

Researching Educational Practices, Teacher Education and Professional Development for Early Language Learning

Examples from Europe

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13 Language ideologies at play in early childhood teacher education

A study of syllabi and textbooks

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Context

Nordic early childhood education is known as a child-centred model with a combination of formal and informal learning, and a holistic view of play, learning, care and education (“Bildung”) (Wagner & Einarsdottir, 2006). Even if there are variations both geographically and structurally across the Nordic countries, there is generally more of a focus on play and care rather than teacher-led activities, curriculum and learning outcomes. Finland, Norway and Sweden are most similar in terms of educational systems. Pre-service early childhood teacher education (ECTE) in the three countries is relatively similar and is delivered through first cycle degrees requiring between 180 and 210 ECTs¹ of study. In all countries, ECTE consists of different courses with a different scope of credits which are all based on the European Qualification Framework. However, the linguistic situation is somewhat different. All three countries include Sami areas and population. While Swedish is the official language in Sweden, Norwegian, Sami and the sign language are official languages in Norway. Finland is officially a bilingual country where Finnish is the majority language, yet Swedish is the main language for approximately 5 percent of the population.

Traditionally, Nordic countries have been considered as relatively linguistically homogeneous, but minority languages have always existed. With increasing immigration and mobility, linguistic diversity in these three Nordic countries is changing and the proportion of immigrants has increased in recent years, albeit somewhat differently. As of 2017, Sweden had the largest proportion of immigrants at 17 percent, Norway had 13.8 percent and Finland just 5.6 percent (Østby & Aalandslid, 2020). In considering recent immigration in relation to the bigger picture of the linguistic landscapes in the three countries, the situation is somewhat different. In Sweden, Swedish has hegemony, being challenged by new minority languages, while Norway traditionally has several official minority languages and less immigration than Sweden. Finland, on the other hand, has less immigration than Norway and Sweden, but is historically a bilingual state. All of these are conditions that can influence language education policy and practices in teacher education.

Introduction

Teacher educators are commonly involved in discussions around which textbooks may best shed light on learning outcomes in terms of content and subject matter for the course syllabi they are teaching. As Strand (2006) points out, the agents in the field involved in such discussions, in this case, the teacher educators, have the authority to exclude or include, to legitimise, maintain or contest a social practice that is considered valid. Considerations about choosing textbooks for teacher education contexts are addressed from time to time in the research literature, and, typically, the process of selecting textbooks involves considerations such as the time allocated to the selection process, and the criteria used to guide this selection (e.g., Sataøen & Fossøy, 2019). While there has been more focus on research on the content of textbooks in school contexts, there are also some studies investigating textbooks in teacher education. These studies explore conceptualisations or discourses in textbooks (e.g., Tummons (2014) on discourses on professionalism). Studies that focus on early childhood teacher education have often focused on more general educational topics, such as teachers' beliefs about young children and learning (Merzliakova et al., 2022).

As in early childhood education and school contexts, language teaching and learning in teacher education is not an ideologically neutral practice, but rather is located within a complex web of political and historical contexts. Textbooks are often regarded as the cornerstone of education and are considered authoritative and crucial resources for learning outcomes, but they are by no means neutral transmitters of information (Curdt-Christiansen & Weninger, 2015).

Learning resources like textbooks potentially influence language ideologies and ideological negotiations between teacher educators and their students. This chapter discusses syllabi and textbooks used in early language pedagogy courses in early childhood teacher education (ECTE) by using examples from the three Nordic contexts described in the aforementioned context, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Based on a theoretical framework for bilingual education, i.e., monoglossic and heteroglossic language ideologies (García, 2009) and revisited conceptions of language orientations as resource-oriented, i.e., as right-oriented or problem-oriented (Hult & Hornberger, 2016), I examine how ideologies come into play in early childhood teacher education, and how such ideologies are relevant to the sociocultural and sociolinguistic Nordic context.

