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From English Learner to Spanish Learner: Raciolinguistic beliefs that influence heritage Spanish speaking teacher candidates. Language and Education

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Abstract

This qualitative study explored Spanish-speaking teacher credential students' beliefs about academic language that might promote or inhibit their decision to become bilingual teachers. Data includes interviews with 11 bilingual teacher candidates who were heritage Spanish speakers. Findings show that most were only aware of English-only educational contexts and did not know that bilingual teaching, and the bilingual authorization pathway, were options. Their schooling experience fostered English hegemony; even their Spanish classes were pervaded by linguistic purism and elitism. Schools taught them that their registers of Spanish, which they learned at home, were insufficient, inappropriate or incorrect. Consequently, they questioned their ability to become bilingual teachers. Language register and social class were intimately connected in the data. Participants viewed bilingual education as a pathway toward more equitable educational opportunities for Latinx students. Implications include the need for bilingual teacher preparation to address critical sociolinguistics concepts that explore the relationships between language, race and ethnicity in education. Future research is needed to explore how Heritage Spanish speaking bilingual teachers enact their beliefs about equity through bilingual education, the challenges they face, and the ways that teacher education programs and professional development providers could support their work.

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From English Learner to Spanish Learner:
Raciolinguistic Beliefs that Influence Heritage Spanish Speaking Teacher Candidates

There is currently a dearth of bilingual teachers in California and across the United States (U.S.), and the need for bilingual teachers continues to grow as the demand for more Spanish-English Dual Language (DL) programs increases (Harris, 2015; Ramos Harris & Sandoval-Gonzalez, 2017). As Katz (2004) predicted, bilingual teachers have 'become an endangered species' (p. 147) as a result of political movement toward English-only education. Consequently, with an estimated 2,000 DL programs nationwide and an increasing demand for both DL program and bilingual teachers (Mitchell, 2016), staffing these programs is challenging (Steele et al., 2017). The bilingual teacher shortage is limiting the number of DL programs districts can offer and, in California, resulting in districts hiring temporary teachers with minimal to no bilingual training. Like Guerrero and Guerrero (2008), we label the bilingual teacher shortage a vicious cycle rather than the more commonly used "crisis," which deracializes the larger issue of linguistic and cultural hegemony in schools and whitewashes educational history (Lozenski, 2017; McCarty, 2012).

Recruiting and developing bilingual teachers has become a matter of social justice as DL programs have emerged as the single most effective program for Emergent Bilinguals' (EBs') academic success (Lindholm-Leary & Hernández, 2011; Steele, et al., 2017; Valentino & Reardon, 2014). Increasing the number of bilingual teachers is necessary to provide equitable educational opportunities for EBs, as DL programs cannot grow if there are not enough teachers. Developing a bilingual teacher pipeline is particularly important in U.S. states like California, where the already urgent demand for bilingual teachers is expected to significantly increase after the recent passage of Proposition 58, which eases the state's restrictions on bilingual education.

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There is a plethora of Spanish speakers in the U.S. who could become bilingual teachers. How do we bring them into the bilingual teacher pipeline (Katz, 2004)?

Ideological beliefs about language and literacy have been shown to influence bilingual teachers' classroom practices (Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015), but how those beliefs influence one's decision to become a bilingual teacher is still unknown. Responding to the need for research on how personal factors influence teachers' choices (Dubetz & de Jong, 2011), this qualitative study identifies bilingual teacher candidates' beliefs about language that promote or inhibit their decision to become bilingual teachers. Participants were Heritage Spanish Speakers (HSS) in both bilingual and English-only teacher preparation programs. A deeper understanding of HSS teacher candidates' beliefs about bilingualism can lead to new teacher preparation pedagogies and recruitment strategies.

