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The Seismic Effect of the “English-Only” Era in California: A Raciolinguistic Perspective Towards a Community-Centered Bilingual Education

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Abstract

This paper examines how the landscape of Bilingual Teacher Preparation (BTP) in California has morphed since the *Lau v. Nichols* case. We explore the seismic effect the *Lau* case had in uncovering the role of whiteness, English hegemony, monolingual and neoliberal ideologies in the schooling experiences of immigrant students, and how universities prepare bilingual teacher candidates. Within this evolving topography, it is key to understand how policies have guided BTP in pendular movements: forwards (Assembly Bill 1329 and Proposition 58) and backwards (Proposition 227), impeding a linear and assertive progress, which created the stagnation of language policy that frames BTP from a raciolinguistic perspective (Rosa & Flores, 2017). We conclude by presenting and critically analyzing the latest state mandate: the Bilingual Teacher Performance Expectations (BTPEs). By describing the California journey, we urge other states to reimagine the future of bilingual teacher education policies that honor the racial, cultural, and linguistic identities of multilingual students working in solidarity across ethnic and racial groups to transform bilingual education into a community-centered experience alongside families of color.

Keywords: Language policy, bilingual education, teacher preparation, *Lau v. Nichols*

Introduction

By using the *Lau v. Nichols* case as a lens to critique a 20-year reign of English-only instruction, we, bilingual teacher educators, collectively envision what the future of bilingual teacher preparation and bilingual education holds in California. A close reading of *Lau v. Nichols* allows us to see how policy changes are part of a pendulum swing between Ruiz's (1990) tripartite orientations of *language as a problem* and *language as a right* within bilingual education movements in California (Escamilla, 2016). A pivotal point in this action-reaction motion is the ruling of *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974, which described how the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) did not intend to discriminate against speakers but failed to "provide any language assistance to substantial numbers of non-English speakers, Chinese and Chinese-American students [which] violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act" (Civil Rights Act, 1964). A raciolinguistic perspective builds upon Ruiz's tripartite language orientations because it considers *the contestation of racial and linguistic power formations* as intricately connected to the emergence of an English-only era in California (Rosa & Flores, 2017).

An important factor to consider when examining what is laid out in the *Lau v. Nichols* case is the fact that supplemental instruction in English was the proposed "solution" to ensure equal access to the curriculum. As it was written, this ruling continues to be problematic because it fails to recognize the focus on the linguistic behavior of a minoritized group rather than the upholding of white supremacy by denying students from a Chinese background access to an equity-centered education compared to their white and English-speaking counterparts. We ask, *how are universities preparing bilingual teacher educators to deconstruct notions of white supremacy in bilingual classrooms? How do bilingual teacher educator programs promote linguistic diversity in ways that challenge racial and class inequities?*

As of today, even with the new Bilingual Teacher Performance Expectations (BTPEs) in California, the intentions, goals, and motivations guiding bilingual teacher preparation programs remain questionable and ambiguous. *How* and *why* are bilingual teacher candidates being prepared within compulsory education systems where the priority still focuses on linguistic behavior (e.g., English language learner [ELL] reclassification)? We use the metaphor of a seismic effect to illustrate the impact and changes in policy that have shaped bilingual teacher preparation across the state.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to include an exhaustive critique of *all* policies related to language education. We will hone in on how systemic change and seismic reconstruction (and/or destruction) are needed at the policy level to dismantle the establishment of white, colonial, heteronormative, monoglossic, and monolingual schooling experiences and move towards a community-centered bilingual education. By briefly highlighting specific legislation, we share California's story as an example of how *Lau v. Nichols* shaped the current status of bilingual teacher preparation, which all states could consider or follow. We argue all states need bilingual teacher preparation expectations that are aligned with bilingual education programs and curricula. This requires that bilingual teacher educators continue to pave a path that is centered around *la comunidad* and is grounded in the experiences of minoritized students and families. All states have institutions of higher education that are responsible for preparing bilingual teachers to work with linguistically diverse students. That said, not all states have bilingual teacher preparation expectation standards. Public school communities are on the receiving end of a teacher's credentialing and preparation program. Therefore, we must design Bilingual Teacher Preparation (BTP) programs that embrace "power to the people" (García & Sung, 2018) frameworks grounded in community.

We focus on California due to the aggressive elimination of bilingual education that occurred overnight in 1998 with the passing of Proposition 227. We aim to illustrate to readers the importance

of persistence and continued activism, now more than ever, for equity-centered bilingual education programs in other states. As a community, we must work towards creating policy that sustains bilingual education services especially during unprecedented political times. One way to do this is by infusing *la comunidad* with the institutionalization of bilingual teacher preparations at the local, state, and university levels.