Language ideologies in education

Woolard (1998) defines language ideology as a system of ideas, perceptions and beliefs, a way of seeing the world as a group, a society or an individual at a given time or period of time. In recent years, increasing emphasis has been given to the field of language education policy, which examines the implicit

and explicit ways that education is shaped by various perspectives on languages, multilingualism and language practices. This research field also explores how education values different languages, and which aspects of language(s) are considered important to the educational process (Hult & Hornberger, 2016).

Teacher education teaches more than it claims to teach

Researchers have long pointed out that schools teach more than they claim to teach. The same applies to teacher education – it teaches more than it claims to teach. In addition to the country context, the educational context, the exercise of authority by teaching staff and policymakers, the national and local curricula, as well as the characteristics of the teaching staff and students, all will have an implicitly socialising effect, transmitting norms that strongly influence student teachers' values and behaviour (Orón Semper & Blasco, 2018). Orón Semper and Blasco refer to this as the “hidden curriculum” (2018, p. 481), which implies the implicit understandings and practices that surround and possibly influence students in their education. In line with such a view, Biesta points out that education is not just about qualifications but also about socialisation and subjectification. Socialisation implies initiating people into existing traditions, cultures, ways of doing and ways of being:

Education partly does this [initiating] deliberately, for example in the form of professional socialization, or socialization into the culture of democracy [...] socialization also happens behind the back of teachers and students, thus reproducing existing traditions, cultures, ways of doing and being often, though not necessarily, in ways that benefit some more than others, thus contributing to the material and social inequalities.

(Biesta, 2015, p. 7)

While there has been a growing field of research on teachers' attitudes, beliefs and cognition, research into the values and norms of teacher education is not so common. Through teacher education, student teachers will not only be qualified in competencies, knowledge and skills, but they will also be socialised into ways of understanding and thinking about the world.

Levin (2015) claims that teacher beliefs are changeable over time, some more than others and in particular if the beliefs are explicitly noticed by teacher educators:

When teachers and teacher educators know what they believe in, value and are working to accomplish, then they are better positioned to lead in their classrooms and schools, justify the reasons behind their practices with peers, administrators and parents, and question mandates or policies that run counter to what they believe is best for children in significant and socially just ways.

(Levin, 2015, p. 61)

In line with Levin's claim, I emphasise the importance of making implicit language ideologies in teacher education more transparent, such as discussing which ideologies we can identify in textbooks and syllabus. The syllabus may be seen as representing canonised or authorised beliefs and therefore "provide access to the social production and distribution of early childhood beliefs" (Strand, 2006, p. 80). According to Curdt-Christiansen and Weninger (2015), textbooks are embedded in ideology and convey attitudes, values and beliefs, and confer legitimacy on the text's ontological and epistemological constructs within a particular field of study. It is impossible to be outside of ideology, meaning it is impossible for an author not to write from a particular ideological position. Although Curdt-Christiansen and Weninger (2015) relate to language textbooks in schools, where more research has also been done, their perspectives are highly relevant for teaching resources in teacher education, even if authors of textbooks in higher education might include explicit meta-perspectives and positioning in the field, such as clearly stating the language ideologies that underpin their work.

In selecting textbooks, some are chosen in favour of others, although the rationale is not necessarily deliberately oriented towards ideological aspects. An important factor is also how textbooks are used, criticised and negotiated in teacher education. Although I study the textbooks more closely here, I do not explore their active use in context. It is not a one-to-one relationship between the textbook and the student in the sense that the student uncritically relates to or adopts the content of the book. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to claim that textbooks play an important role in the socialisation process by virtue of the authoritative status they tend to have in education. In what follows, I take as my starting point that all learning resources, including textbooks, will potentially influence, reproduce and sometimes confirm student teachers' socialisation processes into language ideologies, norms and ways of understanding languages and linguistic diversity.

Challenging the monolingual norm

In studies on multilingualism, language ideologies may be related to what is perceived about how languages are related to each other, or how linguistic diversity or languages are valued, i.e., as a problem, a resource or a right (Hult & Hornberger, 2016). Multilingualism may also be related to political ideologies of power and which languages are legitimised or not – the one language – one-nation equation is an example of a language ideology.

