U.S. states and six estados mexicanos. Writers have theorized about the border for generations, describing the interdependent and fluid nature of the space as hybrid and also fractured (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012), a crossroads of unpredictability and transition (Masta, 2021). On my weekly drive down the interstate to perform observations for this study, Del Valle University sat at the exit to my left while Ciudad Frontera, the neighboring Mexican border city, sprawled directly to my right. It felt as if I was driving through both at the same time, and this connected nature of the two cities permeates areas of life ranging from work to school, social circles to family gatherings, and everything in between.

Del Valle University is designated as a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI), an institution for whom total enrollment is at least 25% Hispanic (Hispanic Association of Colleges and

Universities, 2022). This percentage is much higher at Del Valle, with 84% of students identifying as Hispanic or Latino. Additionally, a considerable number of students are considered transfronterizx, as they spend a portion of their time in México and a portion in the U.S., crossing the international bridge between Ciudad Frontera and Border City, Texas, in order to attend school in the U.S. This distinctive binational identity plays a key role in many aspects of the university's day-to-day activities. The College of Education at the university holds an important place in the overall educational landscape of Border City, providing approximately 70% of the city's classroom teachers upon graduation from the program. This phenomenon aligns with what studies have pointed out: school districts in border cities often employ a majority of Latinx teachers working in the same schools they attended as children (Sloat et al., 2007). Due to high numbers of economically disadvantaged students and English Learners (ELs)¹³, studies show that border city schools often resort to skills-based instruction to help students pass required standardized tests (Ocasio, 2014; Ostorga et al., 2020; Ostorga & Farrugio, 2014). Teachers in borderland schools report experiencing hegemonic language practices in school as children in such environments, which have had an impact on the ways they currently understand and practice their own bilingualism within the context of border city schools (Ek et al., 2013; Smith & Murillo, 2013; Venegas et al., 2020).

At Del Valle, undergraduate students in the College of Education can choose to pursue elementary certification with an ESL or bilingual endorsement, middle grades (4-8) content-specific certification with ESL or bilingual endorsement, or secondary content-specific certifications. A special education certification is also available for grades EC-12. Students

¹³ The term English language learner (ELL, or also EL) appears in federal law as a means of classifying students who qualify for bilingual education services. More recent literature has begun to reject this terminology due to its focus on students' need to learn English while enrolled in school. In this paper, I will use the term EL when referring to official classification according to federal records.

typically take their required core courses during their first semesters and begin taking courses in the College of Education around the end of their second year of enrollment. The BED course that I observed for this study is typically the first course that many students take in the College of Education, and this was the case for all participants in the study.

This study was conducted during the first semester that the introductory BED course was listed as having a separate section taught in Spanish at Del Valle University. Instructors of this course and others have used varying language policies and practices accommodating the use of English and Spanish in the past, but this semester was the first time that an official section to be taught in Spanish was advertised to PSTs seeking bilingual certification. Bilingual teacher candidates have historically taken two courses in Spanish during their time in the program, but the change to teaching this course in Spanish is a step towards providing more opportunities for PSTs to prepare linguistically for their careers as bilingual teachers. Dr. Wilson, the instructor of the BED course, explained this in an interview: “There’s a real push to offer more courses in Spanish to undergrads... This is like our realization that our preservice bilingual teachers need more opportunities to interact with bilingual pedagogies or translanguaging pedagogies in their coursework” (Dr. Wilson, Interview 1, 01/31/2023). As with all new programmatic shifts, Dr. Wilson acknowledged that teaching the course in Spanish was a work in progress, but he felt it was progress in a positive direction. This semester, due to a number of students enrolled not seeking bilingual certification, he had made the decision to teach using translanguaging pedagogies in order be inclusive of all students. Course readings, materials, and PowerPoint slides were in English, while Dr. Wilson steered discussions towards Spanish as much as possible. He encouraged students to participate in class in whatever language(s) they felt

comfortable. Students seeking bilingual certification were asked to turn in written work in Spanish, and others could use whatever language(s) they chose for written work.

The PST participants in this study follow many of the patterns common to the literature mentioned above. They were born and raised in Border City and planned to remain there as they began their teaching careers. They told stories of family immigration from Mexico and of continued ties to both sides of the border, including important themes of resilience and agency as they navigated a new educational system, language, and cultural practices. Their narratives also revealed the highly complex nature of the border, defined by an identity-building process tied to physical movement, hybrid language practices, and multiplicities specific to this region (Vila, 1999, 2005). Table 1 provides basic demographic information about each of the participants in the study.

Table 1

Study Participants

Participant Name	Age	Gender	Originally From	Language of Comfort ¹⁴
Cintia	21	Female	Border City	English
Diana	22	Female	Border City	English & Spanish
Leila	21	Female	Ciudad Frontera, México	Spanish
Lluvia	24	Female	Border City	English & Spanish
Meredith	22	Female	Border City	English
Olivia	28	Female	Border City	English

¹⁴ Due to the nature of language use among multilingual individuals and of language on the border, the constructs of “first language” and “second language” are often difficult to define. All participants use English and Spanish in both oral and written form, and they all demonstrated an array of hybrid language practices at different points in the study. I asked them to help me define their language of comfort for the purpose of this table to help the reader get to know them better; this is meant to represent the language(s) in which they feel most comfortable communicating in most situations.

Dr. Wilson	51	Male	Pennsylvania	English
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Findings

The larger theme of this study involved seeking an understanding of the process of developing linguistic ideological clarity among PSTs at a border city HSI. Earlier papers analyzing data that emerged from the study discussed the ways that participants reconceptualized their own bilingualism through their time spent in the teacher education program as well as the ways that the concept of *success* was defined for PSTs through monoglossic understandings of their Spanish and English. This paper will focus on two pedagogical moves implemented by the instructor of an introductory BED course that contributed to the development of ideological clarity over the period of a semester.

Defining the Centering Practices and Libros Acompañantes

I met with Dr. Wilson a few weeks before his introductory bilingual education course began in order to introduce the idea of my study, discuss options for recruiting participants, and gain an overall understanding for how the course was set up. In this meeting, he let me know that the first class session would focus on introductions to one another and to the course itself and also to gaining an understanding of what he called the *centering practices* that would be used to guide the thinking during the semester. I recall wondering at that time what a centering practice might be, but after spending the semester participating in all class meetings and activities alongside students, I was able to observe and understand the value these practices held in the process of developing ideological clarity for students enrolled in the course. The centering practices, as defined and described below, were used to anchor the learning that took place

throughout the semester, helping PSTs ground their new understandings of bilingualism and bilingual education in a cycle of practice that was reflective, critical, and action-oriented.