Theoretical Framework

A raciolinguistic perspective (Rosa & Flores, 2017) includes five key components: (1) historical and contemporary colonial co-naturalizations of race and language, (2) perceptions of racial and linguistic difference, (3) regimentations of racial and linguistic categories, (4) racial and linguistic intersections and assemblages, and (5) contestations of racial and linguistic power formations. Our conceptual paper draws from the third and fifth components, which involve the *regimentations of racial and linguistic categories* and the *contestations of racial and linguistic power formations* within public institutions. A raciolinguistic perspective includes a focus on race and language and is used to rationalize why bi/plurilingual immigrants need access to an equitable schooling experience. For instance, racial and linguistic power formations were at play with the passing of the *Lau* case, which, in turn, shaped bilingual teacher preparation in California. The *Lau* case used language and race (non-English-speaking students of Chinese ancestry) to claim that students deserved an equal education in English.

When we highlight the regimentation of racial and linguistic categories combined with contestation of power formations as it relates to language and educational policy, we are able to take on “a reconfiguration-oriented approach [which] seeks to connect language struggles to broader contestations of power” (Rosa & Flores, 2017, p. 21). Morrison (1994) describes the white gaze as coming from the perspective, experiences, and identities of the dominant group (i.e., white folks). In other words, advocating for equity in the schooling experiences of racialized bilinguals must include challenging structural issues that were and are designed to function under the white gaze. Otherwise, we risk perpetuating the marginalization of bilingual students by focusing on their linguistic behavior and not in the ways we can move “toward a dismantling of the white supremacy that permeates mainstream institutions as a product of colonialism” (Flores et al., 2021, p. 17).

Methods

Positionalities

We come together in solidarity as bilingual teacher educators and scholars working with mostly first-generation undergraduate and graduate students from linguistically and culturally minoritized backgrounds. The students self-identify as Spanish, Korean, or Mandarin bilinguals from immigrant backgrounds who are enrolled at Hispanic/Minoritized Serving Institutions in California. As scholars, we recognize our diverse backgrounds and experiences in bilingual education and bring a unique positionality to this work collectively and individually. As a team and a group of bi/plurilingual teacher educators who are serving as bilingual program coordinators at our respective colleges of education, we were co-chairs (Academic Year 2023-2024) of the California State University Council for Plurilingual Educator Preparation Leadership team.

Chronological Analysis

As a conceptual paper, we begin with a chronological analysis (Delgado, 2007) of the evolving landscape of bilingual teacher preparation in California. The analysis began with looking at prior scholarship analyzing bilingual teacher preparation in California. We noted how the focus evolved *from* a basic requirement to have an oral proficiency in speaking Spanish *to* the implementation of critical pedagogy that honors the cultural identities of students from linguistically diverse backgrounds.

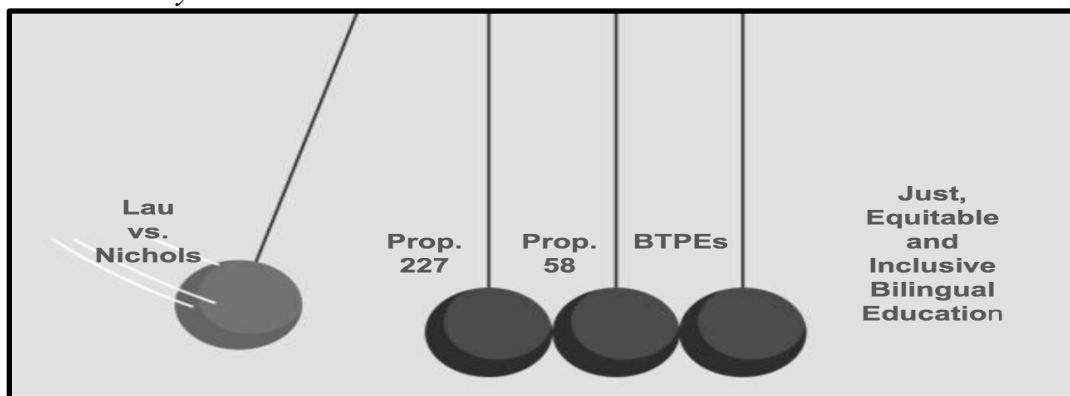
Next, we reviewed language and educational policies (e.g., Senate Bill 53, Proposition 227) before and after the passing of *Lau v. Nichols*. We collectively read research articles that were published before and after 1964, which marks the passing of *Lau*, with a focus on bilingual teacher preparation in the state of California. We used thematic analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) to identify themes such as the liberal multiculturalism wave to sanction English acquisition, a raciolinguistic perspective of policies, and the need for a bilingual education revolution from the articles that aligned with CA policy from different eras, which impacted bilingual teacher preparation. We provide readers with a broad overview of the evolution of bilingual teacher preparation as an ecosystem composed of complex networks between community members such as students, families, administrators, politicians, and educational institutions. We also consider how these connections are impacted by racial, social, political, cultural, and linguistic factors. The section below describes the pendulum theory to illustrate the back-and-forth motion between policies that have shaped bilingual teacher preparation in California.

The Pendulum Theory: Language Policy and Bilingual Teacher Preparation in California

The pendulum theory describes how sociocultural change in society can oscillate back and forth, creating a sort of stagnant chaos and temporary periods of transformation (Sorokin, 2017). When applying the pendulum theory to our language policy critique, we argue that proposed actions in the field of bilingual education have oscillated back and forth (see Figure 1) from California legislators negating the value of bilingualism in 1872 *to* authorizing bilingual education through Senate Bill 53 signed by the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, in 1967; *back to* Proposition 227, dismantling bilingual education in 1998; and then *towards* Proposition 58 in 2016, repealing bilingual education restrictions enacted by Proposition 227.

