Critical Content-Based Instruction for the Transformation of World Language Classrooms

CASSANDRA GLYNN

Concordia College (Moorhead, MN)
Email: cglynn@cord.edu

ALLISON SPENADER

College of St. Benedict and St. John's University
Email: aspenader@csbsju.edu

This interpretive multiple-case study examines the practices and perspectives of four mid-level and secondary world language teachers in diverse teaching contexts as they design and implement critical content-based instruction units in their classes. Knowing that content can be defined as either cultural or academic content (Spenader, Wesely, & Glynn, 2018), the middle and high school level teachers in this study aimed to use a critical approach in their curricula and to integrate topics of social justice into the cultural content, promoting inquiry and critical thinking among students. Using data collected from recorded videos of teaching and individual semi-structured interviews, this study aims to answer the following research question: How is *Critical Content-Based Instruction* (CCBI) (Sato, Hasegawa, Kumagai, & Kamiyoshi, 2017) being employed by U.S. Spanish teachers to examine complex topics through a lens of social justice? Findings indicate that teachers feel compelled to integrate topics of social justice into their curriculum to promote criticality (critical thinking) and to encourage students to effect change in their own communities and beyond. The discussion supports consideration of teachers' roles in the development of student agency through their curriculum and instruction. Implications are addressed for educational research, teacher education, and professional development.

INTRODUCTION

Content-Based Instruction (CBI) is appealing because of its ability to teach both content and language at the same time, and using more meaningful content matter significantly increases students' exposure to the target language (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). In this approach, the focus is on meaning making and learners have opportunities to use language in meaningful ways. Because the brain searches for patterns and considers the whole learning experience, providing the brain with content that is interesting, relevant, and cognitively demanding leads to better learning and retention (Kennedy, 2006). Therefore, a successful "communicative link" in the world language classroom can be considered one in which students attach meaning to the variety of explicit and implicit tasks taking place about a particular topic, leading to greater understanding of the content (Garner & Borg, 2005). A particular challenge in world language settings is that teachers are neither formally prepared to teach other subject areas,

nor is meeting academic standards in other subject areas expected (Troyan, Cammarata, & Martel, 2017; Spenader, Wesely, & Glynn, 2018). However, Cammarata et al. (2016) argue that content focused on ethics and justice is interdisciplinary in nature, allowing teachers to forge connections for students and draw on their knowledge of other content. World language settings are suited to addressing content that complements the other subject areas, building on the cultural standards for which world language teachers are accountable, and addressing social justice.

In addition to providing a vehicle for addressing cultural content and social justice in language classrooms, CBI strives to connect to the interests and cultural backgrounds of students (Dupuy, 2000), making it a good fit for a culturally sustaining pedagogy (CSP) model (Paris & Alim, 2017) of education and teaching for social justice. An asset-based pedagogy, CSP seeks to sustain the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students for social transformation with the view that students' languages, literacies, cultures, and histories are strengths, not deficits (Paris & Alim, 2017). Furthermore, sustaining students' languages, identities, and "cultural ways of knowing" (Paris and Alim, 2017, p. 7) is an urgent need as students of color become the majority in schools (Strauss, 2014, as cited in Paris & Alim, 2017); a content-based approach can draw on students' assets and interests to engage them in content that is relevant to their own lives and foster connections to their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Sato et al.'s (2017) CCBI model moves CBI toward a critical pedagogy stance, providing opportunities for teaching for social justice in a culturally sustaining manner, particularly because a key tenet of social justice education is to draw on students' talents and strengths (Nieto, 2010, as cited in Glynn, Wesely, & Wassell, 2018).

Perhaps most importantly, Sato et al. (2017) emphasize the term *critical* in CCBI and the importance of developing a "critical perspective" (p. 51). They draw from critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1983) and state that the development of a critical perspective "involves a reflective critique of the imbalance of power in society, and the instigation of changes needed to emancipate and empower people" (Sato, et al., p. 51). Paulo Freire (1993) held that an ability to think critically, to develop *conscientizaçao,* critical consciousness, is integral to disrupting ignorance and oppression, thus liberating both the oppressor and the oppressed. Like CCBI as defined by Sato et al. (2017), social justice education is grounded in critical pedagogy, seeking to disrupt the status quo of inequality and discrimination while promoting critical thinking and agency. The goals of CCBI and social justice education are inextricably linked.

This study examines the experience of four middle and high school Spanish educators as they teach for social justice in a content-based approach, moving their instruction in the direction of what the researchers describe as a CCBI model to promote criticality and agency among their learners. The study aims to answer the question: How is *Critical Content-Based Instruction* (CCBI) (Sato et al., 2017) being employed by U.S. Spanish teachers to examine complex topics through a lens of social justice?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We examined our research questions through a framework of critical social justice, drawing from Sensoy and DiAngelo's (2017) definition that "recognizes inequality as deeply embedded in the fabric of society (i.e., as structural), and actively seeks to change this" (p. 47). Critical social justice moves beyond a more mainstream definition of social justice education espoused by scholars (see Nieto) that focus on fairness, dignity, and respect for all people. While these are important constructs in movement toward a just society, a more critical approach that

recognizes the deeply embedded nature of oppression and inequity may be important in world language education as we seek to empower students to act and disrupt the status quo.

Teaching for social justice, no matter the content area, means that certain conditions must be met. These include recognition of the following four tenets as laid out by Sensoy & DiAngelo (2017): (1) the way in which structures at both micro and macro levels are affected by unequal social power, (2) our positionality and roles in these structures containing unequal social power, (3) the importance of thinking critically about information and knowledge, and (4) the action necessary to obtain justice. Knowing that teachers enact social justice in their classrooms in different ways and to different degrees as they navigate visible and invisible structures in their own schools that both support and impede their ability to carry out social justice education (Wassell, Wesely, & Glynn, 2019), the extent to which they may be able to meet these conditions above may also vary. However, this framework provided a means to examine teachers' abilities to effectively teach for social justice through a content-driven approach.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A Call for Action and Critical Approaches in Language Teaching

Historically, certain populations of students in the U.S. have been marginalized from participation in world language classrooms. Students may feel alienated in language classes for a variety of reasons, including a Eurocentric-focused curriculum (Moore, 2005; Reagan & Osborn, 2002) rather than one that tackles topics beyond the textbook or beyond what is considered "safe." In a study of 244 post-secondary language learners, participants at varied language levels noted that there was little time to discuss topics related to social justice; rather the focus was on "grammar, vocabulary, and basic communication" (Kubota, Austin, & Saito-Abbott, 2003, p. 18). They were unable to make a connection between language and content given the limited way their language courses allowed them to explore topics of race, gender, and social justice. However, more of the advanced students noted that these opportunities existed in the upper level courses (Kubota, Austin, & Saito-Abbott, 2003). This is highly problematic as the curriculum itself may be a contributing factor to low enrollment among minoritized students.