Dr. Wilson spent the first hour and a half of a three-hour class meeting helping students understand the definitions of the centering practices and to practice using them, and they were subsequently woven throughout material for the remainder of the semester. He introduced the centering practices as a way of grounding content and discussions in the course and helping to provide a critical focus to the work of the semester. The PSTs and I later learned that the three centering practices we would use during the course had been derived from Dr. Wilson's work in proposing critical consciousness as a fourth goal of dual language education (Palmer et al., 2019). More recent work has come to view critical consciousness as the very foundation of dual language education (Dorner et al., 2022). The first week's PowerPoint presentation defined the practices in this manner:

Historicize: Historicize the identities and experiences of multilingual students in the US by critically examining historical processes and moments that talk(ed) about these same students as LEP (Limited-English proficient), ELs (English Learner), EBs (Emergent Bilingual). How do these labels position multilingual students? Historicize your own experiences!!!

Interrogate power: Interrogate language policies, historical events, theoretical perspectives, and practices that impact emergent bilinguals and their communities. Who decides? Whose bi/multilingualism has value? Interrogate your own experiences!!!

Praxis: Engage in critical individual and collective reflection about the course materials alongside aiming to move that reflection into practice as part of the service learning

experience. Reflect on your learnings in the course (theory) and put them into practice (action). (BED Week 1 PowerPoint)

As PSTs historicized bilingual education in the U.S., they learned about the social and political struggles that have led to current policies and programs such as ESL, transitional bilingual, and dual language education programs. They also historicized their own experiences, considering the ways they learned languages in school and how these interacted with and represented overarching ideologies of monolingualism and linguistic purism. They interrogated power by critically questioning the theoretical perspectives, historical events, and pedagogical examples that were considered in class as well as re-examining their own linguistic histories under a critical lens. Finally, they engaged in praxis by working to apply their reflections in practice through lesson planning and working with students in an actual classroom experience. As part of a cycle of critical consciousness (Dorner et al., 2022; Palmer et al., 2019), these centering practices were also involved in the process of developing linguistic ideological clarity, which Alfaro (2019) argues is intrinsically tied to critical consciousness as an anchor and way of thinking.

In conjunction with the centering practices, Dr. Wilson used *libros acompañantes* during many of the weeks of the course to serve as a platform for discussion, to help PSTs analyze course content, and to build a repertoire of content for PSTs' future classrooms. Dr. Wilson used the following definition to help students understand the function of *libros acompañantes* in a classroom: "Libros acompañantes are books that acompañan the identities, realities, and experiences of Latinx emergent/racialized bilinguals and are an essential element/action in co-constructing humanizing espacios that leverage their linguistic genius" (Heiman et al., forthcoming) (Week 2 PowerPoint). The concept of using *libros acompañantes* grew out of Dr.

Wilson's own research in *acompañamiento*, or walking alongside. These are texts that go beyond centering students' language practices to also walk with alongside minoritized students from often marginalized communities (Flores & Chaparro, 2018). As a pedagogical tool to use with preservice teachers, Dr. Wilson expressed the following: "Libros acompañantes are incorporated into my courses with *futurxs maestrxs bilingües* to make connections to the content under study and as libros they can incorporate into their future DLBE classrooms" (Heiman et al., forthcoming). Instead of a surface-level look at multicultural books, Dr. Wilson uses the texts to explore themes such as inequities, gentrification of dual language education, immigration, and connection to community, among others.

Most weeks during the course, Dr. Wilson read a *libro acompañante* aloud to the students, and a few weeks he provided a recorded reading of a *libro* for them to watch at home. Many of the books used during the course were written in a translinguaging style, including language in both Spanish and English. Those written in this style also tended to discuss themes that were relatable to students attending school in Border City, such as an immigration story, crossing the border for weekend errands, and comparing life in Mexico and the U.S. for two young cousins. Others were aimed at helping students gain a wider understanding of life outside the borderlands, such as *A Different Pond* (Phi, 2017), the story of a boy and his father fishing to feed the family after immigrating to the U.S. from Vietnam. In addition to their content, PSTs discussed ways they could use the *libros acompañantes* in future classrooms as a pedagogical tool for uplifting the linguistic and cultural practices of their students.

In the following sections, I will examine the ways the centering practices and *libros acompañantes* were involved in the process of developing ideological clarity over the course of the semester. Through intentional application of these two pedagogical tools, PSTs had

opportunities to notice and name language ideologies that were evident in the history of bilingual education, in their own linguistic histories, in curricular materials, and in classrooms they visited. They were then able to move towards reflecting on the ideologies they had named and applying new understandings to a variety of situations. These stages of noticing, naming, reflecting, and applying were not linear, but rather overlapping and cyclical, and they are best considered through examples such as those I will describe below.

First Class Meeting: Gaining an Initial Understanding of the Centering Practices

Before the first class session, Dr. Wilson sent an email greeting to students to welcome them to the course. Included in his email were two short assignments to read before arriving at class the following week. One of these was “A Brief Look at the History of Bilingual Education in the United States” (Barbian et al., 2017), a two-page account spanning colonialism to the present meant to give students an overview of some historical components that would be covered during the semester. The other, “Colonizing Wild Tongues” (Torres Goitia, 2017), was a first-person account written by a Latina educator describing the colonizing experience of learning English in school. During the first class meeting, students were initially hesitant to participate in a discussion surrounding these readings, perhaps due to it being the first day or possibly due to it being their first university course conducted mostly in Spanish. The content of these readings was also critical in nature, which could have been an approach that was different from what most students were used to taking during coursework. Dr. Wilson began to ask for examples from the Torres Goitia (2017) piece that showed the author historicizing her experiences, interrogating the power around her, and entering into a cycle of praxis. In small groups and as a class, students began to find examples such as the following: Historicizing was evident when the author told the story of arriving at school and addressing her teacher in “proper” Spanish, only to be

reprimanded for not using English. The author interrogated power by questioning the privilege that accompanies having been colonized. A cycle of praxis was evident as she resisted the inner battle that had caused her to forget some of her native Spanish and allowed herself to use her whole linguistic repertoire to express her identity.