Factors Contributing to the Bilingual Teacher Shortage: A Vicious Cycle

The current study focuses on HSS in teacher preparation programs, as they are a logical demographic for potential bilingual educators. Valdés (2001) defines heritage languages in the U.S. as languages other than English to which the speaker has a historical or personal connection. She also notes that there may be a wide range of proficiencies in the heritage language (2001) and that HSS are subject to intergenerational linguistic loss (Valdés, 2015). Guerrero (1997, 2000, 2003a, 2003b) identifies the linguistic hegemony of English and the current socioeconomic hierarchy in the U.S. as the root causes of heritage language loss. Thus, future bilingual teachers may be bound to replicate this cycle if they have themselves been raised in a context where Spanish lacked prestige (Arriagada, 2005; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992), or their bilingual schooling was deficit-oriented or failed to empower their linguistic assets (Dworin, 2011; Hasson, 2006). In line with Guerrero's (1997, 2003a) description of the cycle of

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scarcity, undergraduate students (Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci, 1998) and bilingual teachers in preservice programs in the U.S. (Guerrero, 1997, 2003a, 2003b; Musanti, 2014; Potowski, 2007) were identified as having limited Spanish proficiency. Lindholm-Leary (2001) found that over 70 percent of practicing DL teachers were native English speakers with great variation in their Spanish language skills: Almost 10 percent self-reported minimal communicative competence in Spanish, and only 19 percent of teachers' utterances were complex phrases.

At the credentialing level, only 25 states and the District of Columbia issue bilingual teacher certifications, and the assessments required for bilingual credentials vary greatly by state (Boyle, August, Tabaku, Cole, & Simpson-Baird, 2015). As an illustrative example of the credentialing-proficiency dynamic, Arroyo-Romano (2016) describes the Texas case, where the transition from an oral-only exam to one that assesses all Spanish language domains has been accompanied by a stark decrease in bilingual teacher credentialing. As a result of both the sociolinguistic context and the increasingly challenging credentialing regulations, bilingual teachers' goal of maintaining students' home language (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015; Musanti, 2014) may be particularly problematic in the U.S. educational context.

The challenge of maintaining heritage Spanish is compounded if bilingual teacher education programs do not use Spanish as a medium of instruction (Sutterby, Ayala, & Murillo , 2005). In this manner, the interests and status of privileged classes are preserved with the acquiescence of bilingual teachers who are thereby the object of 'benevolent colonization' (Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000; Guerrero & Guerrero, 2013). Guerrero and Guerrero (2008) have argued for an approach that addresses this chronic cycle by developing a solid foundation of academic language in prospective teachers who then challenge this socioeconomic and linguistic state of affairs. His analysis and proposed strategy emphasize the agency of teacher preparation

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programs in enacting these changes, and the importance of developing Spanish Academic Language as a leverage tool in the US sociolinguistic context.

Academic Language and Bilingual Teacher Preparation

Guerrero and Guerrero (2013) base their conception of academic language in Scarcella's (2003) Academic Language framework, which delineates a marked hierarchical distinction between academic and non-academic registers and contemplates three dimensions in academic language: Linguistic, cognitive and sociocultural/psychological. Scarcella's (2003) framework defines academic language as the register students use to engage in 'doing schooling,' and argues against views that promote the acceptance of 'wider varieties of expression, to embrace multiple ways of communicating' (p. 5).

Schleppegrell (2001) cautions against associating 'complexity' and 'explicitness' with the language of schooling, as it elevates the academic register over other varieties. Referring to Halliday's distinction between the complexities of writing and speech, she points out that different registers may accomplish complexity and explicitness in different ways. Furthermore, a perceived binary between academic and conversational language may be misleading (Alvarez, 2012; Aukerman, 2007; Valdés, Capitelli & Alvarez, 2011), causing speakers to question the academic validity of the language(s) they speak (Guerrero, 2003a, 2003b; Musanti, 2014). Prospective bilingual teachers are thus caught between validating their own linguistic repertoire and the sociolinguistic and pedagogical expectations to perform in a classroom, both orally and in writing, in English and Spanish (Valdés et al., 2011).