Although there seems to be agreement in the world language field that it is time to move well beyond the "Four F's approach" to teaching culture (food, fashion, folklore, and festivals) (Banks, 2002, as cited in Ennser-Kananen, 2016), the field still has work to do in this regard. The fact is that violence against minoritized individuals due to xenophobia, racism, and homophobia is present in most of the target cultures around the world that students study, but Ennser-Kananen (2016) stresses that "...we are still reducing culture to something light, curious, and often pleasantly amusing that barely challenges our identities and beliefs" (p. 557). Topics that address pain and the "darker" side of culture are rarely integrated into world language curriculum (Ennser-Kananen, 2016). Like Ennser-Kananen, Glynn et al. (2018) assert that there is a natural connection between teaching about languages and cultures and teaching for social justice. They note that the 3 P's of culture—products, practices, and perspectives—can allow for examination of social justice issues that arise due to relationships with products, human interactions and practices, and attitudes and values related to the perspectives of various groups in the target culture. However, within each of these "P's," it is important to note that power structures lead to issues of access with "tangible and intangible resources" (products), acts of oppression or discrimination and examples of agency that "arise

from how people interact" (practices), and deeply held ideas about marginalized groups of people and power structures, "stemming from attitudes and beliefs" (perspectives) (Glynn et al., 2018, pp. 8-9).

Social justice education draws from critical pedagogy, culturally responsive teaching, and critical multicultural education in order to promote the development of *conscientizaçaõ*, critical consciousness, to create an inclusive environment for students, and to provide transformative experiences for students (Dover, 2013). Critical pedagogues, such as Freire, position themselves as disrupting the status quo in order to develop the critical and social consciousness of students and to help them to gain an understanding of the relationship between power, social processes, and knowledge construction (Dover, 2013). Moreover, a critical approach to teaching world languages that draws from culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris & Alim, 2017) allows teachers to tap into students' personal, cultural, and community assets, providing more inclusive spaces that could address issues of attrition and belonging among minoritized and marginalized students, in particular, while promoting criticality among all learners.

Critical Approaches and Social Justice in Content-Based Instruction

As traditional world language teachers tend to choose content that is considered to be cultural rather than academic when using a CBI approach (Spenader, Wesely, & Glynn, 2018), CBI may serve as a viable approach to taking a more critical stance to teaching culture in traditional world language classes at every level. CBI is most often present in advanced courses at the post-secondary level. Ballman (1997), however, points to the necessity of challenging even novice learners with meaningful content. Students seem to struggle to make the transition from language-driven lower level courses to content-driven upper level courses as cognitive demands and academic language are unlike what they had experienced in language-driven courses, leading to issues of attrition (Ballman, 1997). If a content-driven approach is taken at lower levels, including at K-12 levels, students may develop better critical thinking skills as they navigate content that is relevant and meaningful to their own lives.

Cammarata (2010) notes that there have typically been two schools of thought in language teaching: one that is focused on the importance of language learning in order to communicate and the other one that is focused on language learning as a means of developing "human consciousness" (p. 89). This second school of thought requires integration of content into language curriculum in order that students may develop "critical language awareness, interpretation and translation, historical and political consciousness, social sensibility, and aesthetic awareness" (p. 90). Ultimately, Cammarata is calling for the development of plurilingualism, viewing individuals as agents in meaning making of language, and because context is central to this process, it is important to have a balance of language and content. This view of CBI is closely aligned with critical pedagogy and Freire's (1993) call for problem-posing education in which the learners do not just listen, but are "critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (p. 81). Students engaged in problem-posing education have the opportunity to develop the agency and power to "perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves…" (Freire, 1993, p. 83).

Sato et al. (2017) advocate for an approach to CBI in which linkages are forged on three levels in order to maximize the benefits of CBI, namely between "(a) language education and other academic fields, (b) language education and education at large, (c) language education and society" (p. 53). They propose that through forging connectedness between these levels, learners can benefit from a critical approach, and become "active agents who not only strive

to acquire the given linguistic and cultural knowledge, but can also adopt critical perspectives when analyzing and evaluating that knowledge" (p. 54), engaging in the critical thinking necessary to recognize oppression and discrimination, one main goal of social justice education. In their proposal for *critical content-based instruction* for world language, Sato et al. note that beyond the dual aims of language and content learning, students should also learn through instruction what prompts them to practice critical analysis, and to develop their own *criticality* in terms of knowledge, skills, and dispositions to engage in critical analysis (2017). The latter two aims should also be identified as learning outcomes to potentially also be assessed within the course.

Cammarata (2010) underscores the importance of authentic text in content-based instruction to allow students to view content through different lenses and to explore varied perspectives. Dialogic engagement with authentic texts is also supported as one of the six high-leverage teaching practices that have been identified for world language teaching (Glisan & Donato, 2016). These authentic texts can and should be used not only to explore topics from different perspectives, but also to disrupt stereotypes and to examine power structures that affect the lives of target culture communities. The practice of critical literacy, Freire's *conscientizaçao,* allows students to examine "real struggles by real people in real relations in real communities" (Apple, 2013, p. 24). Schools have witnessed an increase in hate speech and racial slurs, the delivery of deportation letters to students of color in their school, the bullying of Muslim students, and the declaring "white power" (Darling-Hammond, 2017, p. 134). As a field, we are in a time when our actions and curriculum in world language classes could serve to develop empathy and understanding of complex issues facing various communities. And as language can be used as a vehicle for exploring content, a CCBI approach could allow teachers to answer Darling-Hammond's call for "Teach Ins," in which teachers advocate for equity and access and address complex topics. As CCBI also has the potential to activate critical thinking skills among students, it could be integral to supporting "critical thinking, problem solving, communication, collaboration, and applications of knowledge to real-world problems that is essential for today's society in which knowledge is expanding rapidly" (Darling-Hammond, 2017, p. 136). We argue that the use of CCBI to teach for social justice in world language classrooms has the potential to effectively meet the skills outlined by Darling-Hammond as students examine real-world issues of power and equity, develop critical consciousness, and engage in action to address these issues.

METHODOLOGY

Methods

This interpretive multiple-case study (Yin, 2018) is centered on the experiences and perspectives of four mid-career Spanish language teachers as they sought to teach for social justice through a content-based instruction approach. Given that all four teachers shared a common goal of integrating topics of social justice into a content-based instruction unit, this allowed for replication. To ensure that we could examine both shared and divergent experiences and perspectives across the cases, an interpretive multiple-case study was an appropriate research approach. Each teacher was the subject and bounded unit, the individual case, and the object of the study was to explore how the teachers carried out CCBI to teach for social justice both within the case and across the cases. Through this exploration of the object, the aim was to develop theories about how and why Spanish teachers use a content-based instruction approach to delve into critical and complex topics with language learners.

Setting, Participants, and Researcher Identities

The participants were recruited from a non-licensure, accredited Master of Education in World Language Instruction program in the Midwest that draws students from across the United States. During this two-year program, each cohort of students participates in a content-based instruction course in their second year. In this course, students examine the philosophy, principles, and enactment of content-based instruction through readings (e.g., Baecher, Farnsworth, & Ediger, 2014; Cammarata, 2009; Cumming & Lyster, 2016; Met, 1999; Pessoa, Hendry, Donato, Tucker, & Lee, 2007; Tedick & Cammarata, 2012) and discussion. The course culminates in the development of their own content-based instruction unit for one of the classes they teach. The course did not explicitly advocate for a critical approach to CBI. It is worthwhile to note that one researcher is the director of the Master of Education program from which the four teachers graduated, and the other researcher was the professor of all four students when they completed the content-based instruction course as part of the program requirements. Although the participants were graduates of the program, not current students, at the time of their participation in this study, both researchers maintained some professional contact with the participants through professional organizations at the state and national levels and through attendance at conferences. All four participants were practicing Spanish teachers at the middle school or high school level with varying years of teaching experience (see Table 1). The participants heralded from three different states of the Midwest.

