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Fugitive Pedagogies in Bilingual Teacher Education: Cultivating Racial Literacies Under Regimes of Surveillance

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Abstract

Teacher educators increasingly navigate forms of racialized surveillance that shape what can be taught, whose knowledge is legitimized, and how discussions of race, language, and inequity are received. In response, this conceptual paper examines how fugitive pedagogies can be enacted within bilingual teacher preparation, at a Hispanic Serving Institution, to cultivate the racial literacies of bilingual preservice teachers (BPSTs). Drawing on our experiences as teacher educators of color, we introduce the Fugitive Pedagogies for Racial Literacy (FPRL) Model, which integrates Writer's Workshop, Culture Circles, and Creative Resistance as a recursive pedagogical system. Writer's Workshop functions as a mask of compliance that creates space for critical inquiry within institutionally accepted literacy practices; Culture Circles support collective dialogue around race, language, identity, and power; and Creative Resistance transforms critical awareness into tangible acts of resistance. Using pedagogical vignettes and student artifacts from a bilingual teacher preparation cohort, we illustrate how BPSTs developed racial literacies through visual text analysis, critical dialogue, and zine creation. We argue that fugitive pedagogies provide teacher educators with a framework for sustaining critical inquiry under conditions of surveillance while preparing bilingual educators to recognize, challenge, and transform the racialized conditions shaping schools and multilingual communities. Keywords: Bilingual Teacher Preparation, Racial Literacies, Fugitive Pedagogies, Creative Resistance, Pre-service Teachers

“White lives matter too!” - A white multiple subject credential candidate shouts out during discussion in Michelle’s class when analyzing how the “Tools of Whiteness” (Picower, 2021) are reproduced in elementary school curriculum and the potential harms they cause communities of color.

“Spanglish is what the ‘no sabo’ kids speak. I want to be a bilingual teacher to help our students use correct language,” a Liberal Studies student in Arturo’s class at the beginning of the semester during a class discussion about the value of bilingual education.

“I think we should just focus on simpler projects that are focused on the elements of art, this Car Culture Narrative project seems like a bit too much to introduce to students,” a credential candidate in Luis’ art single-subject matter course, during an assessment reflection.

Although emerging from different teacher preparation contexts, these interactions reveal a common reality: teacher educators of color increasingly navigate forms of racialized surveillance that shape what can be taught, whose experiences are legitimized, and how conversations about race, language, and inequity are received. For Michelle, discussions of racism in literacy education were frequently met with defensive responses that redirected attention away from the experiences of communities of color and toward the discomfort of White students. For Arturo, efforts to cultivate critical racial literacies among bilingual teacher candidates revealed the persistence of raciolinguistic ideologies that positioned certain language practices as deficient while obscuring the racialized systems that produced those hierarchies. For Luis, efforts to center the histories and contributions of communities of color through Critical Car Culture Narratives revealed the persistence of banking pedagogical techniques (Freire, 2000) that positioned technical skill development as more legitimate than critical engagement with race, culture, identity, and power. Collectively, these experiences illustrate how surveillance operates not only through policy and legislation but also through interpersonal interactions, ideological assumptions, and pedagogies that constrain critical engagement with race, language, and power.

These conditions are unfolding amid a broader political climate where educators face increasing scrutiny for engaging topics related to race, equity, history, and social justice (Hannegan-Martinez, 2025; Pollock et al., 2022). Such scrutiny extends beyond curriculum and

pedagogy to include the regulation of whose knowledge is considered legitimate and which forms of inquiry are deemed acceptable within schools (Ladson-Billings, 2000). For teacher educators of color, these dynamics often require navigating tensions between institutional expectations and commitments to preparing future teachers capable of disrupting the racialized conditions of schooling and of serving increasingly diverse communities (Kohli, et.al, 2020; Kohli & Pizarro, 2022). As a result, pedagogical decisions are frequently shaped by the realities of surveillance, making it necessary to identify approaches that sustain critical inquiry while remaining permissible within institutional contexts.

Within bilingual teacher preparation, these tensions carry particular significance. Because language is deeply intertwined with histories of immigration, belonging, exclusion, and resistance (Orellana et. al., 1999; Ovando, 2003), bilingual pre-service teachers (BPSTs) often encounter questions of race and language simultaneously. Yet many enter teacher preparation having had limited opportunities to critically examine how systems of power shape the educational experiences of multilingual communities (Soto-Peña, 2026). As future educators serving increasingly diverse student populations, BPSTs must be prepared not only to navigate linguistic diversity, but also to recognize and respond to the racialized conditions that continue to structure schooling (Soto-Peña & González, 2025; González et. al., 2026). The challenge, then, is not simply what bilingual teacher candidates learn, but how teacher educators create conditions where critical conversations about race, language, and justice remain possible amid increasing forms of surveillance and constraint.

