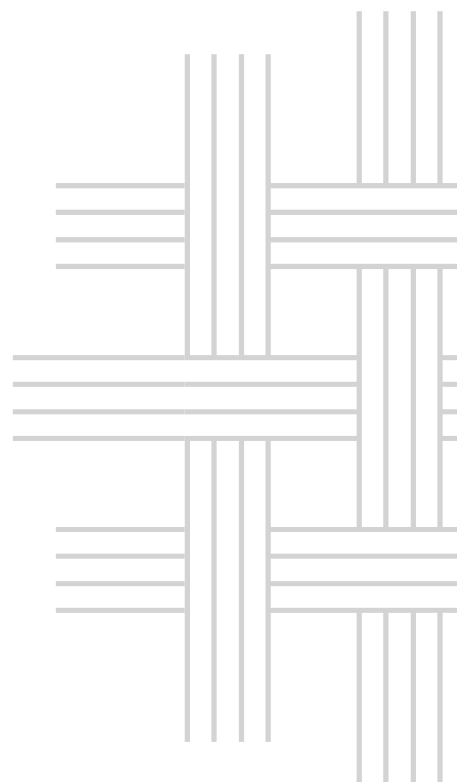Inland Norway
University of
Applied Sciences

Faculty of Education and Pedagogy

Jonas Yassin Iversen

PhD Dissertation

Pre-service teachers' first encounter with multilingualism in field placement

PhD Dissertation in Teaching and Teacher Education
2020

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PhD Thesis in Teaching and Teacher Education no. 17

Buot duostilis oahpaheaddjestudeantaide

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Samandrag

Sidan klasserom blir stadig meir fleirspråklege, må lærarutdanningane utdanne lærarstudentar som kan dra vekslar på fleirspråklegheita til elevane for å støtte og fremje læring. Praksisopplæring blir ofte peika på som ein avgjerande komponent for å førebu lærarstudentar på fleirspråklege samanhengar. Likevel veit vi lite om korleis lærarstudentar stiller seg til fleirspråklegheita dei møter i praksisopplæringa. Difor rapporterer denne avhandlinga frå eit kvalitativt forskingsprosjekt som kombinerer fokusgruppeintervju, klasseromsobservasjonar og språklege sjølvbiografiar for å undersøke følgjande forskingsspørsmål: Kva kjenneteiknar lærarstudentar sitt møte med fleirspråklegheit i praksisopplæringa i deira første år på lærarutdanninga?

Dette forskingsspørsmålet er undersøkt frå tre perspektiv: Eit biografisk perspektiv, eit ideologisk perspektiv og eit praktisk perspektiv. Det biografiske perspektivet har data frå språklege sjølvbiografiar ($n = 6$) og fokusgruppeintervju ($N = 24$). Ein narrativ analyse av desse dataa bidrog med innsikt i lærarstudentane si levde oppleving av språk før dei byrja på lærarutdanninga. Det ideologiske perspektivet bygger på data som er samla i fokusgruppeintervju ($N = 24$), og bidrog med informasjon om språkideologiane deira medan dei tok del i praksisopplæringa. Til slutt kombinerer det praktiske perspektivet data frå klasseromsobservasjon ($n = 4$) og fokusgruppeintervju ($N = 24$) for å bidra med ny kunnskap om korleis lærarstudentane stiller seg til fleirspråklegheita dei møter i skular som er styrte av monoglossiske ideologiar.

Gjennom å kombinere tre datakjelder får ein ei nyansert forståing av korleis lærarstudentane sine levde erfaringar med språk, språkideologar og språkpraksisar er nært knytte saman og påverkar møtet med fleirspråklegheit i praksisopplæringa. Analysane tyder på at lærarstudentane ser på seg sjølv som einspråklege talarar av norsk og som del av eit skulesystem der norsk har ei privilegert stilling. Dei skildrar «den fleirspråklege» som ein Annan og nøler med å ta omsyn til fleirspråklegheita som er til stades i klasserommet. Likevel viser analysane at lærarstudentane har mangfaldige erfaringar med språk, som lærarutdanningsinstitusjonane kan dra vekslar på når dei førebur studentane for fleirspråklege skular. Vidare er lærarstudentane villige til å gi rom til fleirspråklegheit sjølv innan eit monoglossisk skulesystem, og dei er i stand til å dra vekslar på sitt eige språkrepertoar og elevane sine komplekse språkrepertoar når situasjonen krev det. Denne viljen og evna utgjer eit potensial for lærarutdanninga i førebuinga av lærarstudentar for fleirspråklege klasserom.

Abstract

As classrooms are becoming increasingly multilingual, teacher education needs to educate pre-service teachers (PSTs) who can capitalise on students' multilingualism to support and promote learning. Field placement is often identified as a crucial component for teacher education to prepare PSTs for multilingual settings. Yet, little is known about how PSTs engage with the multilingualism they encounter during field placement. Hence, this dissertation reports on a qualitative research project that combines focus groups, classroom observation, and linguistic autobiographies to investigate the following research question: What characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education?

This research question is investigated from three perspectives, from a biographical perspective, an ideological perspective, and a practical perspective. The biographical perspective consists of data from linguistic autobiographies ($n = 6$) and focus groups ($N = 24$). A narrative analysis of these data gives an insight into PSTs' lived experience of language prior to their entry into teacher education. The ideological perspective is based on data obtained through focus groups ($N = 24$), and provides information about PSTs' language ideologies as they participated in field placement in classrooms characterised by multilingualism. Finally, the practical perspective combined data from classroom observations ($n = 4$) and focus groups ($N = 24$) to provide new knowledge about how PSTs engage with students' multilingualism in schools that operate according to monoglossic ideologies.

The combination of three sources of data provides a nuanced understanding of how the participants' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices are closely related, and how they influence PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement. The analyses suggest that the PSTs consider themselves monolingual speakers of Norwegian, operating within a school system where Norwegian has a privileged position. They describe 'the multilingual' as an Other, and are hesitant to engage with the multilingualism present in the classroom. Nonetheless, the analyses show that PSTs have diverse experiences with language that teacher education can capitalise on when preparing them for multilingual schools. Furthermore, the PSTs are willing to create spaces for multilingualism even within monoglossic school systems, and are able to draw on their own and their students' complex linguistic repertoires when the situation requires it. This willingness and ability constitute a potential for teacher education in the process of preparing PSTs for multilingual classrooms.

Sažetak

Kako je višejezičnost u porastu u učionicama, obrazovanje nastavnika mora obrazovati nastavnike koji znaju kako iskoristiti višejezičnost učenika da bi podržali i unaprijedili učenje. Školska praksa često se smatra glavnom komponentom za obrazovanje nastavnika u višejezičnim kontekstima. Ipak, vrlo malo znamo o tome kako se studenti odnose s višejezičnosti tokom svoje prakse u školama. Stoga ova disertacija izvještava o kvalitativnom istraživačkom projektu koji kombinira fokus grupe, opažanja u učionici i jezične autobiografije kako bi ispitao sljedeće istraživačko pitanje: Koje su karakteristike susreta s višejezičnošću koje su budući nastavnici doživjeli u školskoj praksi u prvoj godini svog nastavničkog obrazovanja?

Ovo istraživačko pitanje ispitano je iz tri perspektive: biografske perspektive, ideološke perspektive i praktične perspektive. Biografska perspektiva obuhvata podatke iz jezičnih autobiografija ($n = 6$) i fokus grupa ($N = 24$). Narativna analiza ovih podataka doprinijela je uvidu u jezično iskustvo budućih naučnika prije početka njihovog nastavničkog obrazovanja. Ideološka perspektiva temelji se na podacima prikupljenim u fokus grupama ($N = 24$) i pruža informacije o jezičnoj ideologiji budućih nastavnika tijekom njihovog sudjelovanja u školskoj praksi u višejezičnim učionicama. Konačno, praktična perspektiva kombinira podatke iz opažanja u učionici ($n = 4$) i fokus grupa ($N = 24$) da bi se dobila nova saznanja o tome kako se studenti odnose sa višejezičnosti u školama koje djeluju u skladu s monoglosičnim ideologijama.