Table 1

	Noah	Daphne	Natalie	Becky
Years of experience	1-5 years	6-10 years	6-10 years	15+ years
School Context	Rural High School	Suburban Private High School	Large Suburban High School	Large Suburban Middle School

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection began with a Google Form survey that was sent to all graduates of the Master of Education in World Language Instruction program for whom current contact information could be obtained. The survey asked graduates about the extent to which they employ a CBI approach to teach complex topics or to teach for social justice. Seven of the 35 indicated interest in participating further by being interviewed and observed teaching one of their units, and ultimately, four Spanish teachers confirmed their participation. All were offered a gift card to compensate them for their time.

The teachers recorded either two or three videos of their teaching of daily lessons during a CCBI unit of their choosing and posted the videos to GoReact, an online video feedback tool. These videos allowed the researchers to observe the teaching of the social justice-focused lessons. A pre-observation semi-structured interview was conducted with each subject to ask questions pertaining to challenges and successes they have in integrating both content-driven and social justice-driven curricula, their motivation for teaching for social justice, and how a content-driven approach may or may not support them in bringing social justice topics into

the classroom. The researchers then observed the subjects teaching several lessons of a CCBI unit, and GoReact allowed the researchers to mark specific scenes in the recordings to view and discuss further with the subjects. Questions for the post-observation interview were refined while watching the videos to capture common themes and events taking place in each teacher's classroom. The post-observation semi-structured interview was conducted with each participant to view selected scenes from the GoReact videos together and to elicit reactions from each participant about their students' learning, students' engagement with the topics, effectiveness of these lessons and the unit as a whole, and final thoughts about using a content-driven approach to teach for social justice. Finally, each participant completed a short questionnaire approximately one week after the post-observation interview.

Data Analysis

Initially, both researchers engaged in pattern matching (Yin, 2018) within one case and conducted solo coding of transcripts. After each researcher had a sense of patterns that emerged from the one case, they met to develop an interpretive convergence (Saldaña, 2016), ensuring consistency in coding. The data were then distilled in multiple rounds of coding by both authors, and emerging themes were examined both within each case and across cases. Although common themes emerged across the four cases, the researchers also examined the cases for divergent themes.

After both researchers had coded all sets of data, they engaged in pattern matching across cases to develop larger themes, preparing the data for more in-depth cross-case analysis (Saldaña, 2016). As the researchers continued to refine the themes and categories, they made use of memoranda to connect these themes and categories to their research questions, theoretical framework, and literature. In a final stage of distilling the data, the researchers produced their findings in written form, describing them in further detail and collectively refining them as necessary.

Trustworthiness

Although both researchers know the participants as former students in the Master's program, participants were recruited from the list of graduates of the program. None of the participants were current students at the time of their participation. This was important as the researchers aimed to gain an understanding of how the teachers merge CBI or content-driven instruction with topics of social justice, without pressure from the researchers. There were also multiple sources of evidence from each participant, between a pre-teaching interview, videos of their teaching, a post-observation interview, and final questionnaire. These multiple sources of data from each participant allowed the researchers to gain a deeper understanding of each teacher's approach and perspectives, developing converging lines of theory (Yin, 2018).

FINDINGS

Critical Content-based Instruction was used at all proficiency levels at the middle school and high school levels by the teachers, and they reported employing CCBI systemically throughout their practice. Teachers transformed topics they normally teach into new units of study, usually drawing on culturally-based themes, and drawing on authentic resources. Additionally, teachers applied a critical lens to their culturally-based thematic units of study. The tendency for world language teachers to use cultural rather than academic content in CBI (Spenader et

al., 2018) was confirmed by the data. One exception was Noah, who was also a licensed social studies teacher and routinely integrated social studies content into his units. Three of the four teachers examined various aspects of immigration, with particular attention given to current events on the border of the United States and Mexico. Other units described by the teachers included Argentina's Dirty War, green energy in Latin America, sustainable agriculture and food sources, gender roles in families and schools, pay disparity in professional soccer, school access and child labor, and the importance of sustainable tourism. Finally, the CCBI units fostered student criticality in terms of skills, knowledge, and dispositions. This development of criticality led to an increase in student agency. Teachers noted how students took more initiative towards their own learning, and strengthened their skills of civil discourse.

Becky approached CCBI through an Organic World Language (OWL) method with her novice level 7th graders. The OWL approach is student-centered, and fosters risk taking and the development of intrinsic motivation (owlanguage.com/about), two goals that overlap with Becky's aim to integrate meaningful topics of social justice into the classroom. By keeping student voices at the center, Becky's curriculum develops organically around topics of interest to her students. Noah, Daphne, and Natalie all utilize a communicative proficiency-oriented approach to pursue CCBI with levels 1-4 at their respective high schools. We present the findings initially case-by-case, followed by a cross-case presentation of findings organized thematically to highlight several key areas of overlap among the participants.

CCBI in Action: A Case-by-Case Analysis of Classroom Teaching

Examples of CCBI at different levels and in different contexts were captured on videos and analyzed in order to understand the nature of critical approaches to language teaching in real world classrooms. The focus of our analysis of the videos is on the treatment of critical social justice within classroom instruction. What is presented here is a snapshot of each classroom, and a description of each teacher's approach to CCBI, paying attention to key principles of social justice teaching, namely: a) examining social power and inequities on micro (individual) and macro (structural) levels; b) understanding one's own positionality in relation to social power; c) thinking critically about information and knowledge; and d) laying groundwork for taking action, or taking action for social justice (see Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017).

Case 1: Noah

In Noah's classroom, 12 Spanish level 3 students oscillate between small- and whole-group work as they examine issues around immigration, with Noah drawing on his social studies training in his teaching. He is playful and friendly with his students, allowing their voices to dominate the lessons as he poses questions, and supports conversations between peers. Noah is deliberate in using English, switching only for specific purposes related to comprehension of an important issue. Throughout his teaching segments, authentic resources from different countries are analyzed by students with support from Noah. He also brings international issues to a local level, posing questions such as 'How do we deal with hostile attitudes towards immigrants?', and asks students to reflect on how U.S. perspectives on immigration compare to those in other countries.

Noah regularly draws student attention to both macro- and micro-level inequities with regards to immigration. When Noah asks students to remember what they know about unrest in Venezuela, students answer with "There's a lot of oppression", and "Aren't there two people claiming to be the President?" Noah asks "How do you avoid and deal with discriminatory attitudes?", and instructs students to read an article written from the

perspective of Colombians dealing with citizens who hold hostile views towards Venezuelans. Students engage with the article and with each other through small-group discussion, answering questions about xenophobia, empathy, and discrimination. Noah moves around the room, checking with groups and providing support. Later, students discuss how the article advocates for civil discourse with others, staying calm, concentrating, and listening. The article goes on to talk about exploitation of Venezuelan workers; at one point, a student shares "The most important part of this is the exploitation of labor, and …they're losing rights, and being taken advantage of." These scenes from Noah's class illustrate how students can delve into questions of power inequities and engage in critical thinking within a content-driven language classroom.

Authentic readings, videos and associated discussions lay the groundwork for Noah's students to take action steps toward social justice. Noah asks his students to consider how they would act in different situations, putting themselves into others' shoes. The authentic Colombian article not only instructs how one can build empathy, but also gives guidance that is applicable in a U.S. context. In another scene, Noah's students react to a news story from CNN Español about a child in Florida who experienced discrimination at summer camp. Noah asks his students "What would you do? In this [situation], if somebody said, we don't want to play with, you know, one of your friends or something." This questioning gives students an opportunity to understand their own stance, explore the perspectives of others, and to develop empathy.