In this conceptual paper, we examine how fugitive pedagogies can be enacted within bilingual teacher preparation to cultivate the racial literacies of bilingual pre-service teachers (BPSTs) amid increasing forms of educational surveillance. Drawing on our experiences as teacher educators of color, we introduce the Fugitive Pedagogies for Racial Literacy (FPRL) model, which integrates Writer's Workshop, Culture Circles, and Creative Resistance to support BPSTs to critically examine and challenge the racialized conditions shaping language, schooling, and society. We first review literature on bilingual teacher preparation, racial literacy development, and fugitive pedagogies. We then present the FPRL model and illustrate how it was enacted within a bilingual teacher preparation cohort through a series of pedagogical vignettes and student artifacts. We conclude with recommendations for critical pedagogues to consider when teaching under surveilled contexts.

Literature Review

Bilingual Teacher Preparation as a Site of Resistance

Amid enduring legacies of linguistic surveillance and deficit-oriented schooling (Flores & Rosa; 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017), bilingual teacher educators have increasingly examined how to design learning experiences that support the identity development, linguistic practices, and critical consciousness of BPSTs (Araujo et al., 2023; Espinoza & Kohler, 2023; Lozano-Soto et al., 2024; Muñoz-Muñoz, 2021; Musanti & Rodríguez, 2017; Nuñez et al., 2021). This work has included opportunities for BPSTs to critically reflect on their educational trajectories and interrogate internalized deficit narratives about bilingualism (Espinoza & Kohler, 2023; Nuñez et al., 2021; Sawyer & Rodríguez-Valls, 2023), as well as develop pedagogical approaches that reposition bilingualism as a resource by centering students' funds of identity and modeling translanguaging and translingual practices within teacher preparation coursework (Araujo et al., 2023; Herrera, 2023; Musanti & Rodríguez, 2017). In addition to fostering identity affirmation, scholars have emphasized the importance of preparing BPSTs to critically analyze the sociopolitical conditions shaping bilingual education and multilingual communities (Cervantes-Soon, 2018; Hernández & Alfaro, 2020; Lozano-Soto et al., 2024; Rodríguez-Mojica et al., 2019). Whether framed as ideological clarity (Bartolomé, 2004), critical consciousness (Alfaro, 2019), or critical racial consciousness (Chávez-Moreno, 2022), this scholarship underscores the need for BPSTs to understand how systems of power shape language, schooling, and educational opportunity. Yet, while considerable attention has been devoted to identity development, bilingual pedagogies, and critical consciousness, fewer studies have examined how teacher educators intentionally cultivate the racial literacies of BPSTs as they learn to recognize, discuss, challenge, and respond to racism within and beyond educational contexts.

Developing Racial Literacies in Teacher Preparation

As such, we draw on scholarship within teacher education that examines the development of preservice teachers' racial literacies, defined as “the ability to examine, discuss, challenge and take antiracist action in situations that involve acts of racism” (Price-Dennis & Sealey-Ruiz, 2021, p. 19). Racial literacy requires educators to recognize race as a socially constructed system of power (Omi & Winant, 1986) and to understand how racism is embedded within the policies, practices, and discourses that shape schooling (Guinier, 2004;

Solórzano et al., 2002). Such awareness enables educators to critically examine how seemingly neutral curricular and instructional decisions reproduce dominant racial narratives and inequities. For example, educators with racial literacy recognize how white supremacy is reproduced through seemingly neutral curricula and pedagogies which they disrupt by centering the histories, perspectives, and experiences of minoritized communities historically excluded from “official knowledge” in schools (Apple, 1993; Au et al., 2016). Teachers who have developed racially literate pedagogical stances are able to support their students’ cultivation of collective agency to interrupt and transform racial injustice in their own schools and communities (Oto et al., 2023; Price-Dennis & Sealey-Ruiz, 2021).

Thus, developing racial literacy among BPSTs requires intentional pedagogical work within teacher education. Ongoing critical self-reflection or “self-excavation” can support BPSTs in interrogating dominant racial narratives they have internalized (Flynn, et. al., 2020; Sealey-Ruiz, 2020) and with unmasking racist stereotypes of communities of Color (Sealey-Ruiz & Greene, 2015). Through reading, writing, and reflecting on race and racism in their lived experiences, BPSTs can develop the critical language and analyses to actively challenge racism in educational contexts (Sealey-Ruiz, 2013).