Next, Dr. Wilson asked students for any personal connections they could make to the article, and the conversation grew quite lively. In contrast with the quieter previous discussion, hands began to raise around the room, murmuring rose at each table, and students nodded and voiced agreement with one another as they shared their own connections to the article. Cintia shared an example of how she could connect by using the centering practice of historicizing:

Cintia says she connects because as a child and even now she has had to go back and forth between English and Spanish. She feels she needs both to fully make meaning and be understood. In 5th grade, she had a teacher scold her for speaking Spanish, when this language felt like her more dominant language, and since then she has begun to depend more on English. She is currently taking a university class in Ciudad Frontera as well, and last week when she introduced herself, the professor laughed and called her a pocha.

(Field Notes, 01/23/23)

Pocha/o is a term often used to refer to individuals of Mexican origin living in the U.S. who are thought to speak a non-standard form of Spanish. They are therefore labeled as “less than”: less Mexican, less educated, and less proficient in what “should” be their heritage language and culture (Fallas-Escobar, 2023; Valenzuela, 2004). Cintia’s story sparked chatter at every table in the room, as other students began to reminisce about similar experiences and even when someone asked what she meant by pocha. The interchanges drew visibly emotional responses

from multiple students, as they grimaced, shook their heads, or exclaimed “No!” when she arrived at the pocha portion of the story.

Through the process of historicizing Cintia’s experiences while connecting them to the materials read in preparation for class, PSTs began to recognize language ideologies in their own histories and the history of bilingual education that ascribe power to standardized English (“she had a teacher scold her for speaking Spanish”) and at times to standardized Spanish as well (“called her a pocha”). Such recognitions were particularly important in contextualizing their experiences to the borderland in which all of them had grown up, where bilingualism and hybrid language practices are the norm. This initial process of noticing and naming ideologies through historicizing is important as PSTs begin to recognize the ideas that circulate in society and particularly in schools. Darder (2012) notes that since schools play a major role in producing and reproducing ideologies, they must also be seen as spaces where this cycle of reproduction can be interrupted through critical praxis. Noticing and naming dominant ideologies through historicizing thus became a key first step in the development of ideological clarity (Alfaro, 2018).

Other students in the class shared similar experiences with Cintia. As the conversation continued with connections to the article through historicizing, Lluvia shared that she could relate to the article due through the following memory:

Lluvia told the story that growing up, teachers had a hard time saying her name because of the ll sound. Some would pronounce it like a hard J in English, others would think it was an L sound (“because there’s no LL in English, you know?”). One teacher asked what her middle name was to try to call her that, but she said that was even harder, so this teacher just invented a whole different name for her. (Field Notes, 01/23/23)

Lluvia later shared with me that she had often had acquaintances and teachers who could not pronounce her name, which surprised me due to the name being common amongst the majority Latinx population in Border City where she had grown up. Lluvia is also the Spanish word for rain and is thus easily recognizable amongst a population in which a high number of people are bilingual or have some familiarity with words in Spanish. Lluvia's experience is unfortunately not unique, as previous work has shed light on the ways that students of color experience the mispronunciation of their names as cultural and racial microaggressions (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Marrun, 2018). Through her story, PSTs recognized assimilationist ideologies that also connected to the process of identity-building.

This type of historicizing was an important introduction to the course, as PSTs had an opportunity to learn about how their own linguistic histories connect with the history of bilingual education in the U.S. and began to identify dominant ideologies that have played a role in these histories. Dr. Wilson began this class session by having students discuss what they had read about the history of bilingual education in the U.S. and one Latina educator's experiences growing up as a bilingual person amongst monoglossic ideologies in school. They then moved to historicizing their own, similar experiences by connecting them to what they had read, noticing the dominant ideologies that had many times positioned them as inferior during their K-12 school years. Pedagogical moves such as using historicizing in this way can be important steps in the ongoing process of developing ideological clarity (Alfaro, 2018, Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). Many prospective bilingual teachers, particularly Latinx teachers in the borderland, have grown up amongst dominant ideologies favoring standardized English and devaluing the linguistic and cultural experiences that make up their own histories. Historicizing these experiences is an important part of developing the critical skills necessary to understand the

histories of their future students and challenge common assumptions regarding students' language, since it is necessary to recognize where deficit understandings come from in order critically question them and work towards change (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017).

Later during the first class session, Diana noted that she had a similar experience in high school to the story Lluvia had shared:

Diana told the story of a French teacher in high school who would always call her Diane. Diana tried to explain, "No, it's Diana, there's an *a* at the end. It's important because it's my name. It's who I am." But the teacher refused and for three years continued to call her Diane. Eventually Diana refused to respond when the teacher called her Diane, and her mother was called to the principal's office one day when it was decided she was behaving in an insubordinate manner. Because there was not another French teacher on the campus, Diana was changed to a Spanish class to finish out her foreign language requirement, where she said smiling "I was happy there!" (Field Notes, 01/23/23)

It was decided amongst the students that this story would be an example of interrogating power as well as historicizing, as Diana was able to bring about change by pushing against the power that she felt was linguistically oppressive.

A few weeks later, Diana brought this story back into her Reflective Digital Journal (RDJ), a weekly response written by each student after reflecting on each the materials covered in class. In this case, she was reflecting on a documentary film called *The Lemon Grove Incident* (Christopher, 2013), depicting the case of Lemon Grove, California, in 1930. In this pre-*Brown v. Board of Education* incident, school officials attempted to create a separate school for Mexican American children in the district but faced strong opposition by the children's parents, who fought for (and won) the right to keep their children in the same school as the district's white

students. After having an opportunity to discuss and understand the centering practices in class meetings during the first three weeks, Diana responded to the film in this way:

En un caso personal, yo también hice interrogate power con una de mis escuelas. A mí me hablaban por otro nombre. Lo pronunciaban mal y a mí no me gustaba. No era mi nombre y yo ya le había dicho a la maestra que no me hablara de esa manera. La maestra no me hizo caso, entonces yo deje de contestarle. Aunque ella me “hablaba” no era el nombre correcto y yo no respondía. Hasta que la maestra empezó a hablarme por mi nombre actual, yo empecé a responderle y a interactuar con ella. No me deje solo porque era mayor o porque era mi maestra. Yo me defendí al igual que las familias mexicanas.