Kombinacijom tri izvora podataka stječe se nijansno razumijevanje načina na koji su životna iskustva učesnika s jezikom, jezičnim ideologijama i jezičkim praksama usko povezana i kako utječu na odnose sa višejezičnosti u školskoj praksi. Analize pokazuju da ovi budući nastavnici sebe vide kao jednojezične govornike norveškog jezika i kao dio školskog sistema u kojem norveški ima povlašteni položaj. Oni „višejezičnog" prikazuju kao „drugačijeg" i oklijevaju angažirati se s višejezičnosti koja je prisutna u učionici. Ipak, analize pokazuju da budući nastavnici imaju raznoliko iskustvo s jezicima, koje institucije za nastavničko obrazovanje mogu iskoristiti dok ih pripremaju za višejezične škole. Nadalje, budući nastavnici su spremni stvoriti prostor za višejezičnost unutar monoglosičnog školskog sustava, te su u stanju iskoristiti vlastiti jezični repertoar i složen jezični repertoar učenika kad to situacija nalaže. Ova spremnost i sposobnost predstavljaju potencijal za obrazovanje nastavnika u pripremi budućih nastavnika za višejezične učionice.

پوختە

بەهۆی ئەوەی پۆلەكانی قوتابخانە زیاتر و زیاتر بوونەتە فرەزمانی، پێویستە پەیمانگاكانی مامۆستایان، مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو pre-service teachers (PSTs) وا فێربكەن كە كەڵك وەربگرن لە فرەزمانی قوتابییەكانیان بۆ پشتگیری و پێشخستنی فێربوون. پراكسیس زۆر جار وەك خاڵێكی گرنگ دەستنیشاندەكرێت بۆ خوێندنی پەیمانگاكانی مامۆستایان بۆ ئامادەكردنی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو بۆ دۆخێكی فرەزمانی لەو جۆرە. لەگەڵ ئەوەش دا، كەم شت تا ئێستا دەزانرێت دەربارەی چۆنێتی بەیەكگەیشتنی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو بە فرەزمانی و رووبەرووبوونەوەی لەكاتی پراكسیسیان دا. هەربۆیە ئەم بڵاوكراوەیە باس لە پرۆژە لێكۆڵینەوەیەكی جۆرایەتی دەكات كە دیدار (پرسیارو وەڵام)ی دەستەیی(گرووپ)، چاودێری لەناوپۆل، و خۆباسكردنی زمانیی لەخۆ دەگرێت بۆ لێكۆڵینەوە لەسەر ئەم پرسی تێزەكە، كە ئەمەیە: تایبەتمەندییەكانی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو چییە لە رووبەرووبوونەویان لەگەڵ دیان بە فرەزمانی لە ماوەی راهێنانی پراكتیكی لە ساڵی یەكەمی خوێندنیان.

پرسی ئەم تێزە لە سێ روانگەوە لێكۆڵینەوەی لەسەر كراوە: روانگەی باس لە خۆ كردن، روانگەی ئایدیۆلۆژی و روانگەی كرداری/پراكتیكی. روانگەی باس لەخۆكردنەكە پێكدێت لە زانیاری دەربارەی باس لە خۆیی زمانی (ن واتە ٦) وە دیداری دەستەیی/گرووپ (ن واتە ٢٤). شیكردنەوەیەكی چیرۆكیانە ی ئەو زانیاریانە رۆشنایی دەخاتە سەر دیوی ناوەوەی ئەزموونكردنی زمانەوانی ئەو مامۆستایانەی پێش دەستبەكاربوونیان، پێش دەستپێكردن بە خوێندنی پەیگەیاندنی مامۆستایان. روانگەی ئایدیۆلۆژیەكە بنیادنراوە لەسەر داتای كۆكراوە لە دیداری دەستەیی، (ن واتە ٢٤). وە هەروەها زانیاری لەسەر ئایدیۆلۆژی زمانەوانی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو لەكاتێكدا بەشداریدەكەن لە پراكسیسی مامۆستایەتی دا لە پۆلی قوتابخانەی وادا كە تایبەتمەندی فرەزمانی هەیە. لە كۆتاییشدا هەردوو زانیاری كۆكراوەی كاتی چاودێری ناوپۆلی روانگەی پراكتیكی (ن واتە ٤) وە رۆشنایی خستنە سەر دیداری دەستەیی/گرووپ(ن واتە ٢٤) زانینێكی نوێ دەخەنەروو دەربارەی چۆنێتی مامەڵەكردنی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو لەگەڵ فرەزمانیی قوتابیان لە قوتابخانە كە هەروەك كە هاوشێوەیە لەگەڵ ئایدیۆلۆژیای تاكدەنگی/تاكوتاری.

كۆی ئەو سێ سەرچاوەیەی زانیاری تێگەیشتنێكی بەرچاو دەخاتەروو لەسەر ئایدیۆلۆژییەكانی زمانی و چۆنێتی ئەزمونی زمانی بەشداربووان وە هەروەها پرکسیسی زمانیی كە زۆر لەیەكەوە نزیكن، وە بەچی شێوەیەك كاریگەری دروست دەكەن لەسەر چۆنێتی رووبەڕوبوونەوەی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو لەگەڵ فرەزمانی دا لەكاتی پراكسیسیان دا. شیكارییەكە پێشنیار دەكات كە مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو وا خۆیان هەژماربكەن كە تەنها بە تاقەزمانی نەرجی دەئاخاون، شانبەشانی ئەو سیستەمی خوێندنە كە زمانی نەرویجیی پەیگەیەكی سەرەكی هەیە. ئەوان فرەزمانی وەك "ئەوانی تر " باس لێدەكەن وە بەگومانن لە تێكەڵبین لەگەڵ ئەو فرەزمانییەی كە ئامادەیی هەیە لە پۆل دا. لەگەڵ ئەوەش دا، شیكارییەكە ئەوەش دەخاتەروو كە مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو PST بەسەر هاتی جۆراوجۆریان هەیە لەگەڵ زمان دا كە پەیمانگای پەیگەیاندنی مامۆستایان دەتوانێت وەك سەرمایە بیخاتە گەڕ لە ئامادەكردنیان بۆ قوتابخانەی فرەزمانی. لەگەڵ ئەوەش دا، كە مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو PST ویستی ئەوەیان هەبێت ماوە دروستبكەن بۆ فرەزمانی هەتا لەناو سیستەمی خوێندنی یەك زمانیش دا. وە توانای سوودبەخشیان هەیە بۆخۆیان و بۆ قوتابیانیشیان دەربارەی كارنامەی ئاڵۆزی زمان كاتێ پێویست بە بارودۆخی وا بكا. ئەم ویست و ئارەزووە ئەگەرێكی وا دەخوڵقێنیت بۆ خوێندنی پەیگەیاندنی مامۆستایان لە پرۆسەی ئامادەكردنی مامۆستایانی پێش دەستبەكاربوو PST بۆ پۆلی قوتابخانەی فرەزمانی.

Streszczenie

W miarę jak szkoły stają się coraz bardziej wielojęzyczne, istotne jest takie kształcenie nauczycieli, by potrafili oni wykorzystać wielojęzyczność swoich uczniów w celach edukacyjnych. Praktyki studenckie są często postrzegane jako decydujący element w przygotowywaniu przyszłych nauczycieli do pracy w grupach wielojęzycznych. Niewiele jednak wiadomo o tym, jak kandydaci na nauczycieli radzą sobie z wielojęzycznymi uczniami w miejscu praktyk. Niniejsza praca doktorska przedstawia wyniki jakościowego badania, w którym wykorzystano zogniskowany wywiad grupowy, obserwacje zajęć szkolnych oraz autobiografie językowe w celu zbadania następującego pytania badawczego: Co charakteryzuje kontakt studentów pierwszego roku specjalizacji nauczycielskiej z wielojęzycznoscią w miejscu praktyk?