Figure 1

The Pendulum Theory



Despite this evidence, the pendulum of language policy keeps moving between an English-only movement (*language as a problem*) and bilingual education as a counterpart force (*language as a right/resource*). While Ruiz's tripartite language orientations are foundational in shaping and understanding policy, a raciolinguistic perspective illuminates an intricate understanding of how structural issues are at the crux of dismantling racial inequities and moving us towards a community-centered bilingual education.

In the sections to follow, we identify three themes from our review of the literature in order to explore the evolution of bilingual teacher preparation programs in California and how they are aligned with the passing of educational and language policy. The three themes are The Liberal Multiculturalism Wave to Sanction English Acquisition, a Raciolinguistic Perspective and Oscillating Forces Between Policies, and an Urgent Call for a Bilingual Education Revolution. Our focus is not policy per se but rather how the passing of *Lau v. Nichols* played a critical role in moving the bilingual education community towards a conversation focused on how to drastically change the schooling experiences of racialized bilingual students in California. We explore how policies have, in some cases, eroded the landscape of bilingual teacher preparation programs and, in other instances, created ethereal, verdant, and pristine programs and possibilities. In the section that follows, we describe the liberal multicultural wave that followed after the 1960s Civil Rights Movement which sanctioned English acquisition in the public schools.

Pre-Proposition 227 (1970-1988): The Liberal Multiculturalism Wave to Sanction English Acquisition

In 1970, prior to the passing of *Lau v. Nichols*, the Teacher Preparation and Licensing Act (commonly, the Ryan Act), developed standards for teacher education which included “the issuance of credentials to program graduates and the development, approval, and evaluation of programs of teacher preparation” (LoPresti, 1977, p. 674) with a focus on biculturalism. The efforts around biculturalism positioned administrators and practitioners to lead the nation towards bilingual teacher credentials. This sort of focus on biculturalism rather than creating standards that focus on developing students' bilingualism is what Flores and Rosa (2015) described as liberal multiculturalism. During the Pre-Proposition 227 (1970-1988) era of bilingual education in California, a liberal multiculturalism wave emerged, describing how racialized communities' linguistic resources (in this case bilingualism) are valued and celebrated as long as they are also aiming towards learning English.

Bilingual teacher preparation and policy continued to be framed from a language and power formation. In 1972, California was the first state in the nation to establish bilingual teacher credentials (LoPresti, 1977). The criteria to receive a bilingual certificate during this time period were limited to demonstrating a level of Spanish proficiency on a Spanish language subtest. An emphasis on language competency should be coupled with the development of cultural awareness about the community teachers are preparing to serve in bilingual classrooms. By focusing solely on language use, rather than the language struggles and the structural inequities that marginalize communities of color, institutions perpetuate injustices in the schooling experiences of racialized students. In other words, the only factor that has changed in the establishment of bilingual teacher credentials is the language being used, from English to Spanish, to perpetuate these inequities. To reiterate the focus on celebrating biculturalism, not the concerted effort to sustain bilingualism, Midobuche (1999) explains, “Competencies for candidates preparing to become bilingual teachers

were not reported either by the Commission on Teacher Credentialing nor the California Department of Education” (p. 24).

The establishment of bilingual teacher credentials did not translate into institutional programs, such as public schools and universities. In fact, there continues to be an urgent need for institutions of higher education to truly embody the promotion and advocacy needed to establish, implement, and maintain/sustain bilingual education programs in public schools (Abramson et al., 1993; Hidalgo, 1981). Without a systemic and institutionalized pathway, the preparation of bilingual teachers was reduced to a focus on practice and assessment towards English language development.

In this light, it is reasonable to assume that BTP competencies in California were limited to those tested on the California Subject Examinations for Teachers (CSET). We hypothesize that because BTP did not illuminate an intricate understanding of how structural issues are at the crux of dismantling racial inequities, it further narrowed the lack of opportunities for acquiring the pedagogical language knowledge (PLK), languaging for specific purposes (LSP), and teaching and learning practices, which had a direct impact on how many bilingual teachers decided to embark on the design, implementation, and assessment of culturally and linguistically responsive practices in K-12 bilingual programs. Without professional learning experiences that leverage students’ cultural backgrounds for learning, a teacher’s practice has the potential to reflect their own held language ideology, whether positive or negative, and pedagogy towards language learning (García et al., 2025).

Language and power contestations about the establishment of bilingual teacher credentials translated to a focus on linguistic behavior (Hidalgo, 1981). Through the 70s and the 80s, another common theme included bilingual teachers described as “not fully bilingual” or as not “qualified,” which referred to both the scarcity of credentialing and the content area (e.g., math, science, etc.) language competencies of teachers and aides (Gandara & Sun, 1986; Gold, 1992; Hidalgo, 1981; Salamanca, 1974). This skeptical view of BTP meant that California had the number of students bureaucratically labeled as ELLs¹ needed to implement more bilingual programs across the state, but without a focus on challenging structural issues, the expansion of bilingual schools becomes not only challenging but also a political topic in the hands of individuals with power, such as politicians, and not the community.