Navigating Surveillance with Fugitive Pedagogies

While racial literacy development is essential, educators must also learn how to enact this work within surveilled and restrictive contexts, making fugitive pedagogies a critical framework for understanding such practices. Fugitive pedagogy describes how Black educators historically navigated systems of racial surveillance while simultaneously cultivating critical consciousness and intellectual freedom among Black students (Stovall, 2023; Stovall & Mosely, 2023). One notable study by Laughter et. al. (2025), conceptualizes fugitive pedagogy as an approach designed specifically for contexts where equitable or liberatory teaching practices are restricted or actively suppressed. There are four key assumptions within this framework. Fugitivity is (1) enacted subversion, (2) consistent and intentional, (3) communal, and (4) action-oriented. A cornerstone of this framework is the concept of “rigorous sight” —the capacity of educators to critically analyze the sociopolitical conditions shaping schooling and recognize how systems of oppression operate within educational institutions (p.167). Rigorous sight informs the dynamic interplay between “resilience and resistance,” two complementary practices

through which educators sustain fugitive pedagogical work (p.167). Resilience involves the cultivation of networks, resources, and relationships that allow educators to persist within restrictive institutional contexts, while resistance involves strategic disruptions of dominant narratives and institutional practices that maintain inequitable educational conditions. Within this process, educators may outwardly adhere to institutional expectations—what Laughter et. al. describe as wearing a “mask of compliance”—while simultaneously engaging in pedagogical practices that center marginalized knowledge systems and cultivate students’ critical consciousness (p.167).

Conspiring Through Fugitive Pedagogies in Bilingual Teacher Preparation

The Fugitive Pedagogies for Racial Literacy (FPRL) Model draws on three interrelated pedagogical traditions—Writer's Workshop (WW), Culture Circles (CC), and Creative Resistance (CR)—each of which contributes distinct yet complementary affordances for cultivating racial literacies under conditions of racialized surveillance. Rather than functioning as independent pedagogical approaches, these traditions operate as a recursive system where each creates the conditions necessary for the next. Writer's Workshop provides a familiar and institutionally legible structure that serves as a mask of compliance, allowing critical work to occur within accepted literacy practices. Within this protected space, Culture Circles foster dialogic inquiry to support participants in naming, examining, and collectively making sense of racialized experiences. Creative Resistance then transforms this critical awareness into forms of creative counternarrative production whereby participants reauthor dominant stories and imagine alternative futures. Together, these pedagogies move learners from protected engagement to critical consciousness, to transformative action, constituting a fugitive approach to cultivating racial literacies for social transformation within teacher preparation.

Writer's Workshop: Enacting the Mask of Compliance

Writer's Workshop (WW) is a literacy approach grounded in the belief that children are inherently motivated to write when given time, choice, and authentic purposes for composing (Graves, 1975). Central to this model are predictable structures such as mini-lessons, sustained writing time, peer and teacher conferences, and opportunities for sharing, all of which position students as authors engaged in meaningful writing processes (Calkins, 1994).

Within mainstream education, WW has been widely adopted as a standards-aligned instructional practice that emphasizes skill development, process writing, and student engagement. It is precisely this familiarity and institutional legitimacy that allows WW to function as a “mask of compliance.” While outwardly aligning with accepted literacy frameworks and curricular expectations, the workshop structure can be intentionally repurposed to create space for deeper critical engagement. Beneath its surface-level conformity, educators can leverage the routines of WW to center students’ lived experiences, invite critical examinations of race and power, and cultivate the development of racial literacies. In this way, WW becomes more than just a way to build writing skills; it serves as a dynamic pedagogical space where critical consciousness can be nurtured within the constraints of dominant schooling practices.

Culture Circles: Cultivating Dialogic Critical Inquiry

Culture Circles (CC), rooted in the critical pedagogical traditions of Paulo Freire and further elaborated by Souto-Manning (2010), are dialogic learning spaces designed to engage participants in collective inquiry around issues of power, language, and lived experience (de los Ríos & Souto-Manning, 2017; Souto-Manning, 2010). Culture Circles center participants as co-constructors of knowledge through structured dialogue grounded in generative themes drawn from their social realities. Souto-Manning (2010) outlines a recursive six-stage process that includes: (1) identifying generative themes from participants’ lived experiences, (2) codifying these themes into artifacts for shared analysis, (3) engaging in dialogue to surface multiple perspectives, (4) problem-posing to interrogate underlying assumptions and power relations, (5) decodifying to unpack how language, ideology, and social structures shape meaning, and (6) taking action or reimagining possibilities for transformation. Within this process, reading extends beyond traditional print texts to include images, experiences, and social contexts, reflecting Freire’s assertion that learners must read the world in order to read the word. As a pedagogical practice, CCs cultivate dialogic critical inquiry by creating structured yet flexible spaces where preservice teachers develop racial literacies through naming, analyzing, and responding to racialized dynamics in their lives and in schooling. In this way, CCs not only support critical reflection but also model how educators can facilitate collective meaning-

making processes that foreground dialogue, relationality, and critical consciousness within literacy learning.