Thus, what counts as academic language, and how to define it, continues to be debated (Author 2, 2017; Bunch, 2014; Valdés, 2004), particularly in the Common Core era (Kibler, Walqui, & Bunch, 2015), which still places an emphasis on English as the medium of

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instruction. Compared to academic English, Academic Spanish is considered in few studies (e.g., Alvarez, 2012; Author 1, 2014; Guerrero, 2003a, 2003b; Potowski, 2007; Valdés & Geoffrion-Vinci, 1998) and, as a result of a dependency on pedagogical research in English, theoretical implications about 'academic language' are mirrored onto Spanish.

In response to bilingual teacher preparation program needs, Aquino-Sterling (2016) has proposed a conciliatory model of pedagogical Spanish competencies that seems to defy some of the academic-non-academic language polarization by making the linguistic demands of bilingual teaching more defined and accountable. Pedagogical Spanish focuses on the academic-pedagogical (content-area instruction) and the professional (communicating with stakeholders), and dissolves the ambiguous distinction between 'high' proficiency in academic registers and the ability to use pedagogical language competency in the content areas. Proposals such as this may counter the lack of linguistic responsiveness in teacher education programs, which has been pointed out extensively and remains at the core of the issue (Banes et al., 2016; Guerrero & Guerrero, 2013).

Teacher Candidates' Attitudes, Ideologies, and Professional Trajectories

Educators are subject to the pervasive influence of linguistic ideologies, a linguistic-anthropological concept defined by Irvine (1989) as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (p. 9). Such ideologies prescribe certain language use deemed as 'appropriate' to specific settings. For instance, linguistic purism (Martínez, et al., 2015) and linguistic elitism (Pimentel, 2011) focus on correctness and accuracy rather than how bilinguals do bilingualism in practice and accomplish creative forms of signification (Auer, 1998). However, assumptions of appropriateness and 'objective' assessment of language performance have been challenged by

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concepts such as raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015), which highlight the co-construction of race and language in the process of deeming language as 'pure' and 'impure' and properly ‘standard’ or ‘academic’ in school settings. As such, bilingual teachers’ beliefs and attitudes may reflect seemingly contradictory ideologies of both counterhegemony and language purism (Martínez, et al., 2015; Palmer & Martínez, 2013).

Linguistic ideologies may not only lead to expectations and constraints for teachers and students in bilingual schools, but we may also expect that teacher candidates will factor these sociolinguistic judgments into their self-perceived language adequacy for the profession or the desirability of bilingual education itself. Although bilingualism represents an act of resistance against linguistic hegemony (Suarez, 2002), bilingual educators often face a broader context that devalues non-dominant languages and cultures to such an extent that even students and their families may have a negative view of their home language, community and culture (Arce, 2004; Brito, Lima, & Auerbach, 2004).

A number of studies have documented the pressures exerted by linguistic ideologies on aspiring bilingual teachers, specifically their choices and expectations for professional realization (Ek, Sánchez & Quijada Cerecer, 2013; Garrity, Aquino-Sterling, Van Liew, & Day, 2016; Guerrero, 2003b). As an illustration, Sutterby and colleagues (2005) surveyed 131 preservice teachers and captured the often tortuous trajectories of heritage speakers as they became bilingual teachers. Their experiences reflect the contradictions of identity motivations (ex. heritage pride, assimilation pressures) and the influence of linguistic ideologies (e.g., U.S. English dominance), as when families may both support and oppose their bilingual growth. The present study aims to better understand HSS teacher candidates’ decision-making process leading to pursuing, or not pursuing, a bilingual credential.

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Methods, Data and Analysis

California has a significant bilingual teacher shortage despite the state's large population of native and heritage Spanish speakers. This study asks, *what beliefs about academic language do heritage Spanish-speaking teacher candidates hold that promote or inhibit their decision to become bilingual teachers?* We use a qualitative approach to understand participants' feelings and beliefs about bilingualism and language practices in Spanish and English.