Just as seismologists study earthquakes and vibrations, we aim to locate the source of how and if these three elements—shortage of bilingual teachers, bilingual teacher preparation, and the number of emergent bilinguals in bilingual programs—were connected through causation or correlation (Flores et al., 2010; Menken & Antunez, 2001; Varghese, 2004). During this time period (1970-1988), bilingual teachers expressed not feeling prepared to teach students who carried the designated “Limited English Proficient” label (Gandara, 1997; Merino & Faltis, 1993). While AB 1329 (commonly, the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act) passed in 1976, mandating school districts to provide emergent bilinguals with equal access to education compared to their monolingual-English counterparts, teachers were concerned about not having the opportunity to work alongside veteran practitioners with robust experiences in working with language learners (Abramson et al., 1993).

In 1987 the California Commission of Teacher Credentialing formed the Bilingual Crosscultural Advisory Panel (BCAP), which included members of higher education institutions, school boards, county offices of education, and professional development organizations. They

¹ In the original document, the term “ELLs” was used. However, in this paper, we will use “emergent bilinguals” to honor the multilingual identities and experiences of racialized children. We will leave “ELLs” in quotations to show the contrast and its historical use.

spearheaded efforts to create authorizations, which included the Cross-cultural, Language and Academic Development (CLAD) and Bilingual Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development (BCLAD). While the CLAD focused on structured English immersion, the BCLAD emphasized “primary” language instruction in subtractive bilingual education programs such as the transitional or transference model, where acquiring English was the end goal. In the following section, we describe how a raciolinguistic perspective and oscillating forces between policies worked to erode bilingual teacher preparation programs while at the same time create a context in which sustaining bilingual education programs became a challenge, albeit not impossible.

Post-Proposition 227 (1998–2016): A Raciolinguistic Perspective and Oscillating Forces Between Policies

More than 20 years after *Lau*’s case, language learners in California were shaken once again by raciolinguistic views of bilingual education. A raciolinguistic perspective of bilingual education set the foundation for what was to come in 1998—when Californians experienced a major shake when Proposition 227 passed. What was left included previous efforts to promote bilingual education with the establishment of the BCLAD, but what came tumbling down were bilingual education programs (e.g., dual language, transitional models) that aimed to sustain children’s bilingualism, identities, and family ties.

During the post-Proposition 227 era, we draw from studies (Jiménez-Castellanos & Rodriguez, 2009; Martinez, 2017; Palmer, 2007; Palmer & García, 2023) that illustrate the resilience and struggles of educators in adapting to and overcoming the challenges posed by restrictive language policies. A raciolinguistic perspective considers how restrictive language policies force racialized bilinguals into racial and linguistic categories that do not reflect their bilingual identities. For instance, educators who opposed Proposition 227 urged parents to exercise their rights to allow their children to be in bilingual education programs. These rights took the form of waivers that opened up opportunities for students’ right to learn in, say, Spanish, that were codified in *de jure* policy and written into Proposition 227 as four different “exceptions.” Parents could enroll their child in a bilingual classroom (1) if the child was at least 10 years old and/or (2) in an English-only class for 30 days and the principals and teachers believed that learning another language was best for the child. Another “exception” included (3) allowing parents who wanted their child to learn, say, Spanish, to sign a waiver and place them in a bilingual classroom. The last exception to providing a bilingual program was (4) if a school had 20 or more students who were considered “Limited English Proficient” in a grade level and believed those students would benefit from a bilingual education (Gandara et al., 2000). The regimentation of racial and linguistic categories is described as a sort of raciolinguistic enregisterment, which takes into consideration how language policies, assessments, and classifications, such as the fourth exception mentioned above, requires the language practices of racialized bilinguals only when it benefits white families (Flores & García, 2017).

During the English-only era, teacher educators like Enchandia et al. (2007) documented how they prepared teachers to advocate for social justice in diverse classrooms by addressing systemic inequalities and empowering marginalized communities through supporting emergent bilinguals of color. Teacher educators pushed for race- and language-conscious policies to recruit and retain candidates from underrepresented backgrounds, focusing on educating candidates from low-income and culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds to serve in communities similar to their own (Faltis & Smith, 2016; Tellez & Varghese, 2013).

Similarly, Cadiero-Kaplan and Rodríguez (2008) also delved into the challenges and significance of preparing highly qualified bilingual teachers for emergent bilinguals “ELLs” in California, with a focus on policies like No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and Proposition 227. They underscore the role of bilingual teachers in bridging language and culture as well as efforts to enhance teacher quality under NCLB and encountered inconsistencies in defining “highly qualified” teachers for emergent bilinguals. According to a raciolinguistic perspective, the contestation of race and language is “situated within a broader political and economic analysis that seeks to understand how these efforts reinforce and/or challenge racial and class inequities” (Rosa & Flores, 2017, p. 21). For instance, proponents of Proposition 227 continued to incite skepticism, or reinforce racial and class inequities, by arguing bilingual education programs are detrimental to English language development (Johnson, 1999). Furthermore, changes in credentialing programs following Senate Bill 2042 raised concerns about whether the demand for bilingual educators could be met and whether the needs of students with the designated “ELL” label would be adequately addressed, given the insufficient resources available (Cadiero-Kaplan and Rodríguez, 2008).