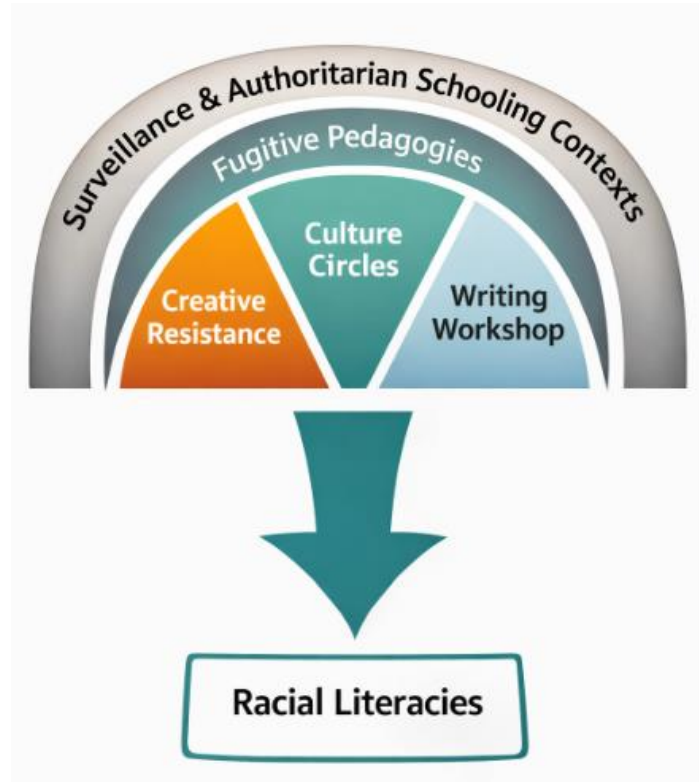
Creative Resistance (CR): Advancing Critical Car Culture Narratives (CCCN) as Praxis

Creative Resistance (CR) is the stage where critical consciousness becomes tangible action. Grounded in students' Funds of Knowledge and lived experiences (González et al., 2005), Creative Resistance invites learners to critically read the world around them and transform those understandings into artifacts of creative expression that share community knowledge, challenge dominant narratives, and imagine more just futures (García, 2015; García & Kiyama, 2025). Within the FPRL model, CR serves as the tangible enactment of praxis. Whereas CCs support participants in naming and critically examining racialized experiences, CR provides a process through which those insights are transformed into creative artifacts that communicate alternative understandings of race, language, identity, and justice. Through writing, visual art, storytelling, and other culturally grounded forms of expression, participants move beyond reflection toward tangible acts of resistance that challenge dominant representations and envision more equitable futures.

For the purposes of this paper, CR is enacted through Critical Car Culture Narrative (CCCN) (García, 2021), an arts-based methodology that invited BPSTs to analyze and create visual texts examining race, community, power, and resistance. CCCN builds upon Judy Baca's concept of Political Landscape Painting (Baca, n.d.), which uses land, murals, and public art as sites for recording collective memories, histories, and community stories. Extending this tradition, CCCN draws on the communal practices of cruising and car culture to document the political landscapes of communities through mixed-media compositions. These visual narratives often incorporate photographs, newspaper clippings, illustrations, and other cultural artifacts to critically examine historical and contemporary experiences of racism, displacement, resistance, and community formation (García, 2021, 2025). Through the analysis and creation of CCCN texts, BPSTs engaged CR as a form of creative counternarrative production, using visual storytelling to communicate alternative understandings of their communities and social realities.

Figure 1

Fugitive Pedagogies for Racial Literacy (FPRL) Model



Note: A conceptual model illustrating the integration of Culture Circles, Creative Resistance, and Writing Workshop to cultivate racial literacies within surveillance and authoritarian schooling contexts.