(Diana, RDJ 2, 02/07/2023)

In a personal example, I also interrogated power at one of my schools. I was being called by a different name. They were pronouncing it wrong, and I did not like it. It was not my name, and I had already told the teacher not to talk to me in that way. The teacher did not pay attention to me, so I stopped speaking to her. Even though she would “talk to me,” it was not my correct name, so I did not respond. It wasn’t until the teacher began to call me by my actual name that I began to respond to her and interact with her. I didn’t let down just because she was older or because she was my teacher. I defended myself just like the Mexican families. (Diana, RDJ 2, 02/07/2023)

The prompt for this RDJ asked students, in part, to “Name specific concepts, ideas, and materials from weeks 1-2 that directly connect to the documentary.” Diana chose to use an article read during Week 1, “Colonizing Wild Tongues” (Torres Goitia, 2017), and the centering practice of interrogating power to compare her own experience to that of the families in *The Lemon Grove Incident* (Christopher, 2013). Bilingual teachers inevitably enter their profession with preexisting

dominant ideologies often stemming from their own experiences with language (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Ek et al., 2013). Part of the process of developing ideological clarity includes interrogating these ideologies in a move towards becoming agents of change within classrooms. Diana was able to historicize her own experience by noticing and naming the dominant ideologies that were evident in her school as well as view this experience through a critical lens. Discussing this event in class as well as writing about it in her RDJ were thus important for Diana's process of ideological development. In this case, Diana had the opportunity to name an assimilationist ideology that she had seen acted upon and consider ways that she participated in bringing about change when dominant ideologies were evident. Critical reflection like Diana's shows initial steps in the process described by Alfaro (2019), through which teachers interrogate their own experiences to bring about a shift in their ideological stance.

Introducing Libros Acompañantes: *We Are Water Protectors*

During the second class session, Dr. Wilson introduced the concept of libros acompañantes and read the first libro acompañante of the course aloud to the students. I sat at a table with three students listening to *We Are Water Protectors* (Lindstrom, 2020), an illustrated children's book depicting Native American movements to protect the Earth's water from contamination and corruption. After the reading, we discussed questions in our table groups about the meaning of the book, particularly the "black snake" that was destroying the water. As a class, each table contributed ideas about the symbolism of the black snake, finally deciding that it represented the Dakota Access pipeline. We began to make connections to this week's reading materials for the class, including Iyengar's (2014) work on the role of language in U.S. colonization. The following excerpt from my field notes shows how Dr. Wilson used the libro acompañante to connect to what students were learning about bilingual education:

Dr. Wilson begins pushing for connections to this week's materials. A student says, "I think the Black Snake in this week's materials is like Americans." Dr. Wilson says "Yes! Give me more. Specifically, who?" (pointing to himself) She pauses, and then says "white people." He responds with an emphatic "Yes! So what is the praxis piece here?" Olivia responds immediately, "To bring forth change." Dr. Wilson agrees that this activity is meant to bring forth change by helping them be able to apply such ideas to their own thinking and teaching, as well as to be able to add to their own libraries of materials that will bring a critical lens to their teaching. "When you were in school, did you see yourselves in the materials you read?" Students pause to think, and many shake their heads or say no. He goes on, "I did. Because most of the things we read were about white middle-class people. How about you? Did you see yourself in what you read in school?" Piensen en los materiales que quieren compartir con sus estudiantes algún día." He keys in on the praxis point here being the building of the ability to teach through a critical lens as well as having materials with which to do so, particularly materials which will be a mirror for students who do not typically see themselves in the materials we use in classrooms. (Field Notes, 01/30/2023)

Dr. Wilson often referred to the need for students to see themselves in the materials used in classrooms, both linguistically and culturally. This was a major goal of the libros acompañantes, and the PSTs developed an understanding of this over the course of the semester. In this class session, PSTs used a libro acompañante as a platform to think about and notice the texts that were typically used as instructional materials when they were in school. He asked them to historicize their own experiences and consider whether or not they could "see themselves" in the materials they read.

Dr. Wilson was willing to allow for long pauses of silence while students considered what types of text they encountered in school and was also willing to broach uncomfortable topics such as his own self-implication in pointing out his white middle-class status. At the beginning of the semester, students would often avoid answering at first when Dr. Wilson set them up with a question such as the one above, for which a student finally answered “white people.” I wondered at first if it was uncomfortable that the only “white people” in this classroom were Dr. Wilson, myself, and one student out of 19. Eventually, however, conversations such as the one above became springboards for interrogating the power behind curricular materials used in schools. Once PSTs noticed what types of materials were present (or not) in their own school experiences, they began to critically question their experiences and think about “the praxis piece”: what change would look like in their own classrooms.

Understanding Translanguaging through Libros Acompañantes and the Centering Practices

Many of the libros acompañantes used during the course were written in a combination of English and Spanish and represented the cultural specificities of life on the U.S.-Mexico border. Through written application of translanguaging and themes such as crossing the border for work (Tonatiuh, 2013), a comparison of life on each side of the border (Bowles, 2013), and a description of the narrator’s community coupled with her close relationship with her hard-working papi (Quintero, 2019), the books provide a relatable hook for students in the specific context of border city schools. After reading the book *Mis dos pueblos fronterizos* (Bowles, 2013) aloud to the class, Dr. Wilson asked the students what they noticed about the language used in the book. He pointed out words such as *troca* used to describe a pick-up truck and asked students what this might tell them about the context of the story. The students quickly answered

that the language indicates that the book is “fronterizo.” Dr. Wilson then asked if the book was a dual language book, and Diana answered, “No, because it’s not translated. It’s translanguaging” (Field Notes, 03/06/2023). In this way, the libro acompañante was being used as a bridge to a topic that had become often revisited in the course, but also one that PSTs wrestled with as they decided what exactly translanguaging was and how it could be used in a classroom.

As the course progressed, Dr. Wilson continued to use different libros acompañantes most weeks in class. Students began to make personal connections to the books and think about how they could be used in their own classrooms eventually. The book *Mi papi tiene una moto* (Quintero, 2019), written in a translanguaging style, relates the daily experiences of a young girl and her father. Meredith reflected on the book in the following way:

Otro parte del libro que puedo relacionar mucho es como la niña usa los dos idiomas y cambia de idioma dependiendo de la persona que ella esta hablando. Yo hablo español con mi abuelita y mi mama y hablo más ingles con mi papa y con mis hermanas.

(Meredith, RDJ 6, 03/21/2023)

Another part of the book that I can really relate to is how the girl uses both languages and changes her language depending on the person she is talking to. I speak Spanish with my grandma and my mom, and I speak more English with my dad and with my sisters.