The design and implementation of the CLAD and BCLAD were from a raciolinguistic perspective in that the linguistic behavior of racialized bilinguals focused on the acquisition of English. For example, the CLAD is designed to provide teachers with the tools to transition students to the dominant language. The BCLAD was designed to “mediate access” to a form of subtractive bilingual education where attaining English while developing a minoritized language was prioritized. Rosa and Flores (2017) describe how “the root cause to racial disparities in educational achievement was located not in the inequitable distribution of material resources but rather in the deficiency of racialized students and their families” (p. 639). Both the CLAD and BCLAD teacher education policies for students with the “ELL” label in the state continued until 2001, when Senate Bill 2042 updated teacher education standards. These standards for preliminary teacher preparation and induction guided the K-12 teaching competencies. The CLAD-BCLAD option was replaced by a mandate, Senate Bill 2042, for all general teacher preparation to address the needs of racialized bilinguals considered “ELLs.” By focusing on the “needs” of racialized bilinguals, the mandate perpetuates white supremacy and does not create a “point of equilibrium,” nor does it create a “sustainable period of ELLs.” Coupled with a focus on linguistic behavior rather than the structural inequities designed to produce monolingual-English students, Senate Bill 2042 reform did not address the content-area (e.g., math, science, etc.) competencies, skills, and standards for bilingual teacher preparation in the state. Eventually, the Commission on Teacher Credentialing (2013) approved an interim policy that continued bilingual teacher preparation programs that offered the BCLAD option until an advisory panel addressed the issue.

Advocacy groups who supported the passing of AB 1871 continued to resist raciolinguistic ideologies about bilingual education in California by promoting the issuance of bilingual authorization instead of a certificate, which had less weight in terms of teacher credentialing. Not only did AB 1871 (2008) provide for the issuance of bilingual authorizations rather than certificates (e.g., CLAD & BCLAD), it expanded the options available to meet the requirements for the Bilingual Authorization. Bilingual Authorizations allow the holders to provide instruction to students deemed “English Learners (EL).”²

When teachers feel strongly prepared, they can have a significant positive impact on the academic achievement of students, particularly when they are specifically trained to work with emergent bilinguals (Gandara et al., 2000; Gandara et al., 2005; Gandara & Rumberger, 2006).

² For a summary of all documents that authorize instruction to students with the designated EL label, see the leaflet [Serving English Learners, CL-622](#).

Preparing teachers to work alongside students in bilingual programs must encompass advocacy efforts aimed at deconstructing the systemic barriers that continue to oppress both students and educators from racialized backgrounds who engage in these educational settings. Otherwise, de facto bilingual education policies like California's design and implementation of the Seal of Biliteracy (California Department of Education, 2012) and the English Learner Roadmap (California Department of Education, 2017) will perpetuate language and race power formation. In fact, the establishment of the Seal of Biliteracy begs the question, who actually gets to be bilingual? The Seal of Biliteracy began as a policy to counter the passing of Proposition 227 in order to recognize the bilingualism of students from immigrant backgrounds, but due to interest convergence, it morphed to primarily serve white privileged students from world languages programs who were learning a second language (Colomer & Bacon-Chang, 2020; Heineke & Davin, 2020; Valdes, 2020). Interest convergence occurs when white families finally advocate for bilingual education because they have a vested interest in having their own children become bilingual (Flores, 2016). California was the first state to adopt the Seal of Biliteracy, and since then, all other states have followed suit. As bilingual teacher educators and advocates of bilingualism, it is urgent that educators and community members from other states continue to problematize who actually benefits from the Seal of Biliteracy. If we are truly valuing the bilingualism of immigrant communities, then we must "situate advocacy for these programs within a comprehensive approach to community and social transformation that addresses the white supremacist and capitalist relations of power that are root causes of these disparities" (Rosa & Flores, 2017, p. 21). In the next section, we honed in on recent scholarship in the discipline of bilingual education and identified that there is an urgent need for a bilingual education revolution in the United States now more than ever!

Post-Proposition 58 (2016–2024): An Urgent Call for a Bilingual Education Revolution

Fifty years ago, the *Lau* case paved the way towards uncovering how a raciolinguistic perspective of immigrant families from a Chinese background prevented them from receiving a bilingual education (Morita-Mullaney, 2024). When Californians passed Proposition 58 in 2016, they did so with a similar intent as the families supporting *Lau*, which was to provide access to a more equitable school experience for immigrant communities. That said, language and race were definitely contested with the promotion of Proposition 58 on the ballot. Due to the term "bilingual education" being highly stigmatized, Proposition 58 was promoted as opening up the opportunity to implement dual language education programs, which were framed as "education for a global economy" (California Department of Education, 2019). A raciolinguistic perspective views this approach to bilingual education as the neoliberal commodification of racialized children's bilingualism.