Praca ta łączy trzy perspektywy: biograficzną, ideologiczną oraz praktyczną. Perspektywa biograficzna obejmuje dane pochodzące z autobiografii językowych ($n = 6$) i wywiadów grupowych ($N = 24$). Analiza narracyjna tych danych daje wgląd w językowe doświadczenie studenta jeszcze przed rozpoczęciem studiów. Perspektywa ideologiczna bazuje na danych zdobytych w wywiadzie grupowym ($N = 24$) i dostarcza informacji o ideologiach językowych studentów w trakcie praktyk w klasach wielojęzycznych. Praktyczna perspektywa łączy z kolei dane pochodzące z obserwacji zajęć ($n = 4$) oraz wywiadów grupowych ($N = 24$) w celu dostarczenia materiału o tym, jak studenci radzą sobie z wielojęzycznością uczniów w szkołach pracujących w trybie jednojęzycznym.

Zestawienie tych trzech źródł danych oferuj nowy, pogłębiony sposób rozumienia jak doświadczenie językowe, ideologia językowa i praktyki językowe łączą się ze sobą a także jaki mają wpływ na praktykantów w wielojęzycznym środowisku. Analiza sugeruje, że studenci uznają się za jednojęzycznych użytkowników języka norweskiego, działających w systemie szkolnym, w którym język norweski ma pozycję uprzywilejowaną. Opisują oni ucznia wielojęzycznego jako Innego i nie są pewni jak radzić sobie z wielojęzycznością w klasie. Niemniej analiza pokazuje też, że studenci sami mają różnorodne doświadczenie z językami, co można wykorzystać w trakcie przygotowywania kandydatów do pracy w szkołach wielojęzycznych. Ponadto, studenci wykazują pewną otwartość na wielojęzyczność, nawet w jednojęzycznym systemie edukacji, a gdy zachodzi taka potrzeba, są w stanie wykorzystać złożone zasoby językowe, zarówno uczniów jak i własne. Tak wyrażana gotowość do działania i umiejętności stanowią potencjał dla specjalizacji nauczycielskiej i procesu przygotowywania studentów do pracy w szkołach wielojęzycznych.

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Jonas Yassin Iversen

Oslo, 28 April 2019

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Article 2

Iversen, J. Y. (2019). Negotiating language ideologies: Pre-service teachers' perspectives on multilingual practices in mainstream education in Norway. *International Journal of Multilingualism.* DOI: 10.1080/14790718.2019.1612903

Article 3

Iversen, J. Y. (2020). Pre-service teachers' translanguaging during field placement in multilingual, mainstream classrooms in Norway. *Language & Education, 34*(1), 51-65. DOI: 10.1080/09500782.2019.1682599

1. Introduction

This is a dissertation about pre-service teachers (PSTs) and teacher education in an increasingly multilingual Norway. I chose to investigate teacher education because researchers repeatedly have called for more research on the role of teacher education for promoting multilingual approaches to education (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Mazak & Carroll, 2017; Paulsrud, Rosén, Boglárka, & Wedin, 2017). Furthermore, I firmly believe that greater educational equity for all students can be achieved through teacher education (e.g. Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Mikander, Zilliacus, & Holm, 2018). Hence, this dissertation sets out to explore PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices. The context is Norwegian PSTs enrolled in the general teacher education programme for grades 1-7 (GLU 1-7), and their first encounter with multilingualism in field placement (also described as student teaching, practicum, fieldwork, etc.). Due to the similarities in content and structure with the general teacher education for grades 5-10 (GLU 5-10), the findings from this research project are also relevant for this programme.

The 21st century has brought unprecedented attention to teacher quality, as researchers have concluded that teachers are one of the most critical factors for students' learning (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Hattie, 2009). Consequently, teachers are often considered responsible for the students' academic outcome (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2015; Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012; Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012; Mausethagen & Mølstad, 2015; Nerland & Karseth, 2015). Simultaneously, people are increasingly on the move, and the percentage of students who speak a named language other than the language of instruction at home is rising throughout the world. Although there are no statistics collected on language background in Norway, the number of 'immigrants' and 'Norwegian-born to immigrant parents' indicates an increase in Norway of the number of students who speak a named language other than the language of instruction at home (Statistics Norway, 2019). With a more diverse student population, teachers have also been expected to close the achievement gap between so-

called 'majority' and 'minority' students (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2015; Cummins, 2018; OECD, 2015).

The increasing need to prepare teachers with the professional knowledge to 'meet the needs of students who are immigrating from a variety of countries with a range of educational, cultural, and language needs' (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012, p. 169) has frequently been used as an argument for investing in teacher education. As a result, extensive research has been conducted on how to best prepare PSTs for the cultural and linguistic diversity of the present day (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Cochran-Smith et al., 2015). Yet, particularly relevant for this dissertation, several studies on teacher education from Norway indicate that there is still a need for improvement when it comes to the preparation of PSTs for multilingual classrooms (Dyrnes, Johansen, & Jónsdóttir, 2015; Fylkesnes, Mausethagen, & Nilsen, 2018; Randen, Danbolt, & Palm, 2015; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015; The Evaluation Group, 2015; Thomassen, 2016).

In this chapter, I first introduce the research design and research questions of this dissertation (1.1.). Next, I present previous research on teacher education and multilingualism (1.2.), before I introduce prior research on field placement and multilingualism (1.3.). Finally, I provide a brief outline of the dissertation (1.4.).

1.1.   Research design and research questions

The aim of this dissertation is to provide teacher education institutions and teacher educators with knowledge about what characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education, which in turn can be applied to the continuous effort to improve teacher education. However, the aim of this dissertation is not to evaluate nor in any manner assess how Norwegian teacher education incorporates multilingual and multicultural perspectives, as this has already been done through a number of studies (Dyrnes et al., 2015; Fylkesnes et al., 2018; Randen et al., 2015; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015; The Evaluation Group, 2015; Thomassen, 2016). Rather, the overarching research question that this dissertation addresses is:

What characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education?

Through focus groups, classroom observation, and the collection of PSTs' linguistic autobiographies, the dissertation explores this research question from three distinct perspectives: A biographical perspective, an ideological perspective, and a practical perspective. In line with these perspectives, I have formulated the following sub-questions to help answer the overarching research question:

- How do PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language?

- How do PSTs negotiate an understanding of which multilingual practices are legitimate in mainstream classrooms in Norway?

- How do PSTs capitalise on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement in multilingual, mainstream schools in Norway?

I wanted to explore the PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices early on in their teacher education, because this provides an opportunity to describe the first encounter between the young and inexperienced teacher and the complex reality of classrooms characterised by multilingualism. Consequently, the research project provides new knowledge about the potential for preparing students entering teacher education programmes for teaching in multilingual settings, which in turn can inform teacher educators about what to teach and how to teach it – both on campus and in field placement.

The research questions are explored through theory and methods commonly applied in sociolinguistics. Hence, the dissertation at hand belongs to a strand of research within multicultural/intercultural education research focused on language (Mikander et al., 2018). I investigate the sub-questions in the three articles of this dissertation respectively. Although the research has been conducted in a Norwegian context, the research questions are of international relevance and importance. Thus, I will throughout this dissertation have an international perspective on the implications of the research

project. At the same time, it will be necessary to describe the specific Norwegian context and circumstances that have shaped this research project and its findings.

1.2. Teacher education and multilingualism

Drawing on research both from Norway and internationally, this section presents and discusses prior research on teacher education and multilingualism. First, I provide an overview of recent developments within the field of research on teacher education and diversity. Then, I introduce research on the challenges facing PSTs, as schools are becoming increasingly multilingual.

Research into diversity and teacher education is a relatively young field of research, with a history of approximately 40 years (Grant & Gibson, 2011). Due to the increasing mobility of people in the 21st century, the importance of enhancing PSTs' competence to work in multilingual classrooms has received burgeoning attention from educational researchers over the past decade (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Benholz, Reimann, Reschke, Strobl, & Venus, 2017; Cajkler & Hall, 2012; Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Freeman & Freeman, 2014; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015). Politicians and the public expect improved results on national and international standardised tests, at the same time as the student population is becoming linguistically diversified. These high expectations challenge teachers to provide multilingual students with instruction that manages to close the achievement gap between students from different backgrounds (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2015; Cummins, 2018; OECD, 2015). Fortunately, the enhanced ambitions for teachers have also sparked a greater interest in how to develop a teacher education that is able to educate teachers with an appropriate set of knowledge and skills to support multilingual students (Raud & Orehhova, 2020).