In the post-observation interview, he described a situation in which a student was struggling with talking about immigration with his family. Noah explained how he worked with this particular student to enact some of the civil discussion techniques at home, and to improve an essay assignment. The following excerpt illustrates how Noah helped a student better understand his own positionality and the perspectives of others to begin to enact change.

> *"...I kind of pulled him aside... he's feeling this kind of like… how could he personally take those steps if he wanted to, with his family? ...now he's kind of looking at those articles from a new light. And he's kind of using them in his essay to talk about what he personally would do. And it's really connecting with him a little bit more."* (Post-Observation Interview)

Another way that Noah attempts to raise student awareness of positionality came in a task asking students to respond to the prompt: *What would you do if a black student or black friend of yours was shot by the police?* Nearly all of the students in Noah's rural school identify as white, and many do not have firsthand experience with people of color. Although Noah brings up issues of positionality with regard to race, asking students to imagine how they would respond in the face of racial inequities, the question he poses to achieve this goal highlights his developing understanding of social justice education. He risks creating discomfort among minoritized students who may be in his class, and although his effort to marry the exploration of actionable steps with use of the subjunctive is intended to ask students to think concretely about situations they may have not yet encountered, his approach in this example falls short. Practitioners of CCBI, including scholars in the field, note the substantial challenges around the creation of opportunities to explore divergent viewpoints and to acknowledge privilege (Kubota, 2016). While shortcomings can be seen in this particular example, it is clear that Noah is moving toward CCBI and social justice goals, and he describes the benefits of teaching social justice issues through language like this: "...it's amazing, because... it's all woven together. And the students are just immersed and they think, you know, they're just learning Spanish,

but it just turns out to be a little bit more than that." (Post-Observation Interview) Noah's case demonstrates that the teachers are at different points in their CCBI and social justice teaching journey.

Case 2: Daphne

Daphne teaches multiple levels of secondary Spanish in an independent K-12 school, with classes as small as 8 students, and as large as 17. Her position affords her autonomy over the design of the program and enabled her to pursue her interest in teaching for social justice. In this small Spanish 4 class, students are seated at desks, and Daphne leads conversation in a casual way, presenting questions, probing her students to hypothesize and support their ideas. Students readily participate in whole group discussion, with Daphne frequently writing new words, ideas, and language forms on the board. Laughter is frequently heard in the videos, the students enjoy the way Daphne jokes with them, and her positive rapport is apparent. This particular unit raises student awareness of immigration, exploring topics including inequities of power and resources, rhetoric around immigration, reasons for migration, individual experiences of migrants and immigrants to the U.S. and other nations, and legal considerations around immigration. Level 4 students also complete a unit on activism, a topic they will further explore in level 5 while studying the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. In relation to the immigration unit, Daphne explains:

> *"... they're kind of seeing how intricate the whole process is and...how long it takes for people to become, to apply for papers and do all the stuff. And they're seeing...what makes people immigrate without documents. And from their sentences, I could see that they're starting to have very strong ideas about this."* (Post-Observation Interview)

Daphne does not reserve CCBI for just her upper level classes, however, and describes another unit she is teaching in her Spanish 2 class in which students are asked to grapple with how their shopping habits impact workers in another part of the world. They begin by examining the collapse of the clothing factory in Bangladesh and examine how "fast fashion" affects employees in Latin America. Her sustainable fashion unit illustrates how she helps her students see macro-level social inequities, and to take notice of their own positionality in this particular industry. Students are asked to pay attention to where their own clothes are made and how they can exercise control over what they choose to buy.

Daphne requires each student in her level 4 class to monitor a Spanish-speaking country throughout the school year, tasking them with the responsibility of seeking out news from that country (in Spanish whenever possible) and sharing updates with the class on a regular basis. This assignment illustrates a powerful way in which Daphne fosters critical thinking about knowledge and information. Students spent a significant portion of one class period sharing and discussing the news items they had found, including recent protests in Chile. This is particularly interesting because none of the students had been assigned the country of Chile. Rather, the school has an exchange program with Chile, and because of their personal connections with those students, students took the initiative to pay attention to Chile in the news. Daphne notes that her students value the connections they see between her class and other coursework, and the way her class informs what they hear from their parents and the media.

Daphne reports that her immigration unit is her most successful CCBI unit. She describes how she brings in a bilingual immigration lawyer to speak with her class, and that experience has a significant effect on her students. She explains:

> *"Because the lawyer who comes in...actually works for a non-profit for immigrants in trying to get them asylum or trying to help them navigate the process. So, this year... they're more outraged about things. Last year, they were much more about the politics and the government and kind of the laws and stuff behind it. This year, they've taken it into the human impact that it's had. I had a student say that she – after this unit ...she has seriously started thinking about [a career in] immigration law." (Pre-Observation Interview)*

The units taught in Daphne's class prepare students to take action to correct social inequities in a variety of ways. By assigning her students to bring in news to discuss from different countries, she fosters their critical information literacy. Her units also focus student attention on inequities in social power, and encourage students to examine their own roles and responsibilities in society. Together, these steps prepare students to take future action.

Case 3: Natalie

Natalie teaches high school Spanish in a large suburban school, in a district known for high quality language programs. Natalie has received support from her district to work with colleagues to develop new units of instruction. This has empowered her to delve into social justice issues in her courses. Natalie describes a particularly successful unit that examines social inequities in children's access to education, and the persistence of child labor in Bolivia:

> *"Another mini unit that we do in Spanish Four is based around a documentary called The Devil's Miner. It talks about child labor in Bolivia and children that work in mines. The big question for that unit is, why can't all children go to school? We investigate why these children are working in the mines and the whole context of the history behind this mine in Bolivia."* (Pre-Observation Interview)

Natalie discovered that her students reacted very positively to her teaching through CCBI. This unit examined the ways that colonization, religion, and economics complicate the situation of mining in a developing nation. Student reaction to the Bolivian mining unit was described as follows:

> *"..their eyes were kind of opened to a different aspect of studying a Spanish-speaking country because usually we study their food, or if you'd go on a trip there, or festivals. This was something they had never studied before. I think they enjoyed it. I think some of them thought it was really heavy and a hard topic to learn about, but I think it was really impactful."* (Pre-Observation Interview)

In Natalie's class, students work frequently in small groups, exploring authentic information using technology to access images, songs, and videos. Her recorded lessons focused on the Taganga people of Colombia, the importance of intangible culture, and the impact of tourism on the livelihood and lifestyles of those living in the village of Taganga. In teaching about the intangible culture of the Taganga people she reflects that it was gratifying to observe students go beyond cultural facts. Natalie's lessons exhibited numerous instances of drawing student attention to unequal power structures in Spanish-speaking countries, and presenting students with authentic resources reflecting diverse perspectives. Natalie presented

her students with competing perspectives on the issue of tourism in the village of Taganga and the surrounding region, and reflected on how students' positionality began to shift to adopt the viewpoint of the documentary they watched about how tourism leads to unwanted garbage and pollution. She was able to introduce multiple viewpoints to students, and they were able to empathize with a new perspective on the topic of tourism. Natalie describes posts that students made on their online discussion platform that indicate their ability to engage in critical thinking and a willingness to take a stance on issues that were new to them just a few weeks earlier.