García states that linguistic diversity in education raises many complex questions relating to language policy, language ideologies, educational context and language teaching cultures (García, 2009, p. 120). In her framework for understanding bilingual education, the most overall distinction is between a monoglossic norm and a heteroglossic norm. Monoglossic ideologies are linked to an ideology where each language is assessed according to a monolingual standard. Conversely, heteroglossic ideologies will require a

more complex view of multilingualism, where multilingualism is the standard. The monoglossic versus heteroglossic ideologies will in various ways be linked to the linguistic goals of a particular education and target group and which the social and cultural views this education reflects. For example, in additive bilingual education, which is based on a monolingual norm, bilingualism is a goal of education and thus also considered an enrichment for society and the individual. The languages included in teaching are typically taught separately, such as in immersion programmes. It is thus based on an assumption that languages must also be kept separate in teaching. According to this view, bilingualism means double monolingualism (García, 2009, p. 52). Considering multilingualism on the basis of a monolingual norm or standard is widespread and is also strongly linked to socio-economic and political interests. Makoni and Pennycook (2007, p. 27) claim that the meta-discourse on language is closely linked to western linguistic and cultural assumptions. Referring to languages numerically is mentioned as an example of meta-discursive construction that safeguards colonial and western nation-building interests.

In the following, I will explore language ideologies in different Nordic ECTE contexts and more specifically in teacher education textbooks about multilingualism. With different institutions and different textbooks, other ideologies might emerge and be present. I will discuss how language ideologies identified in textbooks may be seen in relation to national and institutional language policies or curricula and how they might either challenge or be challenged by such policies.

Research on language education policies and ideologies in the Nordic context

Most research on language ideologies and language education policies in Nordic early childhood education has been conducted in early childhood education, or as an analysis of policy documents (e.g., Alstad & Söpanen, 2020). These studies show a fundamental positivity, though ambivalent attitude, towards multilingualism. Empirical research on multilingualism in teacher education has either concerned policy documents focusing on language education policy or student teacher and teacher educator experiences with multilingualism or concepts of linguistic diversity.

Studies on educational policy documents and or curricula reveal the increasing emphasis on second language learning and a monolingualistic ideology, with correspondingly less emphasis on linguistic diversity (e.g., Alstad & Söpanen, 2020). In a study of Swedish preschool student teachers' views on multiculturalism and multilingualism, Rosén and Wedin (2018) highlight ambivalence towards linguistic diversity. Multilingual students are expected to add value to the pre-school teacher education programme, but at the same time, they are also expected to perform like everyone else in the programmes, reproducing a discourse of diversity as a positive asset. Findings from curriculum studies from Swedish and Finnish teacher education contexts

demonstrate mismatches between legislation, governing documents and content (Paulsrud & Zilliacus, 2018), or outline that students are not prepared to handle linguistic diversity in classrooms (Hermansson et al., 2021).

Overall, it seems that despite students being unprepared for multilingual pedagogy, both policy documents and teacher education curricula and experiences in the Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish contexts are positive towards multilingualism. Nevertheless, a monolingual norm still dominates the teacher education curriculum. A closer look at the textbooks might expand our understanding of the potential and what is being negotiated in teacher education. In the next section, I will take a closer look at which ideologies can be identified in a selection of syllabi and textbooks from the Nordic context.

Teacher education institutions: Their course descriptions, syllabi and textbooks

I have chosen a sample of courses, syllabi and textbooks from the academic year 2021–2022, each from three different higher education institutions (HEI), one in each of the Nordic countries I chose to target. These three countries offer teacher education programmes that have approximately the same scope (of 3 to 3.5 years first cycle degree level), but which at the same time have a somewhat different linguistic context (cf. the previous description of the context). I refer to these institutions as HEI Finland, HEI Sweden and HEI Norway, all located in medium-sized cities. All institutions have an explicit institutional language policy, as well as available information on their webpages about course programmes, curricula, syllabi and textbooks.