Participants

The participants were Spanish-English bilingual college graduates enrolled in teacher credential and master's programs at three universities in California. (Teacher credential programs in California require applicants to have a bachelor's degree.) At the time of this study, two of the universities offered a bilingual authorization pathway (BAP) and one of the universities had not yet started offering the BAP option. We drew HSS participants from both the bilingual and English-only teaching credential pathways. To learn about HSSs' beliefs about academic language that influenced their decision to become bilingual or English-only teachers, we focus on 11 HSSs. Nine participants were born in the U.S. and two were born in Mexico. Five of the teacher candidates were in bilingual authorization programs and six were in English-only teaching credential programs; all of the students in the English-only programs were considering becoming bilingual teachers. Table 1 provides additional information about the participants in our study.

Insert table 1 here

Data Collection and Analysis

Data consisted of audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 2009) conducted in person or via video conference. We asked each participant if they wanted to conduct the

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interview in Spanish or English and followed the participants' linguistic leads; both languages were often used. We interviewed each participant individually for 25 to 40 minutes and followed a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2006) to analyze data. The audio files of each interview were coded by two researchers using atlas.ti software, recursively, in multiple phases. We chose to code the audio files rather than transcriptions to better maintain the authenticity of participants' voices, including pitch, stresses, emphases and other nuances, during the coding process. We began analysis by assigning interviews to each author for initial coding. Initial coding consisted of parent codes drawn from the existing literature on bilingual teachers and language ideologies. After we each completed initial coding using etic codes from the literature, we exchanged interviews to complete a second round of analysis aimed at verifying and challenging initial codes. One of the authors was brought in as third coder to discuss questions and disagreements until agreement was reached. Having agreed on initial codes, we conducted increasingly granular secondary and tertiary emic coding resulting in the emergence of key themes. As with the initial codes, we used a second coder to verify and challenge codes and resulting themes. We conducted data analysis meetings to discuss disagreements until we reached agreement and consensus on emerging themes. In this way, we arrived at 100% agreement on all codes and resulting themes.

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Findings

This study explored HSSs' beliefs about language and identified a few obstacles to, and reasons for, HSSs' entry into bilingual teaching. First, many participants were unaware that teaching in a bilingual setting was an option and that a Bilingual Authorization is required to teach in a bilingual classroom in California. Second, the HSSs were concerned about their level of proficiency in academic Spanish after being told by schools, in various ways, to leave their

Spanish at home. Finally, the HSS who were considering becoming bilingual teachers shared a focus on equity and wanted future generations of Latinx children to have better schooling experiences than they did (Irizarry & Donaldson, 2012).

Pathway into a Bilingual or English-only Credential Program

It is important to note that eight of the 11 HSSs did not know that becoming a bilingual teacher was an option and as a result, they entered into monolingual teacher preparation programs. They found out later, often at the program orientation, that acquiring a bilingual authorization was an option. For example, Maritza said, 'It was just at orientation for the program that I knew it was an option … I wanted to teach, and then at orientation they said it [the bilingual authorization] was an option[1].' Similarly, Angelina stated, '*El programa ofrecía una extensión bilingüe, yo no me acuerdo haber escuchado de programas bilingües*.' ('The program offered a bilingual authorization, I don't remember having heard about bilingual programs.') Echoing the first two participants, Raúl explained, 'I just hadn't thought about it,' and Clarisa mentioned, 'Once I started at [university name] that's when I found out that I could get a credential and at the same time get that bilingual certification.' Sara was prompted by a professor to consider becoming a bilingual teacher, and said, 'Honestly, had I not had [name] as a professor, I would have ended up as an English-only teacher.' Having attended school after the passage of Proposition 227, which strictly limited bilingual education options in California, most HSSs were immersed in a monolingual English schooling system and were unaware that their linguistic assets were needed and wanted in bilingual education.

Registers of Spanish and Socioeconomic Status

[1] All quotes convey what was said verbatim to capture participants' voice and language registers.