> *"They wrote things out like 'I think it's important that we safeguard our traditions'. 'It's a shame that tourists throw garbage on the beaches, it's necessary that we protect the beaches', 'it's bad that the fisherman need to compete with tourism'. 'It's important that the fishing culture continues'…"* (Post-Observation Interview)

In reflecting on the importance of teaching social justice topics in her Spanish classroom, Natalie describes multiple reasons for taking a critical approach to culture:

> *"I think it's a good fit because it provides multiple perspectives and allows multiple voices to be heard. Students are able to study the deeper cultural aspects of a country and not just the shallow stereotypical kind of culture we would see. I find it really interesting and rewarding to be able to teach those kinds of units where students are asking more critical questions and doing more digging into culture. I think it's just overall really rewarding to teach and have my students learn."* (Pre-Observation Interview)

Natalie aims to develop more CCBI units, based on the success of the units she is currently using. Through raising awareness of issues related to social injustices around the globe, she is working to position her students to become agents of change.

Case 4: Becky

Becky's recordings featured a bustling 7th grade novice classroom, filled with energy and frequent student interactions. Rather than sitting at desks, students sit in chairs arranged in a circle. Students stand and mingle through much of the lessons, with Becky always on the move. This classroom configuration puts students and instructor on equal footing, essentially lessening the hierarchical structure inherent in many classrooms, disrupting social power structures. The topics of the recorded lessons center on the roles of family members, including discussions of strict and lax parenting, and gender roles. Student voices are at the center of the lessons, and discussion arises from student questions and observations, a hallmark of the OWL approach. Students ask whether a short video on social media can be trusted, and whether school dress codes are more restrictive for boys than for girls. Student questions drive the discussions, but Becky is frequently seen refocusing the group, and restating questions and providing new vocabulary to facilitate more productive discussion. Students are observed using Spanish when reporting out to the whole group and when interacting with Becky. They used a mixture of English and Spanish when speaking in pairs and small groups.

In Becky's class, students are encouraged to explore topics of inequities and social power. She poses the question 'What does discipline from your parents look like in your family'? This question allows students to examine authoritarian structures within their own families, and compare that with their peers, and then compare that with families in other countries. In a subsequent lesson, students discuss the differences between the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of Emmett Till, Becky asks:

> *"Okay, so our perspectives now are really different than they would have been for us, if we had lived in that time, so, are those two assassinations that happened relatively close to each other in history different? If so, how? And the problems that led to those assassinations, or do those problems persist to today?"* (Post-Observation Interview)

She reminds students to pay attention and show respect to peers, because the topic is serious. This discussion brings up issues related to racial inequities, social class, and allows for multiple perspectives to be examined.

Becky noted how building critical information literacy has caused her to move away from a textbook which doesn't provide her learners with authentic and timely information. She explained:

> *"... it's not that hard to go and look for the content, but if you're going with more current events, it does shift and change every year or every time you've got new kids. So, you can't just go back to a textbook that's been published for three, four, five years."* (Pre-Observation Interview).

In her teaching, Becky asks students to engage in critical thinking and consider the authenticity of a video posted to social media portraying a Latina mother disciplining her child. The students' reactions indicate that they are highly suspicious of whether the video is authentic, and they provide multiple reasons to question the origin of the video. A student points out that the video could easily be staged, or altered using Photoshop [sic].

Becky's approach to CCBI is laying the groundwork for students to process relevant information and to engage in civil discourse.

> *"I have had students say that they love being able to talk about things in my class that they cannot talk about anywhere else. These are topics that they are being inundated with daily, if not hourly. They need a way to process and discuss how it impacts them now and in the future.*"(Final Questionnaire)

While the videos of her lessons do not directly evidence students taking action to challenge inequities, the conversations they engage in are preparing them to do so. Furthermore, it is the aim of their teacher and their school administrators to promote more global citizenship. She states, "*...We desire to have students who are aware of the world, and to be empathetic to others in all kinds of situations."* (Final Questionnaire)

While all four of the teachers had unique strengths and approaches to teaching topics of social justice in a content-driven manner, there were also commonalities across the cases in regard to their aim to transform typical topics, to examine culture through a critical lens, and to promote the development of agency among their students.

Using CCBI to Teach for Social Justice across Cases

Transforming Typical World Language Topics

In each of the four cases, teachers had moved away from textbooks, opting instead for current and authentic resources to provide content. They drew heavily on news articles from international sources, YouTube and news source videos, and social media. However, the teachers did note some pressure to address the scope and sequence of the curriculum and to prepare students for the curriculum in other language classes, and thus addressed common

topics, but in atypical ways. These topics included clothing and fashion, sports and leisure activities, tourism and travel, and education and schooling.

In Daphne's sustainable fashion unit for her level 2 course, she was able to merge review of typical content around fashion with a critical examination of the way in which "fast fashion" has an effect on workers globally, prompting students' recognition of their own roles as consumers. Becky, too, aimed to approach the topic of clothing from a different angle, wondering, "What kinds of questions incorporate things about clothing that kids were more engaged in?" (Pre-Observation Interview) She began with school dress code, and students led her into discussions around gender issues and clothing; her 6th graders underscored how much more restrictive the dress code is for students who identify as female. Ultimately, students challenged gender stereotypes as they wrote their own fairy tales. In these CCBI units that integrated language around clothing and fashion, students were able to not only identify, but also to challenge inequities and stereotypes.

World language teachers typically cover topics around sports and leisure activities, focusing mainly on vocabulary and expressing activity preferences. Because Becky's students had demonstrated interest in gender stereotypes, she continued in that vein while weaving in a focus on gender inequality and sports.

> *"We talked about gender gaps in wages and did a literacy thing with women's soccer with the year that they were suing the U.S. soccer league because they were being paid so much less, even though they had significantly more success than the men. It was really cool to see that all of that was pulled from the kids."* (Pre-Observation Interview)

Like the topic of leisure activities, themes of education and school also tend to repeat themselves throughout multiple levels of language classes. Natalie built on students' prior knowledge of education and school vocabulary and cultural knowledge about schools in Spanish-speaking countries. She developed a unit around the history of mining in Potosí, Bolivia, beginning with slaves being used by Spanish colonizers in the country to mine for silver and transitioning to the present-day composition of the mine's workforce of children and young adults. Her students were asked to investigate the interplay between child labor and the economy and the impact on families who require children to work and support their families. At the end of the unit, students created videos to bring attention to the social justice issue of structures that impede all children from being able to attend school and gain an education. Students appreciated the opportunity to learn about something that was new to them, and Natalie pushed them toward activism through creating videos.

Across these cases, it is clear that the teachers strived to capitalize on students' interests and to provide topics that are relevant to their own lives, encouraging co-creation of knowledge around typical world language topics in an atypical manner. They drew on students' prior knowledge and experiences in order to encourage students to dig more deeply into the content in the target language. Moreover, the teachers sought to disrupt students' notions of these common topics, moving away from the status quo and developing students' critical consciousness around how they themselves interact with these topics on a daily basis. As the teachers acknowledged that many of their students benefit from privilege and are, therefore, in the role of what Freire (1993) terms "the oppressor," their development of *conscientizaçao* could influence students' actions moving forward.

Teaching Cultural Content through a Critical Lens

A commonality between the classrooms of these focus teachers was their critical stance to teaching culture. In each case, teachers found that textbooks did not provide adequate materials for exploration of issues, rather they supplemented the unit with culturally authentic sources. The units were crafted around social issues of interest to both the teacher and the students.