(Meredith, RDJ 6, 03/21/2023)

This manner of reflecting on the language used in the libros acompañantes was important for students as they made personal connections to the books linguistically and culturally. In Meredith’s RDJ above, she was able to reflect on the main character’s use of her entire linguistic repertoire in communicating with different people (“cambia de idioma dependiendo de la persona”), which gave value to Meredith’s own linguistic practices. Meredith talked with me in

her interview at the end of the semester about how she had never heard of translanguaging before, but that the opportunity to study and understand this concept had brought value to the way she uses Spanish and English:

Before I saw language like...they're all in their own little box. You open it when you need it and you close it when you don't need it. Like I don't need Spanish this moment, so I'm not going to use Spanish this moment. I'm going to open my English box, I'm going to open...you know? But to see them...like you can use them together, and combine them. And to see that there's these ...there's translanguaging, their own linguistic repertoire...I never thought of any of this. I just thought you know, language is just a little box in our brain and we open and close it when we need it. And I never thought like, you know you can use Spanish when you feel like you don't need it, but it shouldn't be when you need it, you should be able to use it whenever you want. And whenever you feel comfortable in the moment using whichever language. And you can use them together. You don't have to use them separately. And they can be together and combined. I never thought of that before this class. (Meredith, Interview 2, 05/06/2023)

Through interviews and conversations I had in class with Meredith, it became evident that translanguaging and the idea of linguistic repertoires was an important point of learning for her during the semester. As is notable in the excerpt above, she had previously approached languages through a monoglossic lens, understanding even her own English and Spanish to exist in individual boxes to be used as needed. The concept of languages in boxes was terminology that Meredith took up through content discussed during the course, as students learned about and came to understand translanguaging as both a practice of multilingual individuals and a pedagogy to be used in the classroom (CUNY-NYSIEB, 2015; Mena, 2019; Samaniego

Calderón, 2019). Through reflection over the course of the semester, particularly through conversations about translanguaging and translanguaging texts like the libros acompañantes, Meredith decided that “you don’t have to use them separately,” taking up a heteroglossic stance that she also told me she looked forward to employing with her own students eventually.

During a class meeting in which PSTs were learning specifically about the concept of translanguaging, Dr. Wilson introduced the book *Dear Primo* by Duncan Tonatiuh (2010). In this book, a cousin in the United States writes letters to his primo in México, each sharing about different parts of their lives in their home country. The book is written in a translanguaging style, and the students discussed how it might be useful in a classroom from a pedagogical standpoint and then returned to the importance of the linguistic and cultural connections possible for students. The following is an excerpt from my field notes during this discussion:

Dr. Wilson: “¿Cuántos de ustedes usaron textos así en su educación K-12? ¿Qué pudieron conectar con el texto?” He again poses the question about seeing themselves in texts when they were in school.

Olivia: “I don’t think I ever made the connection that I couldn’t see myself in the texts.” She didn’t realize that she or her experiences were missing from the texts that were available to her in school.

Cintia comments that she remembers read alouds from the school librarians being mostly about holidays.

Dr. Wilson: “Good, right. Now there’s a big push to go beyond heroes and holidays.”

Lluvia: “I remember growing up in elementary and we would go to the library, and we could only get one book in Spanish. The other two had to be in English. If we had two,

we had to return one. I don't remember having books with both languages in them.”

(Field Notes, 02/13/2023)

In this interchange, students considered the books they had access to when growing up in school. Olivia noted that she had never considered that she could not “see herself” in the texts she read in school, an important component to the libros acompañantes used in the BED course. Through interacting with the libros acompañantes and using them to historicize her own educational experiences, she was able to notice ideologies present in her own educational history, such as a centering of white cultural and linguistic practices in curricular materials. Lluvia was also able to notice ideologies present in her schooling experience, as English was favored over Spanish in the activity of selecting books in the library.

Through the libros acompañantes and application of the centering practices, PSTs began to notice and name dominant ideologies that were evident in both past and present educational settings. The ability to recognize ideologies at work is an important component to subsequently acting to institute change in order to create equitable learning environments for all students (Alfaro, 2018; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). This can be particularly important in borderland contexts, where bilingual PSTs need opportunities to deconstruct the hegemonic ideologies that may have been a part of their own linguistic histories before entering the hybrid and complex spaces that make up borderland classrooms (Freire, 2016).

Learning to Interrogate Power

As the semester progressed, the students became more adept at using the centering practices to analyze course content. It appeared that their understanding of their own experiences with language and of the content being examined in the course included not only noticing and naming ideological stances, but also reflecting on these stances and considering ways to apply

them in future classrooms. One video that was viewed and referred back to often later in the course depicted a boy named Moisés in late elementary school who had recently immigrated to the U.S. from Mexico (Levian, 2009). The video shows the struggles Moisés faced during English-only instruction, particularly as standardized testing was approaching at his school. Students discussed the video in small groups as related to the week's reading in the course textbook (Wright, 2019), and Diana reported her group's analysis back to the class:

We thought that the teacher could have been affirmative towards Moises and like fought for him. Because she was looking for the Spanish version of the test, right? And when she didn't find it, she didn't like kind of fight back, right? She didn't question...she didn't interrogate the power. She just kind of stood there and took it and gave him the test the way that it was, although she knew there was that language barrier. So on page 11 on the chapter it says that...it's to seek beyond tolerance. You know? Like that's something that she could have done to help him. Because she knew that he was smart, and she knew that he could accelerate even better. But she just kind of took it, you know? And didn't fight for her students. So she shouldn't have like tolerated it. She should have fought for him. (Video Log, 03/06/2023)

In this case, several other groups agreed that the teacher could have interrogated power in order to support the needs of her emergent bilingual student. Students recognized the dominating ideologies present in administering standardized tests in English only, as well as the assimilationist stance evident in the video as students were quickly transitioned towards all English instruction and curricular materials. This type of thinking process is a key step in ideological development, particularly for preservice teachers. As Alfaro (2019) notes, part of

ideological clarity is to interrogate “issues of persistent hegemonic classroom practices, so as to ‘announce and denounce’ ideological or structural obstacles to teaching for equity” (p. 199-200).