Together, Writer's Workshop, Culture Circles, and Creative Resistance, form a pedagogical sequence that supports BPSTs with moving from critical engagement toward transformative action. Writer's Workshop serves as the entry point by providing a familiar literacy structure that remains legible within dominant schooling contexts. This institutional legitimacy creates the conditions for fugitive work to occur beneath the surface of compliance. Within this protected space, CCs invite BPSTs to draw upon their lived experiences to collectively examine questions of race, language, identity, and power. Through dialogue, participants develop the critical sight necessary to recognize racialized systems within schools and communities. Creative Resistance then extends this process by providing participants with creative approaches to transform critical reflection into the production of creative counternarratives that challenge dominant representations and envision just futures. Thus, the

three pedagogies operate as a unified framework guiding BPSTs along a trajectory from establishing safety, to engaging in dialogue, to driving critical action. Together, they create fugitive counterspaces where participants simultaneously analyze racialized conditions and rehearse pedagogical practices capable of disrupting them. The following section illustrates how this pedagogical process unfolded within a bilingual teacher preparation classroom.

Methods: Snapshot of Fugitivity in Bilingual Teacher Preparation

The emergence of the FPRL model was itself an exercise in fugitivity. The framework was collectively imagined through years of dialogue, relationship-building, pedagogical exchange, and shared commitments to educational justice. The convergence of our distinct positionalities and pedagogical traditions illuminated a central insight that guides this paper: fugitivity is a relational and communal practice sustained through networks of trust, care, and collective meaning-making. It is from this understanding that we approach the present work.

Fugitive is Communal

Drawing on Laughter et al. (2025), fugitivity is understood not as an individual act of resistance, but as a communal practice—one that is collectively imagined, enacted, and sustained through relationships grounded in trust and shared purpose. Consistent with this perspective, the pedagogical practices described in this paper emerged through the collective inquiry of three teacher educators who, despite working across distinct contexts, came together through shared commitments to bilingual education, racial literacy, and educational justice. Thus, our methodological approach begins from the premise that the cultivation of racial literacies, like fugitivity itself, is fundamentally relational.

Faced with conditions of surveillance and constraint, educators have long created counterspaces, third spaces, and other forms of collective refuge where critical inquiry and community knowledge can flourish (Gutiérrez, 2008; Solórzano et. al., 2000). As teacher educators committed to bilingual education, racial literacy, and educational justice, we also found ourselves seeking spaces to process the tensions of our work, understand the racialized conditions shaping our classrooms, and imagine alternative pedagogical possibilities. Although we teach in distinct contexts across the California State University system, we cultivated a longstanding community through shared relationships, intellectual exchange, and commitments

to racial justice. Rooted in reciprocity, care, and trust, this community enabled us to move beyond conventional collaboration toward a form of conspiring in which we collectively grappled with the challenges of preparing future educators amid intensifying racialized surveillance.

Our collaboration was shaped by our distinct yet complementary pedagogical commitments. Michelle's work centers bilingual education and teacher preparation, critical pedagogy, and the creation of learning spaces where bilingual preservice teachers can critically examine race, language, and power. Arturo's scholarship and praxis focus on race and racism in schooling, youth and pre-service teacher racial literacy development and K-12 ethnic studies. He draws from Freirean CCs as a dialogic approach to cultivate racial literacies through collective inquiry grounded in participants' lived experiences. Luis' work advances CR methodologies via CCCN as another art-based approach that leverages community-based artforms to challenge dominant narratives and imagine transformational futures. While these traditions emerged from different intellectual lineages, our ongoing dialogues revealed a shared concern with how educators create opportunities for critical learning within contexts that often constrain discussions of race, language, and justice. It was through this collective inquiry that we began to recognize how our respective pedagogical approaches could function together as fugitive praxis—thus initiating the development of the FPRL model.

The FPRL model reflects the convergence of our shared commitments and distinct pedagogical traditions. Together, we theorized how WW could provide a mask of compliance where critical work could occur, how CCs could cultivate dialogic critical inquiry and racial literacy development, and how CCCN could transform critical awareness into creative counternarrative production. The model thus embodies our belief that fugitivity is a collective practice of resistance, relationship-building, knowledge-making, and imagining otherwise.

Intentionally Coordinating Fugitivity in Bilingual Teacher Preparation Cohorts

As noted above, fugitive pedagogies do not emerge spontaneously; they require coordinated, intentional environments that make critical inquiry possible within existing institutional constraints. In the current political climate, the field of education is increasingly subject to public scrutiny and legislative oversight. These broader pressures are felt within teacher education classrooms, where discussions of race and inequality are influenced by

polarized public discourse. For example, discussions of structural racism in Michelle's classroom were frequently redirected by defensive responses associated with white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018), shifting attention away from the experiences of marginalized communities and hindering critical engagement with the course content. For these reasons, the enactment of fugitive pedagogies requires intentional coordination with the learning environment's design prior to engaging in critical pedagogical work.