In 2016, voters in California passed Proposition 58, which repealed all the limitations to bilingual education imposed by Proposition 227. Two years later, the California Department of Education (CDE) published and approved the California Global 2030 Initiative supporting multilingualism as an essential skill *all* students must develop in order to be successful and competitive in the job market. The passing of Proposition 58 and the California Global 2030 initiative are rooted in language and race power formations. We agree with other scholars (Freire et al., 2017; Palmer & García-Mateus, 2023; Valdez et al., 2016) that we must proceed cautiously due to white and upper middle-class families finally seeing the benefit of a bilingual education and their willingness to pass legislation (i.e., Proposition 58) so that their children can also benefit from becoming bilingual. The problematic aspect of these two recent policies is that they frame

bilingualism as a good to be consumed by students who fit within a capitalistic positionality (Flores, 2019).

The passing of Proposition 58 has propelled the growth of bilingual programs, specifically dual language immersion, across California and the nation (Valdez et al., 2016). To meet the demand for bilingual teachers, teacher educators are working to undo the harm caused by Proposition 227 on the design, structure, and recruitment efforts of their respective BTP programs (Alfaro & Hernández, 2024). For instance, López and López (2020) describe the cross-institutional collaborations taken by a two-year and a four-year institution to increase the bilingual teacher pipeline as well as to provide access to teachers of color into the teaching workforce. Despite the challenges, BTP programs are joining the call for the bilingual education revolution (Palmer et al., 2015; Poza, 2019).

Bilingual teacher educators are in consensus about the criticality of building BTP programs grounded in sociopolitical consciousness by fostering bilingual teacher candidates' ideological clarity and critical consciousness. Alfaro and Bartolomé (2018) underscore the importance of preparing ideologically clear bilingual teachers that can identify and denounce raciolinguistic ideologies about language and language use to embrace the languaging of working-class students of color. Alfaro and Hernández (2024) argue that fostering students' ideological clarity is interconnected to the process of self-reflection and urge bilingual teacher educators to support them in examining their own linguistic and cultural resources so that they, in turn, can support their future students. Rodríguez-Mojica et al. (2019) highlight the need for bilingual teacher candidates to analyze the interconnections between race, language, and power to contest hegemonic notions of academic language that may deter them from becoming bilingual teachers. Navarro Martell and Esquinca (2023) describe the importance of preparing critically conscious bilingual science teachers to ensure that science is taught in bilingual programs through a decolonial lens. Connected to the fostering of critical understandings related to specific content areas, del Rosario Zavala (2017) argues that, besides strengthening bilingual pre-service teachers' linguistic abilities to teach mathematics in Spanish, bilingual teacher candidates must grapple with the social reality that participation in mathematics is oftentimes interconnected with the power dynamics related to intersecting identities.

Associated with the fostering of ideological clarity and critical consciousness, bilingual education scholars in California urge for the creation of spaces where bilingual teacher candidates self-reflect on their positionalities. Hernández and Alfaro (2020) describe how they led bilingual teacher candidates in an in-depth examination of the impact that Proposition 227 had on their lives. The authors explain the importance of reawakening bilingual teacher candidates' passion for becoming bilingual teachers and working toward the transformation of a system that placed multiple barriers to their bilingualism and biliteracy. López and Santibañez's (2018) study exposed the need for bilingual preparation programs to provide candidates opportunities to develop their self-efficacy, which leads to positive academic success.

Building on critical ideologies and self-reflection, Herrera (2022) delineates the importance of BTP being rooted in social justice by engaging bilingual teacher candidates in critical bilingual literacies (CBL). Through CBL, bilingual teacher candidates can be supported in forging a translanguaging stance that embraces emergent bilinguals' dynamic bilingualism as well as in "conceptualizing learning spaces that reflect the topics and texts that are culturally and linguistically sustaining of the communities that we teach" (Herrera, 2022, p. 188). Similarly, Sawyer and Rodríguez (2023) argue that by fostering an understanding of translanguaging, bilingual teacher candidates can understand language as dynamic and, thus, move away from monoglossic conceptualizations of bilingualism.

As described in this section, the growing literature from California's bilingual education revolution exemplifies the criticality of BTP programs raising awareness alongside *la comunidad* about the structural inequities that continue to marginalize racialized bilinguals and their families. It also echoes the sentiments of collective struggle and advocacy for minoritized students put forth by *Lau v. Nichols*. BTP efforts across the state are working to undo the harm caused by Proposition 227 by centering critical ideologies, creating spaces of self-reflection, and fostering culturally and linguistically sustaining pedagogies. In the next section, we analyze the potentiality of the new Bilingual Teacher Performance Expectations adopted by the state of California in 2021 as a framework that could center and ground bilingual education in the cultural and language practices of bilingual communities.