Researchers on teacher education and diversity have pointed out three particular challenges for PSTs as schools are becoming increasingly diverse: The demographic profile of PSTs; their beliefs; and their naïve perceptions of society (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015). First, the demographic profile of students entering teacher education programmes has not changed to the same degree as the general demographics (Cochran-Smith, 2013; Dahl et al., 2016). PSTs' general white, middle-class, female profile has caused some concern among researchers, who warn that the mismatch between PSTs'

and students' backgrounds might prevent PSTs from providing the best opportunities for multilingual students once they transition to teaching (Brisk, Homza, & Smith, 2014; Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Kayi-Aydar, 2018). Much research has therefore been conducted on the importance of recruiting PSTs with multilingual backgrounds and into multilingual PSTs' experiences with teacher education (Conteh, Copland, & Creese, 2014; Dewilde & Kulbrandstad, 2014; Ellis, 2016; Hvistendahl, 2012; Ringen, Kjørven, & Gagné, 2009; Sleeter & Milner, 2011). Ellis (2016) describes multilingual teachers' 'language lives' as an 'untapped potential' (p. 268). Nonetheless, research particularly focusing on teacher education indicates that multilingual PSTs experience that their language competence is not sufficiently valued by teacher education (Moloney & Giles, 2015; Wedin & Rosén, 2019). Furthermore, they report that they are expected to add value to teacher education at the same time as they are expected to perform like everyone else (Rosén & Wedin, 2018). The study of multilingual PSTs is obviously an important line of inquiry, which holds the potential for moving the whole field of teacher education research for multilingualism forward. However, this is not the focus of the dissertation at hand, as all of the participants happened to have grown up with Norwegian as their home language.

However, the concern for the demographic profile of PSTs relates to the second challenge that researchers have pointed out: PSTs seem to enter teacher education programmes with already firmly held beliefs about diversity. In the US context, particularly white, middle class, English 'native speakers' often hold deficit views about students from 'minority groups' (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015). Similar tendencies have been found in research from Norway. In a study by Bugge and Løtveit (2015), the majority of PSTs would not agree to the statements 'Most immigrants make an important contribution to Norwegian working life' and 'Most immigrants enrich cultural life in Norway', while 36% of the participants supported the statement 'Immigrants in Norway should strive to become as similar as possible to Norwegians' (Bugge & Løtveit, 2015). Civitillo, Juang, and Schachner (2018) conducted a review of the literature on the effects of initiatives targeting PSTs' beliefs about cultural diversity in education. They found that most studies showed positive effects from such initiatives on PSTs' cultural

diversity beliefs. However, studies that included a control group had less convincing findings.

Thirdly, Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) found that many PSTs have rather naïve perceptions of society and the purpose of education. PSTs often see the society as just, and that schools are fair, providing 'all children equitable opportunities to learn' (p. 114). Consequently, many PSTs felt that it was the responsibility of students and their parents to secure academic success. This constitutes a serious challenge for PSTs who are going to work in multilingual settings. When teachers assume that schools provide students with equality of opportunity by providing the same instruction to everyone (e.g. Chinga-Ramirez, 2015), they will likely be hesitant to accommodate their teaching to the needs of their students.

As can be seen from the overview presented above, research on teacher education has often taken a deficit view on PSTs, pointing to their homogeneous background, their negative views on diversity, and their naïve perceptions of society. However, in this dissertation, I investigate the potential in PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices as they are commencing their teaching education. Thus, it will be possible for teacher education to capitalise on the potential already present in the very first year of teacher education.

1.3. Field placement and multilingualism

Field placement is often identified as a crucial component of teacher education (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Civitillo et al., 2018; Copland, 2010), and PSTs often expose a firm belief in field placement as the best opportunity for them to develop the necessary skills to work in multilingual schools (Dahl et al., 2016). For instance, Brisk et al. (2014) claim that 'effective practices for teaching bilingual learners are more likely to be implemented when teacher candidates observe cooperating teachers, already well into their professional roles, implementing such practices in their field experiences' (pp. 172-173). Anderson and Stillman (2013) conducted a research review on how field placement contributes to preparing PSTs for working in urban and/or high-needs contexts (that is, schools with a high degree of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity). The majority of studies exploring PSTs' beliefs and attitudes found that their beliefs and

attitudes were changed after participating in field placement in urban and/or high-need schools. Moreover, they found that PSTs had increased motivation to work in urban schools, and a greater cultural competence after participating in field placement in such schools (Anderson & Stillman, 2013, p. 34). However, the findings were not unanimous, and it was often unknown whether PSTs' changed beliefs were reflected in their teaching practice.

Researchers admit that in schools that do not pay particular attention to multilingual learners 'it is unlikely to find standard curriculum teachers who are strong models for the effective teaching of bilingual learners' (Brisk et al., 2014, p. 173). This is problematic, since research suggests that field placement frequently becomes an introduction to 'how things are done' at the particular field placement school, rather than critical reflections of teaching practices in light of relevant theory (Heggen & Thorsen, 2015; Solstad, 2013). Consequently, PSTs develop their teaching practices in accordance with the ideals and traditions of the particular field placement school, and the teaching practices of their supervising teacher (Edwards & Protheroe, 2003; Fosse, 2011; Haugan, 2014; Sundli, 2007). The result could therefore be that PSTs do not engage with the multilingualism they encounter during field placement the way teacher educators have prepared them to do, because the field placement school and supervising teachers do not share the same commitment to multilingual students. This could potentially be disruptive for PSTs' learning, as indicated by the literature review conducted by Cochran-Smith et al. (2015), where they concluded that 'conflicts could be overwhelming for student teachers and disruptive for their learning' (p. 111).

In line with this concern, Anderson and Stillman (2013) caution against an understanding of field placement as beneficial 'just from being placed with particular students and teachers in schools somehow similar to those where they will ultimately teach' (p. 6). They suggest that in order for field placement to influence the PSTs' practices in a positive way, it is important that field placement teaching is guided, rather than independent (Anderson & Stillman, 2013). Furthermore, researchers highlight the important role of teacher educators on campus in connecting field placement experiences with relevant theory (Daniel, 2016; Deroo, Ponzio, & De Costa,

forthcoming; Solstad, 2010). Pacheco, Kang, and Hurd (2019) report that 'despite [pre-service teacher's] interactions with students who code-switched and their own positive estimations of translanguaging, translanguaging occurred in contrast to powerful ideologies embodied in [the supervising teacher's] practices and official language policies' (p. 15). In other words, the supervising teachers' practices limited the PSTs' opportunities to implement a pedagogy they believed would benefit their students. In the study by Pacheco et al. (2019), this experience led the PSTs to consider translanguaging as a transgressing practice. Hence, close collaboration between teacher educators on campus and in field placement is essential if the PSTs are to benefit from the experience. However, reviews of research on field placement suggest that there is not sufficient collaboration between field placement schools and teacher education institutions, and studies frequently report a mutual distrust between the supervising teachers at field placement schools and teacher educators on campus (Dahl et al., 2016; Lillejord & Børte, 2016). Similar findings are reflected in international studies (Clarke, Triggs, & Nielsen, 2014; Hoffmann et al., 2015).

1.4. Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the aim, research questions and previous research on teacher education and multilingualism for the reader. In Chapter 2, I describe the Norwegian context with a particular focus on teacher education and multilingualism. Chapter 3 lays out a dynamic conceptualisation of language, and in Chapter 4, I present a translanguaging approach to education and teacher education that aligns with a dynamic understanding of language. Chapter 5 elaborates on the design and methodology, and discusses questions of rigour and research ethics. Chapter 6 presents the findings of this dissertation through the three published journal articles. Finally, in Chapter 7, I discuss how the findings from the three articles contribute to our understanding of PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education, and I provide some concluding remarks on the dissertation's contributions, implications, and suggestions for future research.