Within each pre-service teacher education programme, I have selected courses that are explicitly oriented towards language and multilingualism. This means that the syllabi and textbooks I discuss will be a selection, not a complete picture, of the education programme. I have looked closer into the language of publication for the recommended literature and the number of relevant publications, as some of the courses are cross-disciplinary. I have included publications that are explicit in focusing on language and/or multilingualism. In the next section I present a three-step analysis of the curriculum. I give an overview of the selected courses and learning outcomes related to multilingualism before I provide a closer content analysis of the textbooks, the language orientations and ideologies and which languages are legitimised through examples provided in the textbooks.

Table 13.1 gives an overview of the study programmes, the course titles and ECTS in the three selected HEIs. There were several courses that could have been selected for this study, but I chose courses based on the following criteria: The course was compulsory and explicitly addressed multilingualism or second language teaching and learning, either in the title or in learning outcomes. In cases where there were several courses to choose from, I chose the course introduced first in the programme or the course that involves multilingualism to the greatest extent.

Table 13.1 Overview of study programme, course titles and ECTS

	<i>HEI Finland</i>	<i>HEI Norway</i>	<i>HEI Sweden</i>
Title of study programme	Bachelor of education (early childhood) – immersion (180 ECTS)	Kindergarten Teacher Education (180 ECTS)	Early years education programme (210 ECTS)
Title of selected course (official title in English)	Multilingual language development	Language, text and mathematics	Learning reading, writing and mathematics for preschool
ECTS	5	20 (a part of a course also involving mathematics and literature)	30, of which 7,5 is a particular course on Swedish subject

Discussion: Language ideologies at play

How do ideologies come into play in the syllabi and textbooks in three different Nordic HEIs? In this section, I discuss three elements that emerged from the analysis: Differences in terminology, the obvious legitimacy of language(s) in the syllabi and how and which languages are legitimised in the textbooks.

Different terminology in course descriptions

The first step in the analysis was to identify learning outcomes related to multilingualism in each course. Table 13.2 provides an overview of how the learning outcomes are formulated differently in each course.

When looking more closely at the learning outcomes, the first thing to note is the different terminology used. The Finnish and Swedish examples clearly refer to “second language” perspectives, with HEI Sweden using terms such as “first and second language perspectives,” and even if the Finnish example also points to “multilingual families” and “language choices,” it seems that choices refer to choices between languages, and thereby, they refer to the languages as separate, countable units. In this sense, the learning outcomes are more oriented towards a monoglossic ideology, even if multilingualism is the linguistic goal (cf., García, 2009, p. 120). The Norwegian example refers to multilingualism as “multilingual perspectives,” not specifically second language perspectives. “Language” and “Language development” are used more generally and not linked to countable languages as in Sweden and Finland. The learning outcome is also normative in terms of demonstrating “positive attitudes to language diversity.” So far, by looking at the terminology used in the learning outcomes, it may seem that the HEI Norway is closer to a heteroglossic ideology (cf., García, 2009).

Table 13.2 Learning outcomes in each course

<i>HEI Finland</i>	<i>HEI Norway</i>	<i>HEI Sweden</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • with the support of relevant theory, explain and analyse individuals' second language development in different language learning environments • describe language choices and language strategies in multilingual families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have knowledge of children's [...] oral and written language and language development, including multilingual and multicultural perspectives • can convey positive attitudes to language diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compare and evaluate methods and models for basic reading and writing teaching from a first and second language perspective, and reflect on the pedagogical consequences in teaching with regard to children's different needs

The obvious legitimacy of language(s) in the syllabi

The second step in the analysis was to examine the syllabi. When universities can choose between languages and language varieties – which languages do they choose? In all three institutions, Scandinavian languages or English were the language options. Nonetheless, which languages are chosen may, to a certain extent, be related to institutional language policy. In HEI Sweden, it is explicitly stated in the language policy that “Subject-specific degree courses shall normally include course literature in Swedish and English.” In the example from HEI Norway there is a similar wording: “Subject-specific literature and learning resources that are used to support the achievement of learning outcomes in a subject, can be both in Scandinavian languages, English and/or in other foreign languages” (my translation). While there are distinct language policy documents in HEI Sweden and HEI Norway, the multilingual strategy is visible in HEI Finland’s overall strategic document through one of the aims: To create “Genuine multilingual environments” where “the Swedish language is complemented by countless other languages.”