Bilingual Teacher Performance Expectations (BTPEs): A Community-Centered Bilingual Education

Seven years after Proposition 58 was passed, the California Commission on Teaching Credential (CTC) adopted the revised Bilingual Authorization Program Standards and the new Bilingual Teaching Performance Expectations (see Appendix). It is important to note that the 2008 Bilingual Teacher Standards were initially passed, revised, and rewritten, drawing from current research on topics such as translanguaging, community-based practices, and transnational students' experiences. Then, for the first time in the history of bilingual education in California, BTPEs were created to have a parallel framework to the one constructed around Teacher Performance Expectations (TPE).

Thinking about the BTPEs and their historical background as connected to *Lau's* case, we pose the following question: *are we finally moving towards a community-centered bilingual education where universities prepare practitioners to foster children's bilingualism and develop critical consciousness about structural inequities that continue to marginalize racialized bilinguals?*

After almost 15 years of a restricted era in bilingual education between Proposition 227 and Proposition 58, the new BTPEs are a window of opportunity and hope for a bilingual education. The BTPEs move away from the 2009 California Bilingual Authorization Standards written within a framework of separation of languages and languaging. Standards have shifted from a focus on linguistic behavior ("proficiency and competency") towards recognizing the immigrant communities who speak, say, Spanish or other Asian languages, and their identities, experiences, and intersectionalities.

The changes in the BTPEs aim towards a transformative and progressive bilingual education constructed within a humanizing framework (Stacey et al., 2020). Being bilingual is the enactment of linguistic repertoires by students of color who build their identities, their experiences, and their intersectionalities across languages (Briceno, 2019; Ott et al., 2023). Teaching is based on critically and actively valuing and embracing the speaker for who she/he/they are and not by standardized language norms or the white gaze (Rosa, 2016). Performance is rooted in a collaborative and collective production of languaging for specific purposes by students and faculty (Aquino-Sterling & Rodríguez-Valls, 2016).

Notwithstanding, the BTPEs are set to counteract constructs such as "appropriate," "correct," and "adequate" by including the linguistic identities and the bi/multicultural experiences of racialized children. It is urgent that we continue to advocate for a bilingual teacher workforce that aims to dismantle raciolinguistic ideologies considering the continually shifting linguistic terrain of California (Rodríguez & Guerra, 2023) and the racist political movement across the nation. Like in

the past, Bilingual Teacher Preparation Programs have a pivotal role in creating spaces where candidates critically analyze the performance expectations written by the state as tools to evaluate their pedagogical, methodological, ideological, and linguistic competencies. We have included as examples the following three BTPEs:

BTPE 2.7: Establish and maintain clear expectations for productive student-to-student as well as student-to-teacher interactions by co-constructing opportunities *for safe and respectful translanguaging during instruction.*

BTPE 6.6: Recognize the negative effects on students of stereotyping, *lack of valuing language varieties/dialects used by students, families, and communities,* and lack of valuing the diversity and dimensionality of language.

BTPE 6.7: Understand the constant flux of language vocabulary and usage and take steps *to mitigate interference between languages in instructional planning,* instructional activities, interactions with students, colleagues, family members, and communities.

We should be alert to how faculty and students analyze constructs such as “safe and respectful translanguaging” and “lack of valuing varieties (or viewing marginalized languages as dialects)” and mitigate interference between languages. A movement towards a community-centered bilingual education is ignited by the force that sees translanguaging and language varieties as the norm rather than the deviation (Garcia, 2020). Furthermore, linguistic inclusion is designed to dismantle concepts such as interference between named languages. Inclusivity provides the space for developing critical metalinguistic awareness by conducting translinguistic analysis. Critical metalinguistic awareness is the knowledge speakers acquire when analyzing the why of their languaging choices and how these are often controlled by the white listening subject (Flores & Rosa, 2015). In conducting a translinguistic analysis, language users compare the structures between named languages. This analysis is critical to recognize language as a living organism that constantly evolves to defy constructs such as “appropriate,” “correct,” and “standardized.” Understanding the why of languaging empowers the users to dismantle what is seen and perceived as a deviation from the white listener; thus, the dynamism and evolving organisms become the norm.

Discussion

In the previous sections, acting as seismologists, we critically analyzed how bilingual teacher preparation has morphed since the *Lau v. Nichols* case. As we shared in our positionality statement, each one of us experienced these policies from different backgrounds and in unique spaces (e.g., classroom teachers, doctoral students, and faculty). Our collective experiences are reflected in the critique of policies and their impact on bilingual teacher preparation programs. Dialogue, editing, amplification, and shaping ideas were part of our commitment to shift our views and ensure the Bilingual Teacher Preparation Standards and the Bilingual Teacher Performance Expectations are to be implemented through the lenses of just, equitable, and inclusive language and languaging. The design part is key in our current work as bilingual educators, as it requires intentional and strategic effort on how language and languaging should be used transformatively and as part of the collective work we do to dismantle white supremacy and raciolinguistic ideologies in the classrooms to ensure justice for linguistically marginalized students and families.