Immigration, often addressed in upper level Spanish classes, was approached by the teachers to build critical literacy, to connect students with personal narratives, and to foster empathy and civil discourse around a contentious issue. Noah's class followed the current event of the caravan from Guatemala and Honduras marching toward the United States through Mexico. He discovered that many students were unaware that immigrants arrive in the U.S. not to "live the American dream," but as refugees seeking safety and asylum. As previously noted, Noah integrated an article from Colombia that detailed steps for dealing with xenophobia, racism, and sexism, prompted by the influx of Venezuelan immigrants. This authentic text about the immigration debate in Colombia was compared to the immigration debate in the U.S. and other current movements like Black Lives Matter, laying the groundwork for ways in which students can take action when they witness marginalization and discrimination. Meanwhile, Daphne pulled in *Radio Ambulante* to provide an authentic podcast delving into varied perspectives on the topic of immigration, including "coyotes," who tend to be villainized in American media. As was the case with Noah's students, Daphne's students responded positively, and she notes that students delved into the "human side of a political issue that has so many people on separate viewpoints." She also notes that they appreciate gaining a deeper understanding of the issue, and "...it infuriates them that a lot of people don't understand." (Post-Observation Interview)

In both cases, Noah and Daphne addressed the topic of immigration in a way that allowed students to interrogate the information they hear from parents and other students and adults in their communities, particularly because many are surrounded by negative messages about immigrants. Daphne views her CCBI units as providing the power of knowledge and notes that her students respond well to the units because she is not "teaching things separate from the world." (Post-Observation Interview)

Although both Noah and Daphne took a critical stance to exploring products, practices, and perspectives of immigration in Spanish classes with older secondary students at a higher proficiency level, Becky was not deterred by the younger age of her middle school learners and sought to disrupt the "canned culture" often found in world language textbooks. She aimed to expose students to global events impacting the Spanish-speaking communities, in particular. She, too, addressed immigration with students, making interdisciplinary connections to an immigration unit that students complete in 6th grade. Knowing that students had some background on the topic, she used a song from a Latin American artist who pushes back against negative comments made by President Trump about Latino immigrants. She asked her students to critically examine the lyrics, weighing President Trump's statements against those in the song, encouraging students to forge and share their own opinions about immigrants and immigration to the U.S.

Critical examination of culture extended beyond immigration into topics like sustainable food sources. Becky utilized authentic text in the form of a social media video about a lab in Brazil that raises cockroaches for use in bread flour, touting them as a sustainable food source that increases protein, benefiting low socioeconomic communities. After using this video as a launching point, Becky spent several days delving into sustainable foods and the impact on

communities and the environment. Daphne, too, circles back to students' prior language and cultural knowledge of food in Spanish-speaking countries by asking the essential question, "*What is the role of sustainable agriculture in reducing food scarcity*?" During this unit, students debated with each other about the role of GMOs, and Daphne noted that their discussions became heated as students argued that GMOs have harmful effects on people, while other students maintained their positions that GMOs have a number of sustainable benefits. In Natalie's unit on sustainable tourism, students dug deeply into the cultural practice of fishing in the communities where this issue is found. Some students noted that the practice of fishing is supported by the value of tradition, passing the act of fishing to sustain food sources in homes and communities down from one generation to the next, while other students connected fishing to the community bond of working together to sustain each other. Natalie shared that she was pleased to observe her students develop criticality around this social justice issue, allowing them to dig below the surface of the cultural practice to examine "human perspectives and viewpoints for a culture." (Post-Observation Interview)

Across all four cases, the teachers were confident that they had approached culture in the CCBI units in a way that fostered criticality among their learners, underscoring that this approach led to positive reactions from students. Noah even claimed that because of his approach to the unit, the students better retained the cultural knowledge they had gained. In comparison to strictly using Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling or TPRS, a method that focuses on providing comprehensible input through reading and telling stories, that was employed by the students' previous Spanish teacher, he felt the students made larger gains through CCBI:

> *They don't really remember much culture or anything with the previous teacher. However, with me, they have a much better recollection of, 'Hey, I remember this in Uruguay or Costa Rica,' or, 'I remember that.' They really were fascinated by Jose Mujica in Uruguay when we studied government. That was the one aspect that really drew in their interest. They really, I think, have a much better understanding of the language through CBI.*

Most importantly, the teachers commented that they observed the students digging deeply into the cultural content to be able to not only decipher values underlying the more visible products and practices they were studying, but also to be able to respond knowledgeably to events and topics relevant to their own lives, an outcome of the critical literacy that was espoused by the teachers.

Developing students' agency and criticality

Sato et al. (2017) note that CCBI involves both learning new content through critical analysis, as well as developing their criticality in terms of skills, knowledge, and dispositions. Teaching for social justice involves action aimed at achieving social change and justice (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). Although evidence of concrete action steps taken by students was not found, examples of building student agency to engage with social justice topics was evidenced in the interviews with all four teachers.

Several of the teachers highlighted that students were encouraged to find their own voices and to engage in civil discourse. Daphne felt strongly that she had fostered an environment of respect and trust, allowing students to share their own perspectives and ideas respectfully with each other while still maintaining their relationships with each other. Noah also noted how students' development of agency had the potential to change how students interact with each other and with their communities. Not only could they interrogate their

own stance, they were gaining the skills to be able to critically examine inequitable structures, xenophobia, racism, and more in their own homes, school, and community. In a middle school classroom, where students' identity development is in flux, encouraging students to voice their own perspectives can be challenging. Becky, however, found success as she and the students were exploring issues around gender. In regard to what she observed among her students, she stated,

> *…it was really interesting, I thought, to see some of my quieter female students really start to find a voice and push back with some of the boys when we talked about dress code and the boys kind of made some not very favorable comments. But then, through the course of our conversations, realized that most dress code rules tend to skew towards policing girls' clothes. One of the most interesting things was that my more behavior-challenged students had really insightful comments."* (Becky, Pre-Observation Interview)

Becky mentioned that one of her female students shared her perception that females "are always second," and that it was gratifying to be able to voice her opinion. In this middle school case, not only did students identifying as female push back against their more privileged male classmates, but students who struggle in class and may not always feel welcome due to behavior or other issues, found their own voices and could connect well to the topic of being oppressed or marginalized due to factors of identity.

Students' development of agency also sparked initiative in students. Daphne's decision to assign each of her students a Spanish-speaking nation on which to become experts over the course of a year encouraged students to position themselves as the "knowers," allowing Daphne to take a step back. Her students engaged in problem-posing education (Freire, 1993), bringing in current events and information about their assigned country that they found essential for classmates to understand and examine more closely. As noted earlier, students took it upon themselves to keep each other apprised of current events from Chile, an act of initiative that was an unplanned outcome on Daphne's part. Noah and Natalie, too, note that their students demonstrate more initiative because their CCBI units encourage students' to critically examine global issues that impact their own lives and the lives of people in cultures they are studying. After the immigration unit, Noah found that his students were continuing to follow the caravan on its way to the U.S. through Mexico, asking Noah clarification questions so that they could better understand what was taking place and why. He was encouraged to see students' drive to learn and that they had not simply moved on to the next unit. Natalie led her students through a unit on happiness, which inherently connects to a number of social justice issues that impact levels of happiness throughout the Spanish-speaking world. She found this unit to be particularly successful because like Daphne's and Noah's students, her students were in the driver's seat, having been given control over which topics they chose to investigate.