Connecting and Applying to Future Classroom Practice

At various times during the semester, PSTs reflected on ways they could use libros acompañantes in future classroom practice. In an online discussion board, PSTs reflected on the book *Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote: A Migrant’s Tale* (Tonatiuh, 2013), a story depicting animal characters facing dangers and hardships while crossing the U.S.-Mexico border for work. Diana made the following comment on the discussion board: “Yo usaría el libro acompañante de ‘Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote: A Migrant’s Tale’ con mis estudiantes. Porque así, yo puedo demostrar a los estudiantes que el lenguaje de ellos también es bienvenidos en la clase” (Diana, Discussion 4, 04/17/2023). (I would use the libro acompañante *Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote: A Migrant’s Tale* with my students. Because in this way, I can demonstrate to the students that their language is also welcome in the class.) *Pancho Rabbit* is written mostly in English but has a few words of Spanish interspersed on each page, using language like mochila (backpack), música (music), and mole (a traditional Mexican food) to help narrate the migration story. Diana’s desire to let students know that their language is welcome by using this libro acompañante shows that she was learning about and taking up the pluralist understandings of language that were evident in the BED course. In the borderland context in which Diana is studying and plans to teach, students’ language repertoires might include Spanish, English, or a combination of the two, such as in the translanguaging style used in this libro acompañante. Early on in the semester, Diana expressed to me that she felt strange taking a course in which she was communicating in Spanish in an academic setting for the first time in many years. She also indicated that she was working to teach her two young daughters to speak both Spanish and English but that she at times

admonished them to speak only one language at a time. As Diana considered how *Pancho Rabbit* could be used in a classroom, however, it was evident that she was considering concepts like translanguaging and linguistic repertoires learned in the course and was finding ways she could apply them in her teaching practice through libros acompañantes. In this way, she was engaging in praxis by determining possibilities for applying her new understanding of translanguaging in both classroom practice and in developing the bilingual practices used in her home. Diana's reconsideration of the way she had previously maintained a strict separation of languages for her daughters shows that by noticing and naming monoglossic ideologies as well as heteroglossic alternatives, and later questioning her understanding of bilingualism and applying new understandings to linguistic practices with her family, she was moving into a process of developing ideological clarity.

When commenting on a video discussion board about how she would use *Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote* in her future classroom, Leila discussed ways that she would use the book for cooperative learning activities with students. After describing how she would group students together, she shared some ideas related to how she might spark conversation related to the libro acompañante, noting the following:

Otro topic que también sería muy bueno sería de como es estudiar en la frontera y vivir en la frontera. Vivir en la frontera...más que nada vivir en una ciudad y estudiar en otra ciudad. O sea cruzar la frontera para ir a estudiar y pues para tener una educación. (Leila, Flip Discussion Board 3, 4/10/2023, transcribed oral response)

Another topic that would also be very good would be what it's like to study on the border and live on the border. Live on the border...more than anything live in one city and study

in another city. I mean to cross the border to go to school and to get an education. (Leila, Flip Discussion Board 3, 4/10/2023, transcribed oral response)

Leila's response to *Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote* and her suggested pedagogical application are particularly interesting due to the borderland context of her teacher education program and her own experience as a transnational student beginning in 9th grade. The idea of "cruzar la frontera para ir a estudiar" was one that was personal for Leila. It is also well-known to many students in Border City as well as other cities along the U.S.-Mexico border. While Leila's linguistic history as it relates to the language ideologies in circulation in the BED course was examined in-depth in a previous paper for this study, it is important to note that her own story as a bilingual individual directly intersected with her experiences as a transnational student. By constructing a lesson for use in her future classroom using this libro acompañante, Leila was both historicizing her own educational experience and engaging in praxis, as she found ways to transform critical reflection into practice. Importantly, Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) address social and political issues such as immigration as part of the multi-faceted set of ideas that should be examined, challenged, and continually reflected upon as part of a process of developing ideological clarity. Leila's lesson using *Pancho Rabbit and the Coyote* as a platform for discussing relatable ideas such as crossing the border for school demonstrates what some have described as a border pedagogy advocating for students facing social and linguistic situations specific to the borderland (Guerrero et al., 2013; Ostorga et al., 2020; Ostorga & Farruggio, 2014).

Classroom Application: The Service Learning Project

All sections of the introductory BED course at Del Valle, including the one observed for this study, incorporate a Service Learning Project (SLP), during which PSTs spend at least 10 hours volunteering in classrooms at local public schools. As part of this project, PSTs plan and

teach two short lessons based on the content covered during the BED course, and they write a final reflection paper about their experiences seeing theory put into practice in real classrooms. For many participants, the SLP was their first experience in public school classrooms. At a few points during the semester, as students developed an understanding of the centering practices and their own understandings of pedagogies for multilingual learners, I witnessed Dr. Wilson helping them learn to be respectful guests in the classrooms while still questioning practices they found to be different from what they were learning in class. The following class discussion occurred as the students considered the ways their host teachers were (or were not) incorporating translanguaging into classroom pedagogies:

Dr. Wilson: We're not out to critique them, we're out to learn from them, right? Cause you're going to see cosas que no van con...

Olivia: Can we push back and say what techniques are you using for translanguaging? Or you know like certain things to just kind of pick their brain a little? Or no?

Diana: Interrogate power? (Everyone laughs in response to Diana)

Dr. Wilson: (Points at Diana and laughs) Ah! I knew that you would ask that question, Diana. I would say...you should find ways to ask those questions.

Olivia: In a nice way.

Dr. Wilson: In a strategic way.

Lluvia: In a professional way. (Laughing)

Dr. Wilson: Porque tienes razón, sí estamos diciendo que tienen que interrogar el poder (points at Diana), that was great Diana (claps hands together), that was good, you should figure out a way to, how are you going to do that? So what would you say? That's a great question. You brought up the question. Do you want to answer that? It's open to

everyone. So what do you do?

Diana: Well if they don't have techniques, I think you present techniques maybe that you've been learning here...

Olivia: Or not even that but just say how are you using those techniques? Like start pulling out the vocabulary or whatever and something...so that I know how to use it when I become a teacher. Just to see what they do have to say. Or if they do have any strategies.

Cintia: Maybe not how they're using the techniques, but what techniques are you using?

Olivia: Can you give us an example of how we should ask? (to Dr. Wilson)

Dr. Wilson: I think like a really neutral way would be like, you know, en mi clase estoy aprendiendo sobre translanguaging. And maybe even if they don't know you could say what it is. And you could say like is that something that you all, that your school does?

Like do you...that would be a way that I would do it, I would be like do you all, are you all doing that? Are you incorporating the native language into the instruction? Or is it only English in the afternoon? Do you really stick to that? And it's going to depend on the relationship you have with the teacher. (Video Log 04/03/2023)

In the above conversation, PSTs considered how to put into practice what they had been learning during the course. This was the sometimes-difficult praxis piece, particularly as ideas like translanguaging did not always coincide with the language policies they were experiencing in the classrooms in which they were placed. By this point in the semester, however, students had grown comfortable with the centering practices and wondered if they would be allowed to apply them in their SLP practice, as is evident in Olivia's and Diana's question as to whether they could "pick their (teachers') brain a little" and "interrogate power." Dr. Wilson reminded them

that they were guests for only 10 hours in the SLP classrooms but that yes, this was a good time to “strategically” ask about topics like translinguaging that they had learned about during the course. The issue of theory learned in teacher education programs being removed from actual practice observed in classrooms is common in a general sense (Darling-Hammond et al., 2005; Feiman-Nemser, 2001; Zeichner et al., 2015), and PSTs in this study were working through such divergences as they applied specifically to multilingual learners. Conversations like this one showed a process of development, as PSTs considered the language ideologies in circulation in the classrooms in which they were volunteering and the ways these interacted with what they were learning in class. The centering practice of interrogating power helped them to make sense of the ways that dominant language ideologies were at work in the school system and how they could become agents of change through the ongoing development of ideological clarity (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Palmer et al., 2019).