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As college graduates educated in the U.S., all the participants felt confident in their academic English, however most were concerned about their academic Spanish language skills. Speaking colloquial registers of Spanish at home that have been perceived as marking lower socioeconomic backgrounds, many HSSs took advanced level Spanish classes to learn what participants referred to as the 'academic' register. For instance, Janet took Spanish classes in high school to learn 'appropriate Spanish or correct Spanish.' In those classes she was indoctrinated into a linguistic purism (Martinez et al., 2015) perspective that invalidated her home language. She stated, 'The Spanish that I thought was Spanish growing up was totally incorrect and improper … and that's where the self-esteem issues came. I started feeling like what I had learned was *totally* incorrect.'

Like Janet, many participants came from lower SES backgrounds and were therefore concerned that their Spanish was not good enough to qualify them as teachers, who hold high status positions in many Spanish-speaking countries. Adriana directly contrasted academic Spanish with what was spoken at home, saying, '*El español nada más sé hablando oralmente, nunca académicamente, lo aprendí con mis papás … Sé muy bien el inglés y el español; todavía estoy trabajando con el español. En inglés estoy un poco más alto académicamente*.' ('Spanish I only know orally, not academically, I learned it from my parents … I know English and Spanish well; I'm still working on my Spanish. In English I'm a little higher academically.')

The participants were also concerned about whether the particular variety of Spanish they spoke was the 'right' Spanish. They expressed concern about using regional vocabulary that is not shared widely across Spanish-speaking countries, and were therefore unsure of their ability to teach 'proper' Spanish, which they perceived to be different from their own Spanish. Daniela,

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Maritza, and Adriana all contrasted the Spanish they learned at home with academic Spanish. Maritza commented:

> I sometimes feel a little uncomfortable because I learned Spanish at home, and I didn't get a chance to learn *academic Spanish*, or because my family's Spanish is very regional. I'm very aware if whatever I'm saying might be a regional difference or if I'm teaching students the wrong word for something.

There are many 'Spanishes' spoken all over the world and within the U.S., yet Maritza expressed concern that her Spanish, and her family's Spanish, isn't the *right* Spanish. Rather than recognizing it as language variation, she uses a binary measure of 'right' and 'wrong' and assumes that since she learned her Spanish from her family and not in school, it must be wrong.

When probed, participants were unable to define 'standard Spanish,' yet they were concerned that their Spanish was not standard and was insufficient. José said, 'I would want to learn Spanish that is [pause] more broadly applicable. I'm not comfortable with the phrase "academic Spanish," because I'm not completely sure what that means.' When pressed, he vaguely referred to Spain's *Real Academia*. Angelina simply said, '*No sé que es el español estándar.*' ('I don't know what standard Spanish is.')

The intersectionality of language register and class was apparent. For example, Raúl, from a formally educated, middle class family with linguistic elitist (Pimentel, 2011) beliefs that consistently corrected any non-standard or hybrid Spanish he used, was more confident in his Spanish academic language. He said, 'The expectation for me was that my parents would correct any Spanglish, no "*washe la truca*" none of that, no *lonche*.' Raúl's family valued standard Spanish because they believed it to be necessary to enable Raúl to become a diplomat as an adult, explicitly linking language variety to the socioeconomic advancement of a prestigious job.

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He recounted that his father often said to him, '*Si trabajas para el secretario del estado de México vas a tener que hablar un español* ***puro***.' ('If you work for the secretary of state in Mexico you'll need to use **pure** Spanish.') By associating 'pure' Spanish with high status careers in Mexico, Raúl's father communicated that academic Spanish is the language of the elite. 'Pure' is an insufficient translation, as the term 'español puro' denotes not only 'correct', standard Spanish, but also a lack of contamination by other influences (such as English or indigenous languages), just as the term 'pure' has been used to describe ethnic bloodlines in the past. As Flores and Rosa (2015) point out, 'linguistic purity- like racial purity- is a powerful ideological construct' (p. 162). Language practices, they argue, are devalued and heard as illegitimate because of the racialized bodies that enact the language practices and the social positions they carry, not because of the linguistic forms themselves. From a raciolinguistic perspective, '*washe la truca'* and '*lonche'* are impure and illegitimate forms of Spanish because of the stigmatized social positions the speakers and their families hold in their home country and in the U.S. Figure One portrays participants' views of academic versus home Spanish.