The snapshot presented in this paper draws on the experiences of one bilingual teacher education cohort consisting of twenty-three candidates representing four linguistic communities—Mandarin, Vietnamese, Korean, and Spanish. The decision to create a bilingual teacher preparation cohort extended beyond preparing future educators to teach through multiple languages. As a teacher educator and critical race scholar, Michelle prioritized cultivating a learning community that functioned as a fugitive space—one where bilingual pre-service teachers could discuss questions of race, language, identity, and power without the recurring disruptions produced by white fragility in racially-heterogeneous teacher education settings. While there is certainly value in supporting all pre-service teachers in developing racial literacies, we contend that such learning should not come at the expense of students of color, who are too often expected to educate, defend, or justify their lived experiences in classroom discussions. By bringing together students who were bilingual, the cohort created conditions for participants to engage in more vulnerable and honest dialogue about their experiences of racialization. While this shared foundation did not eliminate student differences, it fostered a learning environment where discussions of race could occur with greater trust, relationality, and possibility, allowing both students and instructor to support critical inquiry without the constant labor of managing white emotionality.

Enacting the Fugitive Pedagogies for Racial Literacy (FPRL) Model

Once the fugitive environment is established, BPSTs engage in the writing workshop as the first layer of “mask of compliance.” During this time, BPSTs compose a nonfiction text as a signature assignment aligned with departmental standards and rubric expectations. Rather than approaching this requirement as a traditional expository writing task, Michelle redesigned the assignment to serve as a site for developing BPSTs’ racial literacies, while still meeting programmatic requirements. In doing so, the assignment became an enactment of fugitive

pedagogy requiring teacher candidates to produce a *Zine for Popular Education* (Zine). Zines have long served as a form of grassroots publishing through which individuals and communities circulate knowledge, challenge dominant narratives, and create alternative spaces for political expression (Duncombe, 2008). Emerging from DIY publishing traditions and later embraced by punk, feminist, queer, and activist movements, zines have functioned as tools for counter-storytelling, community building, and political education outside mainstream institutions (Duncombe, 2008; Piepmeier, 2009). By inviting participants to become authors of their own stories, zines create opportunities to document lived experiences, critique systems of power, and imagine more just futures.

Within this study, zines served as a vehicle for the FPRL model. BPSTs connected course concepts with their own experiences as bilingual individuals navigating educational and political systems in the United States. A key moment in the course occurred during a lesson focused on the craft of nonfiction writing. Rather than teaching nonfiction features in a purely technical or decontextualized manner, teacher candidates examined how authors and illustrators use textual features to communicate meaning. To model this practice, Michelle facilitated a CC, a dialogic pedagogical method rooted in Freirean critical pedagogy (Souto-Manning, 2010). During this activity, the class analyzed “*America’s favorite past-time, 1959, (2018)*”, created by Luis Genaro García (Figure 2). Grounded in CCCN, the artwork depicts the discriminatory practices that supported the displacement of families in 1959 to build Dodger Stadium. The image shows a 1959 Cadillac El Dorado, a symbol of luxury cars, cruising by the home of the Arechiga family while police officers force them out of their homes. Simultaneously, a background shows a collage of newspaper clippings from 2018 highlighting modern examples of gentrification in one of the most under-resourced communities, monopolized by the University of Southern California for student housing development.

Figure 2

Artwork Used for Culture Circle Observation Activity



Note: America's favorite Pastime, 1959 (2018). Courtesy of Luis-Genaro Garcia

The artwork served as a visual text that anchored the collective interpretation and critical dialogue of BPSTs. Participants first described what they observed in the image and then began interpreting possible meanings embedded within the visual composition. Through guided discussion, students considered how artistic choices communicate sociopolitical commentary. This activity modeled how visual texts can serve as powerful tools for developing racial literacies. By analyzing artwork as a form of nonfiction storytelling, teacher candidates began to recognize that texts are constructed with purpose and political intent. The following vignette (Table 1) demonstrates how teacher educators can model CCs by analyzing artwork for CR.

Table 1

Vignette of the FPRL Model. Twenty-five bilingual teacher candidates sit in a semicircle in our biliteracy methods course, laptops half-open and notebooks ready. I project an art piece curated by Luis Genaro Garcia onto the screen. The room quiets. On the whiteboard behind me, I write two words: *Culture Circle*.

“Round one,” I begin. “Just describe what you see—no interpretation yet.”

Students lean forward. They turn and talk quietly. I record their words exactly as spoken: *newspaper... black images... stairs... body being carried out... LA Times clips*. The board fills with fragments of observation. I resist the urge to guide or clarify. We stay with a description. We practice disciplined noticing.

“Round two,” I prompt. “What do you think is happening?”