Several PSTs used libros acompañantes in the lessons they planned and taught with students during their SLP experiences in classrooms. In this way, they engaged in praxis by applying both theoretical concepts and the pedagogical practice of the libros acompañantes during their time in classrooms. Meredith used the book *Paletero Man* (Díaz, 2021) as a platform for teaching a lesson in her SLP classroom. The book is written in a translinguaging style and is relatable to the experiences of students in borderland communities who have tasted the homemade flavors of mango, limón, horchata, and chamoy carried by the paletero on hot summer days. As she reflected after the lesson, Meredith noted the following:

The students ended up using the activity in a way to creatively express themselves and allow themselves to discuss their past memories and experiences. The students were very involved and used both English and Spanish in their writing prompts. I saw that they used

this activity as a way to relate to the book and to historicize their experiences with their communities. I saw that they related to the character in the story and all had similar experiences to each other. I will continue to use this book specifically and books like it. I will also continue to encourage the students to speak and write in whatever language they feel more comfortable in and I will also continue to use translanguaging strategies in the classroom. (Meredith, SLP Activity 2, 05/03/2023)

Meredith was able to see that the libro acompañante served as a catalyst to help students connect with content through the process of historicizing. Planning and teaching this lesson allowed her to notice students' use of their full linguistic repertoires in writing about and relating to the book, and she looked forward to using translanguaging strategies with future students as well. Praxis is visible in Meredith's lesson as she took the concepts of historicizing and translanguaging from the BED course and applied them to her classroom lesson. She also noticed that students were able to relate to the character in the book and to each other since they "had similar experiences," which was an important aspect to libros acompañantes providing a relatable space for students within which to interact with content. Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) note the importance of embracing students' cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), particularly in bilingual education settings. Meredith's lesson utilizing a libro acompañante to connect with students' cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge (Smith, 2005) is an example of what this can look like in practice.

Additionally, pluralist language ideologies are evident in the way this lesson was planned and carried out. I noticed over the progression of the semester that the distinction between pluralist and assimilationist language ideologies became an often-discussed topic in the BED class. At first, students requested reminders regarding the difference between the two, but after several weeks they readily pointed out the evidence of each in examples examined in class. As

mentioned earlier in this paper, Meredith commented to me in her second interview that she had not understood translanguaging as a practice of bilingual individuals before taking the BED course but had instead considered languages to be separate entities that operated on their own as needed. The lesson she taught using a libro acompañante and her desire to continue to use such lessons in her future classroom shows a shift towards a heteroglossic understanding of language and a desire for her classroom to be a pluralist space that values students' linguistic repertoires.

Conclusions and Implications

In this paper, I have explored the ways that PSTs came to notice, name, reflect on, and apply language ideologies in a process of developing ideological clarity. These practices came about through the application of specific pedagogical moves in an introductory bilingual education course, including:

- helping PSTs historicize their own identities and experiences as well as those of multilingual students in general.
- encouraging PSTs to interrogate the power at work in policies, perspectives, and experiences.
- providing opportunities for PSTs to engage in praxis through critical reflection and application.
- using libros acompañantes as a platform to connect theoretical content to classroom pedagogy.

Previous work in the area of ideological clarity has sought to describe its need in teacher education from a theoretical lens. This study contributes to recent calls for expansion of the important work in preparing ideologically clear teachers (Alfaro, 2018; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017) towards an actionable approach for teacher educators (Briceño & Zoeller, 2022).

Through the repeated application of the centering practices of historicizing, interrogating power, and praxis, as well as deep and critical work with libros acompañantes throughout the semester, PSTs were able to recognize dominant ideologies such as a favoring of monolingualism, linguistic purism (of both English and Spanish), and assimilationist ideologies that promoted a transition toward English. This is a key initial step in the process of developing ideological clarity, since the subconscious nature of language ideologies renders them often unrecognizable to PSTs who are new to the work of studying and considering language as a social construct. As Babino and Stewart (2018) note, “With the diversity of preservice teachers’ languages, cultures, and dispositions, it is particularly crucial to consistently name and address tensions in teacher preparation courses so they understand the maelstrom they are entering before they arrive” (p. 289). The iterative work propelled by the centering practices and libros acompañantes was thus helpful in preparing PSTs to notice and name dominant ideologies in situations of practice.

Importantly, the pedagogies of the centering practices and libros acompañantes were integral in moving PSTs towards reflection and application. Noticing and naming were not steps in a process to end once reflection and application began, rather these became deeper and more critical parts of the cycle of ideological clarity as PSTs were able to deepen their engagement with course content. Alfaro and Bartolomé note that part of developing ideological clarity is helping PSTs to “resist and interrupt” (p. 28) dominant hegemonic ideologies that persist in educational settings. The specific pedagogies observed during this study were important in helping PSTs consider how they might become agents of change as bilingual teachers, which is key in moving ideological clarity from theory to practice.

Teacher education programs in cities on the U.S.-Mexico border engage in the important task of preparing a largely local group of PSTs to enter the work force in classrooms close to home. Experts remind us, however, that even teachers hailing from similar ethnic and linguistic groups as their diverse students are often unprepared to meet the educational needs of these students in the classroom (Alfaro, 2019; Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Bustos Flores et al., 2018). Implicit in the work of teacher education programs on the border are the intricacies of helping PSTs critically question the language ideologies that contributed to their own schooling experiences and that continue to shape the borderland educational landscape. The insights gained from this study can be helpful for programs seeking to reframe coursework in a manner that includes clearly actionable steps for teacher educators as they work to prepare ideologically clear teacher candidates for future classrooms.