Insert Figure One here

Influence of School

With the exception of one participant who attended a Dual Language program, the HSSs unanimously referred to the start of school in the U.S. as the beginning of their Spanish language loss, reflecting Guerrero and Guerrero's (2008) vicious cycle of linguistic hegemony. As a result of the monolingual schooling system all participants, including the Dual Language program graduate, were more comfortable with academic language in English than in Spanish. For instance, referring to her parents, Daniela said, 'Once I went to kindergarten the focus was on, learn English, do well in school. The Spanish got pushed aside.' Like Daniela, Adriana spoke

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Spanish at home but became English dominant in elementary school in monolingual classrooms. She said, '*Crecí hablando puro español, pero luego, cuando comencé la escuela, en el quinto grado ya mi inglés subió del español, y el español nada más sé como oralmente, nunca academicamente lo aprendí.*' ('I grew up speaking only Spanish, by then when I started school, by fifth grade my English had surpassed my Spanish, and Spanish I only know orally, I never learned academic Spanish'). Angelina stated simply, '*Yo estoy acostumbrada hablar más tiempo en inglés porque siempre en la escuela, en la universidad, siempre es inglés*.' ('I'm used to speaking more in English because always in school, in college, it's always English.') Sara explained that in school she felt the need to select one language -- English *or* Spanish -- saying 'It's this feeling that you're choosing one [language] over the other. So if other kids don't have to feel that, that would be nice.' Since Spanish is not valued in most monolingual schools, the choice was essentially between being successful in school using English and maintaining her home language. Sara does not want other students to have to make this choice; becoming a bilingual teacher will allow her to support students' language development and maintenance in both Spanish and English.

Similarly, during her college Spanish class, Daniela inferred that her family's Spanish was inadequate. She stated:

> I realized that the Spanish my parents were teaching me was kind of, home language, slang. I realized, oops, I'm saying this wrong. And I would tell my parents, 'Hey, you're teaching me slang!' I need to learn academic [language], like how to structure a sentence. I feel like I've had a lot of challenges with trying to learn [Spanish].

If HSSs learn from Spanish teachers that their home language is 'slang' or '*totally* incorrect,' their feelings of inadequacy may negatively influence their decision to teach in a

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bilingual setting. While the Spanish teachers may have positive intentions, they may explicitly or implicitly transmit their own linguistic ideologies to their students, who appear to adopt these negative beliefs about home registers.

Many of the participants in this study were classified as English Language Learners when they were in school and connected on a personal level to the difficulty EB students face. One noted the irony stating, '*Yo fui uno de esos English language learners, o antes se decía ESL … ahora soy un SL, Spanish learner*.' ('I was one of those English language learners, or, they used to say ESL, now I'm an SL, Spanish learner.') Rather than developing HSS' first language, the English-only emphasis of U.S. schools resulted in home language loss and the perceived need for re-education in Spanish to conform to the schools' definition of Spanish. Daniela continues to develop both languages, considering her English to be 'not eloquent.' Using the present tense to show that she perceives a continued need to refine her language proficiency, she said, 'I'm an ELL! This is me!' Her simple exclamation unites her linguistically to EB students and enables her to personally understand their learning needs.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism as Forms of Equity

The HSSs who were considering becoming bilingual teachers were concerned with educational equity and viewed bilingual education as a form of Latinx advocacy and personal agency (Dubetz & de Jong, 2011). Griselda commented:

> Bilingual education is a push toward a more equitable education system, and I think being part of that is a constant reminder of wanting equity in education. It's a step toward more equitable education and more inclusivity of language differences in the United States. It's nice to know that there's institutional support of that language flexibility.