2. The Norwegian context

In this chapter, I present the Norwegian context of this research project. I first describe how language ideologies in education played an important part in the nation-building in Norway from the latter part of the 19th century up to 2000 (2.1.). Next, I elaborate on the development since 2000, with a particular focus on multilingualism in policy documents regulating Norwegian education (2.2.). Finally, I introduce Norwegian teacher education and the role of multilingualism in recent teacher education reforms (2.3.).

2.1.   Language ideologies, nation-building, and education in Norway

Norway went through an intense nation-building period from the latter half of the 19th century until the decades immediately following the Second World War (Telhaug, Mediås, & Aasen, 2004). During this period, linguistic minorities, such as the indigenous Sámi people, suffered greatly, particularly due to the language ideology and assimilatory state consolidation policy that came with the nation-building era (Eriksen & Niemi, 1981; Niemi, 2017). At the same time as Norwegian-speaking students' rights to instruction in a language they could understand were strengthened (Venås, 1984), Sámi and Kven students were not allowed to speak their home languages, and the teachers were prohibited from using the students' home languages in their instruction (Hagemann, 1992; Skrefsrud, 2016). This assimilatory policy was not officially abandoned before 1979 (Engen, 2011), although some researchers claim that it is still ongoing (Gjerpe, 2017). In 1989, the first Sámi teacher education was established as a result of the changing ideology within Norwegian education, where the focus changed from nation-building to social equality (Skrefsrud, 2016). In the new environment, linguistic minorities should be included in the society, rather than being assimilated (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018).

In the same period as Norwegian authorities officially replaced its oppressive policies towards the Sámi population and other national minorities, Norway started to receive a growing number of labour migrants and refugees, along with a great number of different languages. In the beginning, this was met by local initiatives to establish bilingual programmes for students belonging to the largest migrant minority populations, such as

for Pakistani and Turkish students in Oslo (Engen, 2011; Øzerk, 2006). The new reality demanded new qualifications for teachers, and teacher education institutions started to offer courses, such as 'immigrant knowledge' from about 1980 onwards (Dyndahl, Engen, & Kulbrandstad, 2011; L. A. Kulbrandstad, 2011). Some researchers envisioned a multicultural nation-building, where all students could develop high proficiency in their home language and in Norwegian (Engen, 2014). According to Engen (2011, 2014) this vision influenced the National Curriculum of 1987. Based on previous experience with repressive assimilation of the Sámi population, as well as other minorities, the aim was that new linguistic minorities should not experience the same problems. The National Curriculum of 1987 recommended that students with a home language different from the language of instruction should be granted 'mother tongue instruction', 'bilingual subject instruction', and differentiated Norwegian instruction (Engen, 2011).

However, this changed with the new National Curriculum of 1997. This national curriculum abandoned the idea of a multicultural nation-building that had been introduced in the late 1980s, and in many aspects replaced it with ideals from the nation-building of the post-war era. Engen (2011) claims that the ideals of the National Curriculum of 1987 were never properly implemented, and that there was great resistance to such ideas among teachers even before the National Curriculum of 1997 was introduced. In the years following the implementation of the National Curriculum of 1997, mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject instruction were offered only to those students who did not have the necessary proficiency in Norwegian (Aarsæther, 2017). Thus, it is not surprising that a report from 2016 shows that these measures were offered only to a very limited group (Dahl et al., 2016). Since 2002, the number of students who receive mother tongue instruction and/or bilingual subject instruction decreased from 18,734 (Engen & Kulbrandstad, 2008, p. 221) to 10,888 (Statistics Norway, 2018).

Currently, the Norwegian Education Act §2-8 states that all students belonging to a 'linguistic minority' are entitled to differentiated Norwegian instruction until their proficiency in Norwegian has reached a sufficient level to follow ordinary instruction (Norwegian Education Act, 1998). Moreover, the Education Act also grants mother

tongue instruction and bilingual subject instruction – however, only 'if necessary' (Norwegian Education Act, 1998). This vague statement has led to a situation where only a very limited number of students are provided with mother tongue instruction or bilingual subject instruction, as discussed above. The result is that Norwegian education is currently operating according to what Baker and Wright (2017, p. 199) describe as a mainstreaming model.

Based on the ideals of social integration and equality, the Norwegian Education Act §8-2 prohibits permanent division of students according to competence, gender, or ethnicity. Such divisions are only accepted with an individual decision for special needs education or differentiated Norwegian instruction (Norwegian Education Act, 1998). The differentiated instruction in Norwegian for linguistic minorities is organised differently according to municipality (Dewilde & Kulbrandstad, 2016; Østberg et al., 2010). For instance, it is possible to establish particular introductory programmes or even introductory schools where students can stay for up to two years before one is transferred to one's local school (Dewilde & Kulbrandstad, 2016). Yet, some municipalities include all students into mainstream education from day one, organised as differentiated Norwegian instruction as part of the ordinary instruction or as a pull-out model.

2.2. Recent developments regarding multilingualism in Norwegian education

The policies that were implemented as the result of the National Curriculum of 1997 continued to be enforced into the new millennium. Two important policy documents that discussed the linguistic diversity in Norway were White paper no. 23 (2007-2008): Språk bygger broer (Language builds bridges) (Ministry of Education and Research, 2008a) and White paper no. 35 (2007-2008): Mål og mening (Aim and meaning) (Ministry of Education and Research, 2008b). White paper no. 23 (2007-2008) claimed on one hand that multilingualism was enriching to Norwegian society and to Norwegian education, and it encouraged teachers to capitalise on the multilingualism in their classrooms. On the other hand, the paper stated that: 'Norwegian is the national common language that everyone must master in order to function as full members of the society and is central as an identity and cultural force in the Norwegian society' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2008a, p. 7, my own translation). Moreover, the paper stressed

the challenges facing students who speak languages other than Norwegian at home (p. 7). Hvistendahl (2009) states that '[i]t is striking that the White Paper does not mention plurilingualism in connection with learning'. The main focus of this white paper was exclusively on the preservation and promotion of Norwegian, in the same way as White paper no. 35 (2007-2008), which was concerned with Norwegian language policies. In other words, these white papers represented a continuation of the policies introduced through the National Curriculum of 1997, despite an apparent acknowledgement of the multilingualism within Norwegian education.

Yet, since 2010 the attention towards multilingualism in education has intensified, mostly due to the Official Norwegian Report 2010:7 (Østberg et al., 2010). In general, this report advocated for multilingual competence as an aim for Norwegian education, and urged future revisions of teacher education to include a multilingual perspective on education:

> The terms multilingualism and multilingual practice are not explicitly mentioned in the Norwegian subject curriculum in the National Curriculum. Hence, it becomes a responsibility of the teacher to interpret the multicultural and multilingual perspective from the Norwegian curriculum in primary and lower secondary education, and one can assume that this is done in different ways. Thus, it is even more important that the new, national guidelines for the teacher education is clear on this point. (Østberg et al., 2010, p. 169, my own translation)

As one can see from the quote above, Østberg et al. (2010) suggested that multicultural and multilingual competence should become an integrated part of all teacher education programmes, as well as in in-service teacher education (Østberg et al., 2010). Still, the report questioned whether universities and teacher education institutions had the necessary competence to provide students with the necessary skills and knowledge to work with multilingual students (Østberg et al., 2010, p. 374). Based on the Official Norwegian Report from 2010, the Ministry of Education and Research (2013b) stated in White Paper no. 20 (2012-2013): På rett vei (On the right course) that:

> Linguistic and cultural diversity constitute a natural part of the school's work. To appreciate multilingualism and cultural diversity means to recognize the competence students with a minority background encompass. (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013b, p. 30, my own translation)

This confirmed the intentions from the Official Norwegian Report (2010:7), and made it clear that the authorities at that point considered linguistic diversity as an integrated part of Norwegian education. Similarly, the Ministry of Education and Research (2013a)

announced in White Paper no. 6 (2012-2013): En helhetlig innvandringspolitikk (A comprehensive policy of immigration) an increased effort to support and promote multilingualism within mainstream education. Drawing on the principles presented in the Official Norwegian Report (2010:7), the white paper stated:

> Norwegian is the common language in the educational pathway. At the same time, there is a cultural and linguistic diversity in kindergarten and in primary and secondary education, adult education and higher education. To value multilingualism and cultural diversity means to recognize the competence many people have and make sure that their resources benefit society. (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013a, p. 48, my own translation)

Furthermore, the white paper acknowledged the need for enhanced competence among teacher educators regarding linguistic diversity and stated that the government would take action in order to improve teacher educators' skills within this field (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013a, p. 51). Moreover, the white paper stated that teacher education institutions must include multilingual and multicultural perspectives in order to prepare all teachers for working with students with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013a, p. 62). The same message was conveyed in White Paper no. 30 (2015-2016): Fra mottak til arbeidsliv (From reception centre to the labour market), where it was stated that:

> Multilingualism is a resource. Many students speak a language other than Norwegian at home, but there is limited knowledge about how schools capitalise on this linguistic richness as a resource in teaching. Researchers argue that a more extensive use of the linguistic diversity could contribute to strengthen multilingual students' learning, and at the same time provide a better understanding of multilingualism among all children. (Ministry of Justice and Public Security, 2016, p. 84, my own translation)

Nonetheless, L. I. Kulbrandstad (2017) notes that the focus on multilingualism as a resource in relevant white papers seems to depend on which government issues the white paper. Furthermore, the government's interest in 'mother tongues' have decreased since the 1980s (L. I. Kulbrandstad, 2017). Despite this development, it seems that the Official Norwegian Report 2010:7 (Østberg et al., 2010) has established an understanding of multilingualism as a resource within key policy documents. As Norwegian policies increasingly acknowledged the value of multilingualism in education, the attention turned to teacher education as a key factor in the inclusion of students' multilingualism in education (Ministry of Education and Research, 2013a; Østberg et al., 2010). Thus, I now turn to recent developments in Norwegian teacher education.

2.3. Norwegian teacher education and multilingualism

The Norwegian general teacher education programmes are integrated five years master's programmes regulated by the government through national guidelines (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, 2016) and regulations (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). The national guidelines and regulations contribute to a homogeneous teacher education across different institutions, with limited room for local variations or adjustments. Traditionally, the general teacher education has prepared teachers to work at all levels throughout primary and lower secondary education, and to teach all subjects. However, in 2010, the general teacher education was divided into two separate programmes: One for grades 1-7 (GLU 1-7), and one for grades 5-10 (GLU 5-10). According to this reform, GLU 1-7 should emphasise the early school years and beginner-level instruction, while GLU 5-10 should have a greater focus on the later years and more subject-specific competence (Ministry of Education and Research, 2009, 2010). Moreover, a new reform was implemented in 2017, extending both teacher education programmes from four-year programmes to five-year master's programmes (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). For an overview of different teacher education programmes in Norway, see Appendix 1.

In line with international trends, field placement has become an increasingly important part of Norwegian teacher education (Brekke, 2004; Dahl et al., 2016). According to the latest reform, the general teacher education programmes in Norway currently consist of a minimum of 110 days of field placement (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). In this way, future teachers are expected to gain insight into the everyday work of teachers, and develop practical skills necessary to become successful teachers. The field placement also offers an opportunity for PSTs to observe experienced teachers and to practise as teachers under the supervision of specifically certified teachers. Field placement is, at its core, a social activity (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). In the framework plan for the GLU 1-7 programme, it is evident that to participate in field placement as part of the teacher education creates an arena for academic and social learning. It is stressed that PSTs should 'in cooperation with fellow students, plan, conduct and assess teaching with the guidance from field placement teachers and subject teachers' (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, 2016, p. 13).

The first field placement usually takes place during the first semester, and lasts for three to four weeks.

As part of the latest reform, new national guidelines (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, 2016) and regulations (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016) for the teacher education programmes were adopted. In line with the Official Norwegian Report (2010:7), the revised guidelines state that all local plans for the teacher education programmes at different universities must include perspectives on global citizenship and the multicultural society, and that it is necessary for PSTs to have 'knowledge about and understanding of the multicultural society' (p. 8, my own translation). Moreover, all institutions are obliged to describe how they will include 'the multicultural and multilingual aspect' (p. 12, my own translation) in their teacher education programmes.

Furthermore, Regulations for the framework plan for teacher education §2 states that the PSTs should acquire 'comprehensive knowledge about children's development, education and learning in different social, linguistic and cultural contexts' (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). Overall, the guidelines have a clear emphasis on the multilingualism found in Norwegian primary and secondary education. Furthermore, the revised guidelines have a more explicit emphasis on multilingual perspectives than the previous guidelines from 2010 (Ministry of Education and Research, 2010, 2016). The Regulations for the framework plan for GLU 1-7 and GLU 5-10 have an important influence on the content and structure of Norway's teacher education programmes. Nonetheless, these regulations provide little information about how the presented ideals can be turned into practice.

Despite the recent developments, a Norwegian expert group on the teacher role (Dahl et al., 2016) argues that it is necessary to continue to improve the presence of multicultural perspectives and Norwegian as a second language across all subjects within teacher education. The expert group's call to improve the multicultural focus within teacher education is based on recent research on how teacher education programmes and teacher educators have met the burgeoning diversity in the student population. This research has not been reassuring. Rather, the research indicates that teacher educators are struggling

to adapt to the multilingual reality (Randen et al., 2015), and that there is a lack of awareness about issues relating to multiculturalism within teacher education (Dyrnes et al., 2015). Furthermore, research suggests that diversity is given limited attention within the different subjects of teacher education (Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015), and finally, that many PSTs feel unqualified to work with multilingual and multicultural students (The Evaluation Group, 2015; Thomassen, 2016). Despite these findings, there seems to be an emerging tendency to acknowledge the multilingualism found in Norwegian society at large, and in schools in particular. This is most prominent in the regulations and national guidelines for teacher education (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016; The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions, 2016).

3. A dynamic understanding of language

In the current chapter, I present the theoretical framework of this dissertation. As mentioned in the introduction, I approach the research questions through a theoretical framework developed within sociolinguistics, where language is conceptualised as practice rather than form. This framework can be described as a translanguaging perspective on language (Li Wei, 2018b; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). I have applied this particular theoretical framework due to its emphasis on building on the linguistic resources students bring to school and its concern with educational equity (García, 2009). I commence this chapter by discussing the poststructual foundations of the concept 'translanguaging' (3.1.). In the following sections, I introduce key sociolinguistic concepts underpinning my conceptualisation of translanguaging: Linguistic repertoire (3.2.), language ideologies (3.3.), and finally, language as practice (3.4.). These are all fundamental concepts to translanguaging theory and the respective research questions in this dissertation. Although linguistic repertoire, language ideologies, and language as practice are discussed in their respective articles of this dissertation, in this chapter I connect these concepts to the overarching theoretical framework, and provide an expanded description of their development.

3.1. Translanguaging: A poststructuralist perspective on language

Translanguaging can be defined as 'the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages' (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 281). The concept first emerged as a description of a particular pedagogical practice in Wales, known as 'trawsieithu' (Williams, 1994). Initially, the term was applied to describe the strategic alternation between Welsh and English in bilingual classrooms. Later, influenced by poststructuralist thought, a number of researchers have contributed to extending this conceptualisation of translanguaging. Consequently, translanguaging is currently understood as a theory of language (Li Wei, 2018b; Otheguy et al., 2015), a description of everyday communication in multilingual settings (Creese, Blackledge, & Hu, 2018; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b), as well as a pedagogical practice (Canagarajah, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García, Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

Translanguaging challenges conventional conceptualisations of languages as monolithic and stable entities, and proposes a more dynamic understanding of language (García & Li Wei, 2014).