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CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This study seeks to contribute to existing literature surrounding the need to engage teacher candidates in a process of ideological development in order to prepare them for increasingly diverse classrooms. While it has become evident through recent work that this need may be amplified in borderland contexts, tangible pedagogies for teacher educators to work towards the goal of ideological clarity for PSTs have been few. The findings of this study show the importance of providing PSTs with opportunities to historicize and interrogate their own linguistic histories in a move towards engaging in praxis (Palmer et al., 2019). Additionally, the pedagogies visible in an introductory bilingual education course reveal specific ways in which teacher educators can integrate the work of ideological clarity into coursework, such as:

- helping PSTs historicize their own identities and experiences as well as those of multilingual students in general.
- encouraging PSTs to interrogate the power at work in policies, perspectives, and experiences.
- providing opportunities for PSTs to engage in praxis through critical reflection and application.
- using libros acompañantes as a platform to connect theoretical content to classroom pedagogy.

The first two articles in this dissertation focused on the ways in which the language ideologies evident in PSTs' linguistic histories interact with those in circulation and development within their teacher education program. It became evident through this study that participants had experienced monoglossic framings of their bilingualism during their K-12 schooling in a variety of ways. Many shared narratives of transitions toward English, which led to a favoring of

English over Spanish in their linguistic development. Participants who were finishing their teacher residency came to a reversal of this framing via the BTLPT, as the certification exam viewed their abilities to use Spanish through an equally monoglossic lens. During their time in the teacher education program, however, PSTs had opportunities to reframe these monoglossic understandings of their bilingualism, demonstrating a hopeful shift towards more heteroglossic conceptualizations of what it means to be a successful bilingual person. These papers demonstrate the importance of providing PSTs with opportunities to reflect on their own linguistic histories within teacher education programs as an integral initial part of the process of developing ideological clarity.

The third article presented the case of pedagogies implemented in an introductory bilingual education course at a borderland teacher education program. Dr. Wilson's use of the three centering practices of historicizing, interrogating power, and praxis as well as libros acompañantes proved to be powerful pedagogies in the work of developing ideological clarity over the course of the semester. PSTs used the libros acompañantes and other course materials to historicize their own linguistic histories as well as the history of bilingual education in the U.S., to interrogate the power relations at work in language practices and policies around them, and to enter into a cycle of praxis including utilizing the libros acompañantes in their fieldwork during the semester. Through these experiences, a process of developing ideological clarity became evident as PSTs were able to notice and name the ideologies at work in a variety of examples, and subsequently move towards reflecting on and applying their understandings of these ideologies in pedagogical situations.

Of course, the work of developing ideological clarity is by definition a process: not to arrive at an endpoint (and certainly not during a semester-long course), but to be continually

developed as educators learn and come to new understandings (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). Pedagogies such as those I observed in the BED course must therefore be integrated into multiple layers and courses of teacher education programs, forming a network of opportunities for PSTs to use as springboards upon which to challenge existing hegemonic notions about language and practice alternative ways of thinking before entering their own classrooms. Additionally, Del Valle University's move towards increasing the number of courses for bilingual PSTs in Spanish is important. For many participants in this study, a key element to reframing ideas about their own bilingualism in a move towards developing ideological clarity was the time spent using Spanish during the course. Increasing opportunities for PSTs to interact with content in Spanish in academic settings is thus a pivotal component in ideological development as well as in ensuring preparation for certification exams such as the BTLPT.

I have had several follow-up conversations with Dr. Wilson during the time after my data collection for this study ended. As the semester immediately following the semester in which I conducted observations drew to a close, he commented that he felt the BED course had gone much better this time, now that it was the second time he had taught it in Spanish. He indicated that students were more inclined to participate in class in Spanish this time around, and the connections between theory and practice through the SLP experience were more evident. He posited several possible reasons for this. This semester, Dr. Wilson was using a different course textbook written in a translanguaging format, which he felt was an additional helpful application of the translanguaging theory covered in the course. Additionally, the format for the SLP project had changed this semester. All PSTs were embedded in one of two elementary schools near downtown Border City and also close to the border, as opposed to being dispersed at all different schools. The class met once a week at the SLP schools in order to provide time for students' field

work and to allow space and time for immediate reflection on their classroom experiences. Through these changes, Dr. Wilson described his own growing comfort with connecting the content of the course to the practice students were having in classrooms. He also expressed his excitement regarding a recent decision by the teacher education department to add a fourth course for bilingual PSTs in Spanish: The following semester, a social studies methods course that follows the BED course would be taught in Spanish. In this course, PSTs would have the opportunity to connect to the work they had just completed during their SLP field experiences and extend them for further application.

After our conversation, I reflected on Dr. Wilson's willingness to view the BED course as existing in a process of development, engaging in his own cycle of praxis as he applied learning from the previous semester to his practice as a teacher educator. Such a process in teacher education is vital to the continued work towards preparing ideologically clear teachers for today's multilingual learners. Alfaro (2019) reminds us that as ideological clarity serves as a framework leading towards the development of critical consciousness, and that critically conscious teacher educators are essential in guiding PSTs in their continued development. Part of the task of ideologically clear and critically conscious teacher educators involves processes similar to those I observed in this study: historicizing the identities and experiences of PSTs in their teacher education program as well as their own; interrogating the power of policies and programs that have affected and continue to affect PSTs in their university, such as K-12 bilingual programs, K-12 state standardized testing, and teacher certification exams; and engaging in praxis through critical reflection on course syllabi and university programs and taking action to effect real change.

Preparing ideologically clear teachers requires a commitment on multiple levels. Teacher educators must be willing to ask difficult—even uncomfortable—questions and create space for PSTs to search for the answers. Teacher education programs must be willing to redesign coursework in a manner that allows PSTs to critically question the ideologies evident in their own linguistic histories and take action towards changing cycles of linguistic oppression. At a policy level, it is vital that decision-makers understand the cyclical effects that K-12 bilingual education programs and their implementation have on current students and future generations of bilingual educators. Creating opportunities for multilingual learners in today’s classrooms to learn academic content through more than one language and to celebrate their ability to communicate in multiple languages may foster a more heteroglossic stance amongst those who will enroll in teacher education programs in the coming decades. Additionally, longer-term development of teachers’ bilingual language proficiencies from the time they are young can contribute to their ability to use their full linguistic repertoire later as educators. Such a cycle of ideological clarity would constitute a key partnership between K-12 schools and teacher education programs as well as an essential goal in preparing future bilingual educators.

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VITA

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Ms. Salazar has worked as an educator in El Paso, Texas, in various capacities. She spent 9 years as an elementary dual language teacher, later moving to a position as a district Instructional Technology Specialist. She has taught as an adjunct at UTEP and is currently working at a local school district as an Elementary Reading Language Arts Facilitator.

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