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> Being part of that is a huge pro. Not just a community for me, but a community for my students, that they feel more linguistically supported.

Griselda understood how developing a greater appreciation of bilingualism and participating in a school system that values multiple languages would be supportive of her Latinx students and families. Similarly, when asked about his decision to become a bilingual teacher, José also considered equity for the Latinx community, commenting on students and their families:

> That [decision] was partly *equity* focused, because I know that a lot of students don't have English as a first language and a lot of those students are Spanish-speaking. They might struggle more to learn in a classroom. Bilingual classrooms help with that. And also just having a teacher who understands their language would also help the student, and also the parents. The communication between the teacher and the parents is so important.

José identified bilingual teachers' ability to communicate with Spanish-speaking parents and implicitly, the resulting increased ability of both parents and teachers to support students when the language barrier is removed.

Many HSS added culture to the conversation, explicitly linking their home language to their culture and their ability to relate to Latinx students' language and culture. Griselda said, 'It's comfort-y and homey to be a situation where I can talk to other adults and little people in Spanish. It's almost more like a safe space to me than being limited to one language.' Clarisa echoed her comment stating, that bilingual education is more rewarding than teaching in English-only settings because of the shared language and culture. She stated, 'For me it's more culturally involved, it's more satisfying.' Sara also explicitly connected bilingual teaching with her home culture, stating:

For Peer Review

> I never wanted to lose sight of my traditions and my culture and that's something that I can share with them … I'm looking forward to sharing that and helping them be biliterate. I'm really excited about teaching in Spanish. I know that it will be really rewarding in many ways.

Valuing their own culture and language as an asset, it is likely that the HSS in this study will view their Latinx students from an asset-based perspective rather than from a deficit perspective so commonly seen in schools. Clarisa explained how bilingualism has been an asset in her life, stating:

> I really want to go and be a bilingual teacher. I know how it's helped me and my brothers. Knowing Spanish is more than just an educational tool. I've been able to use it in a more real-world setting … being able to connect to another culture, having that ability to do things for me, not just in an educational setting. It was very beneficial for me, for my life, for what I value.

Griselda echoed the concept of bilingualism as a source of opportunities stating, 'When [students] are learning another language, they're not just translating. It's really about opening doors for communication and understanding and a different way of processing your environment and also really useful.' The HSSs understand that bilingualism is an asset in very personal ways; they don't just believe it intellectually, they live bilingualism. They appreciate bilingualism as a generally unacknowledged strength Latinx students bring to school, and also recognize that it is undervalued in the broader culture of schools. As Maritza said, 'I would want to teach in a bilingual [setting] because, I'd be so aware of tipping the balance in another way for minority languages, even though it's not a minority (laughs).' In this comment she recognizes that despite the very large number of Spanish-speakers in the U.S., and particularly in California, Spanish

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still suffers from minority language treatment -- it is undervalued due to its speakers' lack of political power in the U.S. The HSSs in this study see bilingual education, and their future role as bilingual teachers, as one lever to improve the educational opportunities for Latinx students by helping them to maintain and develop, rather than lose, their home language and culture in school.

In summary, monolingual education systems caused the HSSs to question their Spanish abilities. Attending English-only schooling systems, their bilingualism was not viewed as an asset and was not developed. Instead, when many enrolled in high school and college Spanish courses, their home language was, perhaps inadvertently, denigrated as 'slang' or 'regional.' As a result, the HSSs shared the concern that their Spanish was not the 'right' Spanish to enable them to become bilingual teachers. Yet, the opportunity to ensure that future generations of Latinx students do not suffer what they did attracts them to the field of bilingual education.