A student offers, cautiously, “I see a combination of events that occurred in 2018—the World Series and a homeless encampment.” Another asks, “Are the LA Times clips related?” The image begins to shift from a static picture to a living text.

By round three, the room’s energy changes. “This reminds me of Palos Verdes in 1959.” “It makes me think about the large homeless population in Los Angeles today.” “The American Dream for Hispanic families—buying a home and then being forced out.” Students begin situating the image historically and personally. They are no longer just describing; they are *reading the world*.

In the next round, curiosity spills into investigation. Laptops open fully as students search names, neighborhoods, and timelines. “Palo Verde families were given letters telling them to leave.” “This connects to gentrification in LA County.” “Rising housing prices.” Arrows begin to link ideas across the whiteboard—displacement, development, homelessness.

When we arrive at root causes, the room pauses. Then one student shouts, “Capitalism.” Another adds, “Greed. It’s not about helping low-income communities, it’s about profit.” Heads nod around the circle. What began as a newspaper... *stairs... body* now holds a structural critique.

The final round turns toward action. “We could start a social media campaign.” “Support local businesses.” “Teach students about the history of displacement in their communities.” The conversation moves outward, from observation, to analysis, to collective responsibility.

Through this process where we drew from Souto-Manning’s (2010) six stage process of conscientização, or critical consciousness development, BPSTs are not simply analyzing an image, they are practicing how to guide students in reading the word and the world, moving from noticing to critique and from critique to social action.

Following the culture circle, the class engaged in a metapedagogical reflection. Teacher candidates discussed how this instructional strategy could be adapted across grade levels and educational contexts. Importantly, the discussion also addressed the realities of teaching within politically constrained environments. BPSTs considered how educators might strategically design lessons that cultivate critical thinking and racial literacies while navigating institutional limitations. In this way, the activity modeled how fugitive pedagogies operate.

Designing for Duality: Enacting Masking and Subversion in Literacy Pedagogy

There were several scaffolded experiences designed to support the development of the zine while simultaneously cultivating the racial literacies of BPSTs. For example, during one week of the course, teacher candidates conducted oral history interviews with a family member. Through this process, students engaged in the craft of nonfiction writing through narrative inquiry—listening to family stories, documenting memories, and identifying themes emerging from lived experience. This assignment drew on the concept of community cultural wealth, positioning family histories and community narratives as legitimate sources of knowledge that inform both scholarship and pedagogy (Yosso, 2005).

In a subsequent assignment, teacher candidates researched a public policy that shaped their family's experiences in the United States. For some, this included examining the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, with attention to its provisions related to employer sanctions, border enforcement, pathways to legalization, and the simultaneous exclusions it produced. Through this inquiry, BPSTs began to trace the intersections between personal histories and broader structural conditions, developing an understanding of how race, power, and policy shape lived realities.

These scaffolded experiences culminated in the creation of a zine as a form of popular education, where students synthesized their learning through creative composition. Figure 3 presents a two-page spread structured in the format of a magazine-style nonfiction article, titled "The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986." At the surface level, the artifact reflects alignment with conventional writing instruction: annotated sticky notes identify domain-specific vocabulary, nonfiction text features, sentence fluency, and organizational structures—elements commonly emphasized within standards-based literacy pedagogy. In this way, the assignment remains legible within dominant frameworks of teacher preparation, enacting a mask of compliance.

Beneath this surface alignment, however, the content and composition of the zine reveal a deeper pedagogical subversion. Students critically examine the racialized implications of immigration policy while integrating their own interpretations through visual storytelling, including elements of CCCN. This creative approach invites BPSTs to connect policy analysis with familial and communal histories, generating creative counter narratives that challenge dominant representations of immigrant communities. As a result, the zine becomes a concrete product of the FPRL model—demonstrating how conventional literacy practices can be repurposed to support critical inquiry, center marginalized knowledge, and cultivate the racial literacies necessary for disrupting inequitable schooling practices.

Figure 3

BPST implementation of CR within Zine



Reagan signed the com
immigration bill into la
some supporters

4.VA-Re8
Interpret art by referring to
contextual information and
analyzing relevant subject
matter, characteristics of form,
and use of media.

Also connects

Foreclosure
★ ★ IMMEDIATE ACTION ★ ★
Attorney Michael Lash
● FREE Attorney Consultation
Eve-wkend appts. 818/995-129

★ ★ AMNESTY ★ ★
Immigration Free Consultation
Asherson & Klein 213/278-934

● DRUNK DRIVING/DRUGS
Emphasis On Cases w/Priors
So. Calif. Law Offices
213/655-4055; 714/542-1102

IRS ★ TAX PRIORI FMS

Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, a
Hispanic organization, said he could not endorse the bill, but he
described it as "probably the best immigration legislation possible
under current political conditions."