Finally, students' agency and ability to think critically worked in concert. The teaching videos consistently evidenced critical thinking, and the teachers pointed to numerous examples of how CCBI pushed their students toward the development of criticality. However, Noah and Daphne, in particular, make a connection between agency and criticality. Noah explained that he witnessed growth in his students, stating, "They're not settling for, 'My parents say this, or my friends say this.' They're actually asking questions and asking the *why* for themselves. They're out to discover the answer…" (Post-Observation Interview). Similarly, one of Daphne's seniors shared with her his own observations of his growth:

> *"'That class and your classes taught me how to – even if I don't find something interesting at the face of it, how I can dive into it and find something.' He's like, 'You taught me how to be curious about learning and about what we're doing.' Which is like, the biggest compliment you can give a teacher, right?"* (Post-Observation Interview)

The teachers linked their decision to present their students with complex topics to significant growth in their students, finding that their students could more confidently voice their own ideas and perspectives and demonstrate agency in not only their learning, but also in their personal lives as they took a more critical eye to situations and events impacting their own communities. While specific action steps being taken by individuals or groups of students were not seen in the data, all four teachers found ways to build student agency.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of these four classrooms indicated that CCBI allows for the simultaneous teaching for language proficiency and the development of criticality in learners through four key aspects of teaching for social justice—examination of unequal power structures, understanding of individual roles within these structures, the development of critical literacy, and laying the groundwork for taking action toward justice (see Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017).

The findings illustrate that CCBI allows for the examination of social inequities by providing space for exploration of race and gender issues, and by moving away from a treatment of culture as pleasant and amusing (Ennser-Kananen, 2016), instead challenging learner beliefs and stances. CCBI can run the risk of presenting only problematic issues around culture, leading students to associate a place or group of people only with some aspect of that society that is deemed negative. Effective CCBI should attend to the complexities of cultures to ensure that students come away with a breadth of knowledge and cultural understanding about a given topic. The teachers noted that at times the topics felt "heavy," but that students found them impactful, and that responses from families and colleagues have been overwhelmingly positive. Additionally, raising awareness of positionality occurred by taking a critical approach to cultural topics, and resulted with teachers moving away from Eurocentric topics in the Spanish classroom, and bringing in new indigenous and global perspectives (labor practices in South America and Asia, for instance) on issues. Students were able to examine the lenses through which they view issues, taking note of and challenging their own cultural stances. Understanding one's own cultural beliefs and values is a core task of intercultural development (Bennett, 1993; Wagner, Cardetti, & Byram, 2019). Teachers who employ a critical approach to pedagogy can make missteps, or struggle to appreciate the nuance and complexities of divergent viewpoints. As teachers develop their skills in using CCBI, they should engage in a process of ongoing reflection to hone their praxis, working to attend to what Kubota refers to as the "affective dimensions of challenging issues" (2016, p. 208). While teachers will sometimes fall short of their intended goals, there is still value in taking steps toward teaching for social justice. CCBI can have the added benefit of attracting and retaining students in world language classrooms, recognizing more diverse experiences and perspectives that may resonate with a wider audience of students and work to build Intercultural Citizenship (Wagner et al., 2019).

CCBI in these cases was exemplified by the use of diverse, authentic resources that introduced a variety of cross-cultural perspectives. In each case, the teachers relied on culturally-rich resources to challenge students' preconceived ideas about topics, and took steps to lead students through critical analysis of said sources in order to develop their critical literacy

about a variety of issues in both target culture communities and their own communities. Students examined these texts for bias, authenticity, and relevance. It is important to note that these texts were often counter-hegemonic in nature, disrupting the dominant narrative and raising the question "[w]hose knowledge is of most worth?" (Apple, 2013, p.31).

Finally, the development of agency in students was a significant outcome of CCBI in the classrooms studied. Instructional activities served as rehearsal for engaging with diverse communities, but also for participation in civil discourse with others about complex topics. Students gained confidence in expressing viewpoints that diverged from mainstream or dominant narratives, even pushing back against classmates who held those dominant views. For adolescents and teenagers, whose self-identities are not yet fully formed, this act alone of finding their voices is a significant step in developing agency. The teachers moved away from a banking model of education (Freire, 1993), a traditional system of education in which the teacher simply delivers their knowledge to students. Instead, they acknowledged that their students, in fact, possessed knowledge and abilities, and moved toward a liberating, problem-posing approach to education that affirms students as "beings in the process of becoming" (Freire, 1993, p. 84). The four teachers in this study embodied a belief that their students were capable of being agents of change and of having an influence on the world, in large or small ways. This was evidenced by the way in which the teachers supported and encouraged the students to consider their own roles in issues both close to home and in target cultures being studied.

However, our analysis did not reveal evidence of students turning their new perspectives into concrete action steps, which is an important component of teaching for social justice (Hackman, 2005; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). This final tenet of the theoretical framework presents a high bar that the teachers in this study struggled to meet. Students who are minors may not have access to power within their communities to effect the change they would like to see. It is possible that these teachers were laying the groundwork for their students to become agents of social change in the future. Hackman (2005) notes that there are a variety of approaches to providing students with tools for action and social change, depending on the context. For some teachers, a more grassroots approach of leading students in action (i.e., participation in a demonstration) may be appropriate, but that Freire's (1993) problem-posing education approach can also be fitting for classrooms. The teachers in this study were engaging students in problem-posing education, although the degree to which they succeeded varied depending on the topics and their developing skills in providing students with tools for action and change. More research on the barriers that students and teachers face in trying to take action as part of their critical pedagogy could shed light on this challenge. The findings of this study suggest that more should be done to train teachers in ways to move students from theoretical understandings of engaging critically to the creation of action steps. The classroom is a space for practicing criticality, but applying the same stances outside the classroom requires additional work. Projects that focus on social justice initiatives may serve as a viable vehicle for bridging students' understanding with real-world engagement, especially as students could be asked to address needs in their communities (Glynn et al., 2018). Service Learning and experiential learning models offer opportunity for action within an educational framework.

Furthermore, we strongly encourage teacher education programs to consider embedding CCBI into pre-service teacher training. Our findings indicate that even with novice level learners in mid-level programs, teachers need not be deterred from taking a content-driven approach or a critical approach to cultural content, and from engaging in discussions of ethics and responsibility (Cammarata et al., 2016). The importance of moving our instruction towards a CCBI model is embodied in this reflection from Daphne:

> *"We desire to have students who are aware of the world, and to be empathetic to others in all kinds of situations. Languages are being used more for communication now than ever due to globalization and social media. We are almost required to teach critical and social justice topics in the WL classroom in order that students know how to utilize the language to create and foster empathy. We would suffer a loss as a discipline if we do not teach critical and social justice topics."* (Final Questionnaire)

CONCLUSION

In the units examined in this study, the teachers in our study exhibited both a commitment to CCBI, as well as an implementation approach that fostered criticality in their students. However, there is diversity in the ways in which teachers enact CCBI, and the degree to which the four aspects of social justice education are manifested in classrooms. While we should encourage all language teachers to take a more critical approach, we acknowledge that CCBI may not be feasible in every setting. Teachers will require support relative to their experience and knowledge around both teaching in a content-driven manner and teaching for social justice, particularly at novice levels. For this reason, administrators and professional development providers need to recognize the needs of teachers and districts, and provide appropriate training opportunities and support for curriculum development. Programs using published curriculum or prescribed methods, for example, TPRS, are urged to examine ways to navigate social justice education, including ways to bring diverse authentic resources, critical literacy, and appreciation for positionality into instruction.