Table 13.3 indicates the title of the selected course, the number of recommended reading texts (e.g., textbooks, articles) relevant to multilingualism and the language (medium of instruction) of these texts. An example of the obvious legitimacy of language(s) in the syllabus literature in a Nordic context is found in the languages in which the syllabus texts are written. The Finnish example includes four recommended reading texts on the syllabus, of which two are written in English and two in Swedish. In the examples from Sweden, there are five relevant publications, all of which are in Swedish, while the Norwegian example has two relevant publications, both in Norwegian (Bokmål). In Norway and Sweden, the syllabus literature is thus monolingual and represented by the respective majority language of the country.

There may be language policies in the country or at the HEI that impose language choices in education. In Norway, for example, one of the learning outcomes of ECTE is to master the Norwegian language in a competent

Table 13.3 The course titles, number of recommended reading texts and the language of these texts

	<i>HEI Finland</i>	<i>HEI Norway</i>	<i>HEI Sweden</i>
Title of selected course	Multilingual language development	Language, text and mathematics	Learning reading, writing and mathematics for preschool
Relevant recommended reading texts	4	2	5
Language of recommended texts	English (<i>n</i> = 2) Swedish (<i>n</i> = 2)	Norwegian (<i>n</i> = 2)	Swedish (<i>n</i> = 5)

manner in a professional context. In addition to mastering the professional Norwegian language of early childhood teachers, higher education in general is expected to strengthen the Norwegian language as an academic language, due to its vulnerable position as such. Here there seems to be an ideological paradox because higher education should also be internationally oriented, for example through English-mediated literature, as English has a high status in higher education, yet there are no recommended reading texts in English in either the Norwegian or Swedish syllabi examples. The complex relationship to English is a recurring theme in Nordic higher education. The Declaration of a Nordic Language Policy seeks to implement a policy of “parallel-lingualism,” i.e., parallel use of the Nordic languages and English in higher education (The Nordic Council of Ministers, 2007). Exposure to English is perceived as an integral part of students’ university studies, and the discussion concerning balancing English versus the majority language seems to be a recurring debate in Nordic higher education.

The example from Finland differs from Norway and Sweden: The recommended reading texts in Finland are in Swedish or English. Swedish is an official minority language in Finland and the HEI is in a Swedish-speaking area of Finland, with a particular responsibility for promoting the Swedish language. The teacher education programme provides courses for the qualification of teachers in early childhood immersion institutions in Finland. Nevertheless, it is implicit that immersion concerns Finnish and Swedish, and not necessarily other languages, as presented on the programme pages for the education programme: “As a Swedish-language teacher in early childhood education in an immersion group, you encourage and support children’s development into bilingualism through play and learning. The immersion programme teaches Finnish-speaking children to be cared for and brought up in Swedish” (my translation). By bringing in textbooks written in English, the Swedish–Finnish bilingualism is somewhat challenged, and there is a multilingual orientation in the way the text syllabus is structured.

Legitimising languages in textbooks

In this section, I present the third step in the analysis and consider what space multilingualism is given in the textbooks, and which languages are legitimised in examples and discussion. I have selected one textbook from each list (Table 13.4). I chose a textbook that had a clear alignment with multilingualism *and* children (in combination), together with an orientation towards the early childhood education context rather than an explicit focus on grammar teaching, which is often introduced upon entry into formal education (from 6 years old).