The design and implementation of just, equitable, and inclusive programs is one of the key components of the new pathways for bilingual education, yet there are barriers that prevent the full impact of the newly revised bilingual teacher preparation programs in California. One of these barriers is how TK-12 English-only schooling historically and continuously has disenfranchised bilingual students. Another important factor is the lack of financial support for prospective bilingual teacher educators. To combat these elements, CSU campuses have taken action by creating grant proposals designed to reconstruct teacher preparation programs and to provide scholarships for bilingual teacher candidates. The latter guarantees that prospective bilingual candidates will pursue careers within a monolingual and English-dominant educational system. The former, reconstructing the core of teacher preparation programs, is a must to develop a pedagogical, methodological, and ideological cohesiveness for all teacher candidates.

50 years ago, it took a Supreme Court case to change the landscape of linguistic inclusion. Today, with the new political scenario across the nation, creating culturally and linguistically inclusive spaces is a collective charge for all faculty working in teacher preparation programs.

Reflecting on the analysis of California's metamorphosis in bilingual education, it is obvious to note that cases and policies such as *Lau v. Nichols* are far from positioning racialized students' bilingualism as a part of the public school institutions. On the contrary, the language of *Lau v. Nichols* deems the languaging of bi/plurilingual students as an obstacle to their attainment of English. Meanwhile, through a focus on global competence and career readiness, Proposition 58 positions bilingualism as a commodity meant to serve neoliberal interests (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017). However, despite restrictive language policies that are far removed from positioning racialized students' dynamic linguistic repertoires as a right, bilingual teacher educators are de facto policy makers (Hernández et al., 2022; Jimenez-Castellanos et al., 2022; Zuniga et al., 2018) and have the capacity to prepare bilingual teachers to continue *la lucha*/투쟁 for community-based bilingual education (Caldas, 2017).

We urge readers, teachers, students, community members, and faculty from across the state of California and the U.S. to reflect on how raciolinguistic ideologies are part of the design and implementation of U.S. education and language policies in their contexts, which impact bilingual education in higher education and PK-12 public school spaces. The oscillation between policies described in this article could inform their own analysis of how to dismantle systems of oppression that have negated the importance of bilingual education as a pathway for social justice, shared power, and inclusion. Our main goal was to build awareness about bilingual education programs, encourage discussions, and raise critical consciousness on how the pendulum theory is always present in politics and policy implementation, as these are connected to teacher preparation.

The pendulum of language policy always fluctuates between English-only education and bilingual education given the sociopolitical reality of the times. It is clear that the systems in place that prioritize a raciolinguistic perspective and resultantly the hegemony of English will always be a threat to bilingual education, especially as it relates to positioning racialized students' bilingualism as a right. Considering this reality, how can bilingual teacher educators continue to enact de facto language policies that place the needs of minoritized communities at the forefront of bilingual education efforts?

While *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) was an impetus for creating BTP programs, Proposition 227 negatively impacted and nearly dismantled many of these programs (Gómez, 2022; Orellana et al., 1999). The passing of Proposition 58 propelled a sort of bilingual education revolution. As bilingual teacher educators and bilingual advocates, we must be armed with the critical consciousness and ideological clarity to contest the perpetuation of the status quo and to continue the struggle against monoglossia and monolingualism (Alfaro, 2018; Chiras, 2023; Diaz Soto &

Kahrem, 2015) for the linguistic rights of minoritized communities. This is a present theme throughout our critique of bilingual teacher preparation in California. History repeatedly reminds us that real change will only come from collective action and from being grounded in community. We call on bilingual teacher educators and bilingual advocates across the state and nation to continue onward on this collective plight to ensure that the bilingual revolution is grounded in the race-radical call from the Civil Rights Movement for bilingual education that centers racial and linguistic justice (García & Sung, 2018).

Conclusion

In the past 50 years, the landscape of bilingual education in California has changed dramatically. Monolingualism and monoglossia incarnated in the skin of Proposition 227 and other neoliberal initiatives have disrupted the just, equitable, and inclusive bilingual ecosystem. In California, the English-only power was and is constantly present to overrule the identities and resources of racialized students. In this conceptual paper, we make a call for amplified solidarity across ethnic and racial groups to effectively (re)imagine language policy in California that will revolutionize bilingual education into a community-centered experience with and for families of color. We conclude by arguing that when the monolingual storm calms, when ethnocentrism and monoglossia leave the bilingual biome, bilingual education will no longer be just education but a place grounded in critical consciousness, critical pedagogies, and liberatory ideologies.

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Appendix

Bilingual Teaching Performance Expectations (BTPEs):

- BTPE 1: Engaging and Supporting all Students in Learning
- BTPE 2: Creating and Maintaining Effective Environments for Student Learning
- BTPE 3: Understanding and Organizing Subject Matter for Student Learning
(Content Specific Pedagogy)
- BTPE 4: Planning Instruction and Designing Learning Experiences for All Students
- BTPE 5: Assessing Student Learning
- BTPE 6: Developing as a Professional Educator

*Please refer to the full description of the BTPEs here:

https://www.ctc.ca.gov/docs/default-source/educator-prep/standards/bilingual_authorization_program_standards_btpe.pdf?sfvrsn=8ebc27b1_9