While the data presented here provides rich and diverse examples of how CCBI is enacted in U.S. classrooms, the small sample size limits the generalizability of our findings. Similarly, the analyzed teaching samples only represented 2-4 hours of instruction by each teacher, and may not be representative of these teachers' practices in general. Additionally, teachers were aware that they were being videotaped, which could have influenced their behavior in the samples. Regardless of these limitations, we feel this data provides valuable insights for practitioners of social justice education and language teaching.

As world language programs are forced to defend their relevance in order to attract and retain students, it is imperative that we examine how our curricula serve both our students and the broader community. Wagner et al. (2019) argue for a transformation of language education wherein *Intercultural Citizenship* becomes the goal of classrooms, recognizing the synergy between the NCSSFL-ACTFL Can-Do Statements for Intercultural Communication (2017), ACTFL World-Readiness Standards (2015), and social justice education. This conceptualization of world language teaching will require us to deepen our understanding of how language proficiency development intersects with intercultural learning and social justice, and our findings suggest that CCBI provides a valuable framework for sustaining critical approaches and social justice education in traditional middle and high school language classroom settings.

REFERENCES

Apple, M. (2013). *Can education change society?* Routledge.

ACTFL (2017). NCSSFL-ACTFL Can-Do Statements for Intercultural Communication.

Baecher, L., Farnsworth, T., & Ediger, A. (2014). The challenges of planning language objectives in content-based ESL instruction. *Language Teaching Research, 18*, 118-136.

Ballman, T. (1997). Enhancing beginning language courses through content-enriched instruction. *Foreign Language Annals, 30*(2), 173-86.

Banks, J. (2002). *Cultural diversity and education: Foundations, curriculum, and teaching.* Pearson.
Bennett, M. (1993). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In R. M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the Intercultural Experience* (2nd ed., pp. 21-71). Intercultural Press.
Cammarata, L. (2009). Negotiating curricular transitions: Foreign language teachers' learning experience with content-based instruction. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *65*(4), 559-585.
Cammarata, L. (2010). Foreign language teachers' struggle to learn content-based instruction. *L2 Journal, 2*(1).
Cammarata, L., Tedick, D. J., & Osborn, T. A. (2016). Content-based instruction and curricular reforms: Issues and goals. In L. Cammarata (Ed.), *Content-Based Foreign Language Teaching* (pp. 15-36). Routledge.
Cumming, J., and Lyster, R. (2016) Integrating CBI into High School Foreign Language Classrooms. In L. Cammarata (Ed.), *Content-Based Foreign Language Teaching*. Routledge.
Darling-Hammond, L. (2017). Teaching for social justice: Resources, relationships, and anti-racist practice. *Multicultural Perspectives*, *19*(3), 133-138.
Dover, A. (2013). Teaching for social justice: From conceptual frameworks to classroom practices. *Multicultural Perspectives, 15*(1), 3-11.
Dupuy, B. (2000). Content-based instruction: Can it help ease the transition from beginning to advanced foreign language classes? *Foreign Language Annals, 33*(2), 205-223.
Ennser-Kananen, J. (2016). A pedagogy of pain: New directions for world language education. *The Modern Language Journal, 100*(2), 556-564.
Friere, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the oppressed: New revised 20th anniversary edition*. Continuum.
Garner, M. & Borg, E. (2005). An ecological perspective on content based instruction. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *2*(4), 119-134.
Giroux, H.A. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy of opposition.* Bergin and Garvey.
Glynn, C., Wesely, P., & Wassell, B. (2018). *Words and actions: Teaching languages through the lens of social justice* (2nd ed.). ACTFL.
Glisan, E. & Donato, R. (2016). *Enacting the World of Language Instruction: High-Leverage Teaching Practices*. ACTFL.
Goldberg, D., Looney, D., & Lusin, N. (2015). Enrollments in languages other than English in United States institutions of higher education, Fall 2013. *Modern Language Association*.
Hackman, H. (2005). Five essential components for social justice education. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 38*(2), 103-109.
Kennedy, T. (2006). Language learning and its impact on the brain: Connecting language learning with the mind through content-based instruction. *Foreign Language Annals, 39*(3), 471-486.
Kubota, R., Austin, T., & Saito-Abbott, Y. (2003). Diversity and inclusion of sociopolitical issues in foreign language classrooms: An exploratory survey. *Foreign Language Annals, 36*(1), 12-24.
Kubota, R. (2016). Critical Content-Based Instruction in the Foreign Language Classroom: Critical Issues for Implementation. In L. Cammarata (Ed.), *Content-Based Foreign Language Teaching*. Routledge.
Lightbown, P., & Spada, N. (2006). *How languages are learned* (3rd ed.). Oxford Handbooks for Language Teachers. Oxford University Press.
Met, M. (1999). *Content-Based Instruction: Defining terms, making decisions.* The National Foreign Language Center.
Moore, Z. (2005). African-American students' opinions about foreign language study: An exploratory study of low enrollment at the college level. *Foreign Language Annals*, (*38*)2, 191-198.
National Standards Collaboration Board (2015). *World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages*. (4th ed.). Alexandria, VA: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
Nieto, S. (2010). *Language, culture, and teaching* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
Paris, D., & Alim, H. (Eds.). (2017). *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world.* Language and Literacy Series. Teachers College Press.
Pessoa, S., Hendry, H., Donato, R., Tucker, G. R., & Lee, H. (2007). Content-Based Instruction in the Foreign Language Classroom: A Discourse Perspective. *Foreign Language Annals, 40*(1), 102-121.
Pessoa, R., & De Urzêda Freitas, M. (2012). Challenges in Critical Language Teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 46*(4), 753-776.
Reagan, T. & Osborn, T. (2002). *The foreign language educator in society: Toward a critical pedagogy*. Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, Inc.
Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
Sato, S., Hasegawa, A., Kumagai, Y., & Kamiyoshi, U. (2017). Content-Based Instruction for the Social Future: A Recommendation for Critical Content-Based Language Instruction (CCBI). *L2 Journal, 9*(3), 50-69.
Sensoy, O. & DiAngelo, R. (2017). *Is everyone really equal?: An introduction to key concepts in social justice education* (2nd ed.). Multicultural Education Series. Teachers College Press.

Spenader, A., Wesely, P., & Glynn, C. (2018). When culture is content: Applications for content-based instruction in the world language classroom. *Language Teaching Research*, *00*(0), 1-20.

Strauss, V. (2014, August 21). For first time, minority students expected to be majority in U.S. public schools this fall. *The Washington Post*.

Tedick, D., & Cammarata, L. (2012). Content and language Integration in K-12 contexts: Student outcomes, teacher practices, and stakeholder perspectives. *Foreign Language Annals 45(*S1*)*, S28-S53.

Troyan, F. J., Cammarata, L., & Martel, J. (2017). Integration PCK: Modeling the knowledge(s) underlying a world language teacher's implementation of CBI. *Foreign Language Annals*, *50(*2*)*, 458-476

Wagner, M., Cardetti, F., & Byram, M. (2019) *Teaching Intercultural Citizenship Across the Curriculum.* ACTFL.

Wassell, B., Wesely, P., & Glynn, C. (2019). Agents of change: Reimagining curriculum and instruction in world language classrooms through social justice education. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy, (2019)*.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.