In the following, I present developments within poststructuralism and education respectively, which researchers have described as a 'linguistic turn' in poststructuralist thought (Kroskrity, 2000) and as a 'multilingual turn' in education (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014). The linguistic and multilingual turns constitute important forces behind current developments in sociolinguistics, conceptualising language as practice (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), which has given rise to translanguaging approaches to language in education (see chapter 4). Hence, both the linguistic and multilingual turns are important developments in understanding the concept of translanguaging.

Since the linguistic turn of poststructuralism, represented in Lyotard (1984) and Foucault (1981), poststructuralists have shared a keen interest in the role of language in the construction of meaning. An important concept in poststructuralist philosophy is 'discourse'. Foucault (1978) defines discourse as 'practices that systematically form the object of which they speak' (p. 49). Thus, discourse is both an effect and an instrument of power with the potential to define and control people. Foucault (1981) writes that:

> There is scarcely a society without its major narratives, which are recounted, repeated, and varied; formulae, texts, and ritualised sets of discourse which are recited in well-defined circumstances; things said once and preserved because it is suspected that behind them there is a secret or a treasure. (p. 56)

As examples of such 'major narratives' or 'ritualised sets of discourse', Foucault mentions religious, juridical, literary, and scientific texts. In this dissertation, language ideologies are important examples of the 'major narratives' described by Foucault and other poststructuralists (Foucault, 1981; Lyotard, 1984). Foucault (1981) describes how the discourse is being limited and controlled:

> […] in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. (p. 52)

Foucault claims that the education system is one such institution that contributes to controlling and limiting discourse, as can be seen from the 19th century nation-building in Europe. He argues that 'any system of education is a political way of maintaining or

modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with knowledges and powers which they carry' (Foucault, 1981, p. 64). Thus, Foucault does not consider the changes in the relationship between various discourses to be random. Rather, he sees these developments as the results of power struggles.

Related to the opposition to 'major narratives', Lyotard declared that 'the grand Narrative has lost its credibility' (1984, p. 37). He used 'grand Narrative' to describe 'kinds of myths or sagas that are told of and explain a vast number of occurrences, acquiring such power over minds that they come to function as absolute truths or dogma' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 237). Examples of such grand Narratives are Marxism and Capitalism, but also the idea of the nation state and the relationship between a language, a people, and a geographical area can be described as a grand Narrative. Lyotard (1984) emphasized the importance of critically analysing prevailing narratives. As a consequence of his rejection of the grand Narratives, Lyotard was more concerned with 'the small, the local, the fragmented, historically emerged, contradictory and accidental' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 237).

Another key concept within poststructuralist thought is 'deconstruction'. Similar to Lyotard, Derrida (1981) argued that one should expose and criticise power structures and hierarchies through deconstruction. Although Derrida was hesitant to provide a definition of 'deconstruction', he described a general strategy of deconstruction: Derrida (1981) stated that it is necessary to use 'a double gesture' (p. 41). The first phase of this double gesture is overturning established binaries as violent hierarchies. The second phase included releasing 'the dissonance of a writing within speech, thereby disorganizing the entire inherited order' (p. 42). Dyndahl (2008) interprets the process of deconstruction in this way:

> […] the purpose of deconstruction is to expose that which has been ignored or left out in something that comes across as complete, not in order to bring back what has been left out, but because the distance between what is present and what is absent creates a pattern in language, experience, and existence, which cannot ever be exceeded. From this perspective, deconstruction becomes a strategy for understanding and accepting the contingency and complexity of the world. (p. 125)

A similar process of deconstruction can be found in the works of Bakhtin (1981), who deconstructed the perceived unity and coherence of national languages. Although not

related to the poststructuralist movement, Bakhtin's ideas have had a significant impact on researchers working with translanguaging and associated concepts from a poststructuralist position (e.g. Busch, 2017b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009). Bakhtin described the multivoicedness in all forms of living language and a 'dialog of languages' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294), regardless of whether this dialogue plays out within what is referred to as one language, or between different languages (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 295). Bakhtin (1981) stated that 'language […] is never unitary', rather, 'social life and historical becoming create within an abstractly unitary national language a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems' (p. 288). Bakhtin described this coexistence of a multitude of concrete worlds and beliefs as 'heteroglossia'. A heteroglossic understanding of language has also influenced how researchers have come to see multilingualism in education, and is central to how I approach language ideologies in this dissertation, specifically in the second article (see Chapter 6).

In education, Conteh and Meier (2014) describe 'the multilingual turn' as the result of an increasingly multilingual reality, which has led to a rejection of monolingual conceptualisations and approaches to education, and an inclusion of minoritised students' language practices. 'The multilingual reality' describes developments primarily evident in Western Europe and North America, as other parts of the world have always been multilingual (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). As a result of increased migration and diversity among migrants in terms of social class, gender, age, educational background, immigrant status, religious identities, and languages, researchers have described many Western societies as superdiverse (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton, & Spotti, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2018; Vertovec, 2007).

In superdiverse societies, researchers have developed an interest in the complexity of language in linguistically diverse contexts. The interest in multilingualism has led many researchers to challenge monolingualism as the norm, and to question traditional understandings of language (García, 2009; Heller, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Translanguaging has been one approach to challenging monolingualism as the norm in education (García & Li Wei, 2014). There are several key assumptions behind the

concept of translanguaging. In the following, I elaborate on three concepts important to understand translanguaging as a theory of language (Li Wei, 2018b): Linguistic repertoire, language ideologies, and language as practice. In Chapter 4, I discuss the objectives of translanguaging in education and how translanguaging can be implemented as a pedagogy in schools.

3.2. Linguistic repertoire

In the first article of this dissertation (Chapter 6), the concept of 'linguistic repertoire' is central. In social interaction, speakers employ different semiotic resources, including words, gestures, and artefacts. In sociolinguistics, it has become increasingly common to conceptualise these semiotic resources as a repertoire, rather than proficiency in separate codes or named languages (Blommaert & Backus, 2011; García, 2009; Pennycook, 2018; Rymes, 2014). Researchers have defined the concept of a linguistic repertoire in various ways. Historically, Gumperz (1964) defined a 'verbal repertoire' as 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction' (p. 137), and connected it to a specific speech community. Since a speaker can belong to multiple linguistic communities, and therefore have access to a range of resources, researchers who connected the linguistic repertoire to the individual speaker later challenged Gumperz's (1964) definition (e.g. Pratt, 1987). By connecting the linguistic repertoire to the individual rather than to the community, researchers have acknowledged that every speaker might draw on linguistic forms from a wide range of speech communities, such as different 'languages', 'dialects' and 'sociolects'. More recently, Arnaut et al. (2016) defined 'linguistic repertoire' in this way:

> This [concept] dispenses with a priori assumptions about the links between origin, upbringing, proficiency and types of language, and it refers to individuals' very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differently shaded styles, registers, and genres, which are picked up (and maybe then partially forgotten) within biographical trajectories that develop in actual histories and topographies. (p. 26)

Thus, the different named languages, registers, and styles an individual can communicate through are not separated within the individual. On the contrary, an individual will often (if not always) draw on their complete linguistic repertoire when communicating with others, even when the spoken words all belong to one code or named language (García & Li Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2018). Rymes (2014) explained

that 'the extent to which we can communicate is contingent on the degree to which our repertoires expand, change and overlap with others' (p. 6). When describing his own linguistic repertoire, Derrida (1998) writes extensively about both the languages he had learned and, interestingly enough, about the languages of which he had been deprived. Hence, the linguistic repertoire does not only include named languages in which the speaker has developed a high proficiency. Rather, in communication with others, we can capitalise on fragments of language and parts of our linguistic repertoire that are associated with our past.

Furthermore, many sociolinguists argue that the linguistic repertoire extends beyond spoken words (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Li Wei, 2014; Pennycook, 2018). For example, Perera (2019) describes how gestures interplay with spoken translanguaging, and become an important resource for conveying meaning at a Tamil temple in Australia. Similarly, body language constituted an important resource for the PSTs in the third article of this dissertation (see Chapter 6). Pennycook (2018) goes even further when he defines the linguistic repertoire as 'the available resources' (p. 12) for communication, including clothes, artefacts, and spatial organisation. Consequently, it makes little sense to talk about monolinguals, since all speakers continuously draw on a wide repertoire of semiotic resources in communication.