The textbook example used in Finland is basically the experiences of the three authors (Festman et al., 2017), who each engage in multilingual family language practices. The authors’ family situation is described, and examples involving Dutch, French, English, Urdu, Hebrew and German are used and commented upon. The book is explicit in its recommendations on how to use language: The One Parent One Language (OPOL) approach is clearly recommended. This is in line with how most immersion programmes work, where the languages are kept separate. Nevertheless, the recommendations given are largely focussed on high-status world languages and the examples given for the use of languages when children start school are often associated with typical prestigious languages such as German or French. Sami languages are not mentioned at all.

In the Norwegian textbook, one chapter is devoted to multilingualism, which begins: “There are more people on earth who live bilingual or multilingual lives than who live monolingual ones. Therefore, we can say that multilingualism is more normal than monolingualism” (Høigård, 2019, p. 177, my translation). The rest of the book discusses language more generically, but it is understood that it is essentially equating Norwegian with

Table 13.4 Selected textbooks: Year of publication, country of publication, authors and title

	<i>HEI Finland</i>	<i>HEI Norway</i>	<i>HEI Sweden</i>
Year of publication	2017	2019	2017
City, country of publication	Bristol, UK	Oslo, Norway	Lund, Sweden
Author(s)	Festman, Poarch and Dewaele	Høigård	Wedin
Original title (edition), [translation of title]	<i>Raising multilingual children</i> (1st edn.)	<i>Barns språkutvikling. Muntlig og skriftlig</i> (4th edn.), [Children’s language development. Oral and written language]	<i>Språkande i förskolan og grundskolans tidiga år</i> (2nd edn.), [Languaging in preschool and early school years]

language learning. When children's phonological development is explained, the Norwegian phonological system is presented, and the same applies to morphology and syntax. In examples of children's interaction, monolingual Norwegian examples are used with a few exceptions. The exceptions are described in the chapter on multilingualism, and here Sami languages are mentioned, which have official status in Norway. Two subsequent paragraphs mention the rights of Sami children, followed by information about the most common language groups besides Norwegian: Urdu, Somali, Arabic, Kurdish, Vietnamese, Albanian and Turkish (Høigård, 2019). Furthermore, examples of code switching are given, using languages such as English, Spanish, French, Vietnamese and Jordanian, even though the examples are not the most common languages in Norway. It appears that Norwegian is the "default," and a monolingual Norwegian norm is the basis of the book.

Initially in the Swedish textbook, monolingualism and multilingualism are mentioned as different norms (Wedin, 2017, p. 10); however throughout the book, it is underlined that multilingualism is the basis for the book's organisation: "[It is] reasonable that the monolingualism norm is abandoned and that the starting point for the activities in preschool and school will be that our children grow up in multilingual environments and need support to develop their multilingual competence" (Wedin, 2017, p. 10, my translation). Several examples are used throughout the book, using languages that have the status of Swedish minority languages (Meänkieli, Sami, Yiddish, Romani Chib and Finnish), other minority languages and prestigious languages. When Sami languages are mentioned, they are mentioned because they were historically considered a problem in the education system, implicitly suggesting this is not how it should be now.

The three examples of textbooks are fundamentally different. The Norwegian and Swedish textbooks are written for a Scandinavian/northern European context, while the Finnish textbook is written for a more generalised western context, with Central Europe and North America as a starting point. The Norwegian textbook has a more monolingual starting point, where multilingualism only comes into play in the second half of the book, whereas the textbooks from Finland and Sweden have multilingual starting points. A common feature is that they have an explicit resource orientation to multilingualism. Nevertheless, the Norwegian textbook is more moderate as multilingualism is introduced as late as in Chapter 5 (there are 12 chapters in all), and the chapter seems to focus on convincing the reader about the assets of multilingualism:

The brain has a good capacity to learn more than one language, it is therefore not inhibiting or harmful for a child to encounter two languages [...] In multilingual societies, it is usually considered a resource to be bilingual or multilingual.

(Høigård, 2019, p. 137, my translation)

Conclusion: Language ideologies in teacher education

As shown in my analysis of HEI language policy, the course description, learning outcomes, the syllabus and the selected textbooks, there are different facets of language ideologies in the three HEIs. The most interesting finding, however, is that the three HEIs are examples of intra-conflicts that are manifested in different ways. There are many layers where language ideologies come into play.