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Conclusion and Implications

HSSs in this study felt that the register of Spanish they spoke at home was incorrect, inappropriate, and insufficient, despite it being an actual representation of how bilinguals do bilingualism (Auer, 1998). For some, experiences of classism stemming from a language purist ideology devalued their home register of Spanish and worked to limit their professional options: Despite Spanish being their first language, they were hesitant about becoming bilingual teachers. These findings are in accordance with research showing that U.S. schools tend to strip HSSs of their native language (Portes & Hao, 1998; 'State of Languages,' 2016) as well as international research showing that schools have been a primary mechanism for erasing diversity and silencing minorities (Gonzalo & Villanueva, 2012). Too late, HSS in the U.S. are 'reeducated' in high school and college Spanish classes that redefine what counts as Spanish. Consequently,

HSSs are concerned about their ability to teach the 'right' Spanish to children in bilingual programs.

McCarty (2012) points out that past education policies have vilified students from non-dominant cultures, 'deracializing past histories and diverting attention away from the social and economic injustices' (p. 2). Since bilingual teacher preparation programs tend to serve linguistically and racially diverse students, it is imperative that they adopt policies and practices that validate HSSs' home language and culture. Including teacher education courses in Spanish as a component of the bilingual credential program could support bilingual teachers' development of Spanish, decrease their uneasiness with using Spanish in the classroom, and begin to break the cycle of ideological reproduction (Guerrero, 1997, 2003a). Additionally, policies that support and incentivize bilinguals to become teachers are needed (Hopkins, 2013; Musanti, 2014; Ocasio, 2014), particularly in the face of a culture that elevates English and its speakers over Spanish and its speakers (Arce, 2004; Brito, et al., 2004).

In addition, bilingual teacher preparation should address critical sociolinguistics concepts that explore the relationships between language, race and ethnicity in education. An understanding that every speaker of a language speaks a variety of that language and that language varieties are not inherently 'bad' or 'good' could help HSS view their home language as a legitimate variety of Spanish. As such, bilingual teachers should be provided with opportunities to engage in critical discussions of language appropriateness and raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015) that highlight the roles social position and race play in the way that language is heard and legitimized. Developing sociolinguistic and raciolinguistic understandings of language among future bilingual teachers could foster a bilingual education model that embraces the Spanish (and English) language varieties that children bring into

For Peer Review

classrooms and could potentially reduce the number of bilingual youth who steer away from the bilingual teaching profession because they do not believe their Spanish is good enough.

Our work with teacher candidates is consistent with findings about in-service bilingual teachers. Irizarry and Donaldson (2012) found that the participants in their studies 'consistently described teaching as a platform from which to challenge the injustices they experienced in schools [and want to] transform the institutions they viewed as critical to shaping the opportunities available to Latina/o youth' (p. 168). The teacher candidates in our study viewed bilingualism and bilingual education as a path towards educational equity and a way to ensure that future generations of Latinx youth would not have to choose between English and Spanish. They hoped that their students would see bilingualism as an asset rather than a liability as a result of their bilingual schooling experiences. Future research could explore how HSS bilingual teachers enact their beliefs about equity through bilingual education, the challenges they face, and the ways that teacher education programs and professional development providers could support their work. Additional research on how bilingual teacher education programs address and support HSS' linguistic concerns may help strengthen bilingual teacher education and increase the number of bilingual teachers entering the field.

For Peer Review

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Table 1.

Participants

Pseudonym	BAP option available?	Credential Pathway	Gender	Bilingualism	Country of Birth
Maritza	Yes	BAP	F	sequential	US
Raúl	Yes	BAP	M	simultaneous	US
Angelina	Yes	BAP	F	sequential	Mexico
José	Yes	BAP	M	sequential	US
Griselda	Yes	BAP	F	simultaneous	US
Sara	Yes	EO	F	sequential	Mexico
Daniela	Yes	EO	F	sequential	US
Clarisa	No	EO	F	sequential	US
Joaquin	No	EO	M	simultaneous	US
Adriana	No	EO	F	sequential	US
Janet	No	EO	F	sequential	US

For Peer Review