The IRCA had two major components that affected
immigrants in the U.S.:

Amnesty for Undocumented Immigrants:

The most widely recognized part of the IRCA was the
provision that granted **amnesty** to undocumented
immigrants who had been living in the U.S. since before
January 1, 1982. To qualify, immigrants had to meet
certain criteria, including proving that they had lived
continuously in the country for at least five years and had
not committed serious criminal offenses. Once they were
granted amnesty, immigrants could apply for green cards,
which would eventually lead to permanent residency and
the opportunity to apply for U.S. citizenship.

Employer Sanctions and Border Control:

While the IRCA sought to help those already in the U.S., it
also took steps to prevent further undocumented
immigration. One of the key provisions required
employers to verify the legal status of their employees,
making it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented
workers. This was an attempt to reduce the incentive for
immigrants to come to the U.S. for work while
undocumented. Employers who hired undocumented
workers could face fines and penalties, making it a risk for
businesses to hire those without proper documentation.

The law also increased border security and created more
stringent measures to prevent illegal immigration in the
future. These policies were intended to deter new waves
of undocumented immigrants from entering the country,
but they also resulted in a more heavily militarized border
and more aggressive immigration enforcement.

Positive Outcomes for Immigrants

For many, the IRCA provided an opportunity for legal
recognition and protection. Those who were granted
amnesty could now work legally, access healthcare, and
apply for **permanent residency** and **citizenship**. This
shift allowed immigrants to gain better job opportunities,
become homeowners, and send their children to school
without the constant fear of deportation.

Exclusion of Many Immigrants:

While the law granted amnesty to millions, it excluded
many others who didn't meet the criteria, especially those
who had arrived after 1982. The **employer sanctions**
also inadvertently led to the rise of exploitative labor
practices. Some employers took advantage of the fear of
being caught hiring undocumented workers, leading to
mistreatment and low wages for those still working
without legal status.

7

long (12+ words)
sentences #2

"Employers ...
documentation."

Text Feature #2

Headings

also connects

Discussion and Conclusion: Fugitive is Action

We began this paper with three classroom interactions that illustrate how racialized surveillance operates within teacher education. Although each emerged from a different

context, together they reveal how discussions of race, language, culture, and power are often constrained through interpersonal interactions, raciolinguistic ideologies, and pedagogical assumptions about what counts as legitimate knowledge. These forms of surveillance do not simply shape what pre-service teachers learn; they also influence what teacher educators can teach, how critical inquiry is received, and whose experiences are centered within educational spaces. As educational debates surrounding race, equity, and social justice become increasingly politicized, teacher educators are confronted with the challenge of sustaining critical pedagogical work within environments marked by heightened scrutiny and constraint. It is within these conditions that the question guiding this paper becomes particularly urgent: How might teacher educators cultivate racial literacies while navigating the realities of educational surveillance?

Moreover, within bilingual teacher preparation, this reorientation is particularly urgent, as bilingual educators and BPSTs often navigate systems that have historically surveilled, disciplined, and marginalized their linguistic and cultural identities. Therefore, we argue that teacher preparation programs can function as counterspaces—sites where BPSTs develop the critical sight to recognize how racialized power operates within schooling while cultivating pedagogical strategies to interrupt these dynamics (Gutiérrez, 2008; Yosso, 2005).

Drawing on historical traditions of educational refusal, protection, and collective struggle within communities of color (Givens, 2021), the FPRL model serves as a guide illustrating how teacher educators can create conditions for critical inquiry without abandoning institutional expectations. By integrating WW, CC, and CR, the model supports BPSTs in developing racial literacies while simultaneously learning to navigate the sociopolitical realities of contemporary schooling.

At the same time, the practices described here should not be understood as permanent solutions. Fugitive pedagogies emerge as vital forms of community resistance, precisely because educational conditions have become restrictive. They are, as Laughter et al. (2025) suggest, strategic, communal responses to moments when liberatory pedagogies must be enacted with caution. The hope, however, is not that education remains in a fugitive state indefinitely. Rather, the collective work of teacher educators and communities must ultimately aim to normalize racial justice, culturally sustaining education, and democratic pedagogies within public schooling. Until these conditions are restored, fugitive pedagogies offer educators a way to continue

refusing the racialized surveillance and authoritarian conditions of education. Rooted in the legacies of collective resistance of communities of color, these fugitive practices are collectively imagined and sustained to cultivate critical inquiry, intellectual dignity, and community knowledge within and beyond the classroom.

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