The Finnish HEI represents teacher education as preparing teachers for early childhood education immersion programmes, and the textbook is used to strengthen a minority language perspective, in line with the language policy at the institution. In terms of textbook content, there seems to be an underlying monolingual ideology, regarding multilingualism as a resource. The legitimised languages are considered as countable units (e.g., trilingualism in families, Swedish as second language). The Swedish HEI textbook explicitly articulates a multilingual norm, and thus challenges the established monolingual norms, as articulated in the learning outcomes and the obvious legitimacy of Swedish as the medium of instruction in the course. The Norwegian syllabus and textbook example most strongly reproduce a monoglossic norm, in language choice, how languages other than Norwegian are made visible and how multilingualism as a phenomenon is mentioned. Despite these different layers and manifestations of ideologies, a resource-oriented approach to multilingualism is evidenced, and there is an underlying monoglossic ideology which reproduces existing ways of thinking and understanding multilingualism, as previous studies confirm (Hermansson et al., 2021; Paulsrud & Zilliacus, 2018; Rosén & Wedin, 2018).

Any discussion about language ideologies is demanding because nothing is ever outside an ideology. Carroll (2017) points towards different levels of language ideologies that can de facto and de jure be obstacles, at international, national, institutional and local levels in higher education and which will naturally apply to teacher education. In parallel with strong, protective national language policies in the Nordic context, linguistic diversity in the education system is emphasised and encouraged. Hornberger (2001) coins this as an “ideological paradox” – “the ideological paradox inherent in transforming a standardizing education into a diversifying one and constructing a national identity which is also multilingual and multicultural” (p. 215). Ideological paradoxes will appear differently in a Nordic teacher education context than in an American, African, Asian or a Central European context. Developing a professional language in the national language is important because it is already threatened by English as the professional language. It is therefore a language policy in itself that the medium of instruction is in the majority language. The paradox is that at the same time, the medium of instruction reinforces a monolingual norm.

Ideologies, norms and values are part of what student teachers are socialised into. The socialisation process is not predetermined, but through the process of teacher education it is possible, and desirable, to negotiate and contest the

ideologies on which education rests. Textbooks are static, but part of a larger picture with other textbooks, other learning materials, teaching approaches, student teachers' and teacher educators' experiences. There is a lack of research on how ideologies in teacher education are negotiated, for example by authorities, teacher educators and students. Ideologies in teacher education need to be seen in the context of policy and pedagogical practice. This study emphasises Levin's (2015) point that beliefs should be made explicit in teacher education, and pedagogical practice, the physical learning environment and textual resources can be made the subject of self-studies in teacher education.

In recent years, the monolingual norm has been challenged. The discussion has been, and still is, a very important contribution in the research field, first and foremost because it contributes to a critical approach to language teaching and language teacher education. In addition to descriptive and procedural knowledge of language and language teaching, there is a need to strengthen the critical awareness of how language teaching practices shape and are shaped by social relationships, societal power and ideologies. García (2016) suggests that all teacher education must promote what she labels as "critical multilingual awareness." This involves not only knowledge of the speakers of the languages and their bilingualism (knowledge of, and about, the speakers' languages and practices) but also an awareness of multilingualism and appreciation of linguistic tolerance, its merits for democratic citizenship and an awareness of the histories of colonial and imperialistic oppression that has produced plurilingualism in society (García, 2016, p. 6). The need for critical multilingual awareness applies not only for student teachers and course content but also for teacher educators. In line with both García (2016) and Levin (2015), I believe teacher educators are better positioned to teach when they know what they believe in, value and are working to accomplish, or, to use Biesta's words: That teacher education raises the awareness of the potential socialisation that happens "behind the back of teachers and students" (Biesta, 2015, p. 7). It is important to question, challenge and negotiate understandings of ideologies in education so that teacher education does not unintentionally reproduce established ideologies and norms.

Note

- 1 European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS).

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