Researchers have also connected the linguistic repertoire to the speaker's biography (Arnaut et al., 2016; Blommaert & Backus, 2011), defining the linguistic repertoire as 'biographically organised complexes of resources' (p. 9). Busch (2010, 2017a) developed the connection between the linguistic repertoire and the speaker's biography, yet she rejected an understanding of the language repertoire as a 'toolbox or a reservoir of competences', and instead proposes an understanding of the language repertoire as 'a space for potentialities linked to life trajectories' (p. 53). Busch (2017b) explains:

> In my conceptualization of the linguistic repertoire I take an approach, in which I suggest complementing the third person perspective by a first person perspective based on biographical narratives. I do not understand the speaker as an (independently acting) individual but – in a poststructuralist move – as a subject formed through and in language and discourse, and I understand the repertoire not as something the individual possesses but as formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other. (p. 346)

Thus, in her conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire, Busch also includes speakers' lived experiences of language and language ideologies. She writes that 'language ideologies and discursive categorizations – by others as well as self-categorizations – have decisive impact on linguistic repertoires' (Busch, 2017b, p. 346). This is supported by a qualitative study conducted by Gilham and Fürstenau (2020), which suggests that German teachers' previous experience with language influence both their attitudes towards multilingualism and their classroom practices. Rymes (2014) uses the image of archaeological layers that accumulate as one moves through life and acquire diverse experiences to illustrate how the linguistic repertoire is formed over time in interaction with others. This accumulation of experiences contributes to shape the speaker's linguistic repertoire, as well as the speaker's language ideologies.

3.3. Language ideologies

A concept closely linked to translanguaging is the term 'language ideology' (Jaffe, 2009; Kroskrity, 2000; Ruiz, 1984). This is a concept that is studied in detail in the second article of this dissertation (see Chapter 6). García (2009) argues that 'attitudes, values and beliefs about languages are always ideological' (p. 84). Consequently, language ideologies define what languages are prestigious and valuable. Usually the valuable languages belong to the dominant groups of society, while the languages of minoritised and suppressed groups are disvalued (Bourdieu, 1991; Flores & García, 2014; Foucault, 1981; Kroskrity, 2000). Hence, there are no apolitical or neutral ways in managing languages in a society. Conteh and Meier (2014) support this and claim that 'which languages are taught, and through which languages content is taught, in schools are based on socio-political discourses and ideology' (p. 4).

Traditionally, language ideologies were defined in terms of individual or local beliefs (Kroskrity, 2000). For example, Silverstein (1979) defined language ideologies as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (p. 193). Furthermore, language ideologies tended to be studied as 'cultural givens rather than understood as having any connection to political-economic factors' (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 7). However, for the past decades, studies of language ideologies are emphasising the close connection between individual

language practices and political-economic factors (Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, & Tsokalidou, 2015; Irvine, 1989; Palmer, 2011).

Kroskrity (2000) proposes four interconnected dimensions of language ideologies: First, he argues that language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group. As discussed in chapter 2, the hegemonic language ideologies of education in Norway are clearly promoting the interest of the Norwegian majority, and to a lesser degree the interest of the indigenous Sámi languages, while the interests of more recent migrant language communities are not prioritised to the same extent (Dewilde & Kulbrandstad, 2016). Secondly, Kroskrity claims that language ideologies should be conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership. Thirdly, Kroskrity (2000) argues that members of a speech community may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies. For instance, Bourdieu (1991) argues that 'the recognition of the legitimacy of the official language has nothing in common with an explicitly professed, deliberate and revocable belief, or with an intentional act of accepting a "norm"'(p. 51). Rather, speakers might be quite unaware of their own language ideologies, and how language ideologies influence their actions in daily life. Finally, members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. For instance, Lyotard (1984) described how institutions regulate what should be said and what should not be said. Yet, he pointed out that 'the limits the institutions imposes on potential language "moves" are never established once and for all' (Lyotard, 1984, p. 17). Thus, there is an ongoing negotiation of the boundaries of accepted speech, where one can argue that language ideologies contribute to mediating between the structural regulations and the actual forms of talk.

Irvine and Gal (2000) describe three semiotic processes behind language ideologies. The first semiotic process is iconisation, where certain linguistic features or characteristics are depicted as a social group's inherent nature or essence. For instance, Bürki (2020) illustrates the iconic relationship between the ability to speak a Swiss German dialect

and a Swiss identity. The second process is fractal recursivity, which describes either the process of projecting differences between groups based on linguistic features or the process of uniting subdivisions into supercategories against new oppositions. Connor (2019) illustrates how students with a migrant background take up a distinction between 'the silent middle-class Norwegian' and 'the noisy migrant' from a wider social contrast. The third process is erasure, where language ideologies simplify linguistic realities by ignoring or actively removing certain linguistic features. The result is a hegemonic language regime (Kroskrity, 2000), where certain language varieties becomes 'the taken-for-granted, almost invisible discourse practices of symbolic domination' (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 248). This is evident from how students' multilingualism is considered marked in classrooms where, for example, Danish is considered the unmarked language in Danish schools (Daugaard & Laursen, 2012), and from the way multilingualism is disregarded by many of the participants in this dissertation. The semiotic process of erasure is also a topic Bourdieu (1991) elaborates on, when he writes that:

> To speak of the language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the official definition of the official language of a political unit. This language is the one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language […] The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses […] this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured (p. 45).

In other words, the state is a key actor in promoting and sustaining the official language as the taken-for-granted and unmarked language within the state.

At policy level, the different semiotic processes described by Irvine and Gal will together lead to a tendency of promoting or suppressing certain language varieties in society. Ruiz (1984) famously presented three language orientations, similar to language ideologies: 1) Language as problem; 2) Language as right; and 3) Language as resource. These orientations or ideologies are developed to describe language policies. Thus, when applied to describing individual language ideologies, it becomes clear that the three ideologies should be considered typologies of ideologies. As evident from this dissertation, the different ideologies will rarely be found in their pure form in an individual. Rather, they are more likely to interact and coexist, even in the discourse of a single individual (see Chapter 6). Ruiz (1984, 2010) has also admitted to the nuances

that exist within the three ideologies, particularly within language as resource. Although Ruiz favoured a language as resource ideology, he stressed that 'one should realize that these are competing but not incompatible approaches' and went on to claim that although one ideology 'may be more desirable than another in any particular context, it is probably best to have a repertoire of [ideologies] from which to draw' (Ruiz, 1984, p. 18).

3.4. Language as practice

In the third article of this dissertation, 'language practices' is a fundamental concept (see Chapter 6). Sociolinguists have increasingly studied language as practice, rather than form (Arnaut et al., 2016; Canagarajah, 2013; García, 2009; Pennycook, 2010). García (in Sherris & Adami, 2019) defines language itself as 'the human capacity to make meaning and the deployment of those practices' (p. 17). To define language in this way is also a resistance to a conceptualisation of language that has limited students' opportunities to learn in schools across the world and throughout history. Pennycook (2010) defines 'language as practice' in this way:

> To look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity rather than a structure, as something we do rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity (p. 2).

The point of departure is therefore what people do with language, namely to communicate and interact, rather than the form and structure of the standardised language variety. Drawing on Bourdieu (1977), Pennycook (2010) stresses that 'practice' does not mean 'a mere doing of things', rather it conveys 'a combination of thought and action' (p. 21). This corresponds with Bakhtin (1981), who argued that speakers deploy language as 'stylizations and illustrations of professional and period-bound languages, the language of particular generations, of social dialects and others' (p. 292). In other words, language as practice refers to purposeful activities; people choose to speak in particular ways to make meaning based on the specific time, place, and setting. Hence, language conceptualised as a system can be considered the result of 'sedimented discourse' (Pennycook, 2010, p. 46). As certain practices are repeated over time, they become customary (Foucault, 1981). Thus, language is understood as the product of social and cultural activities, rather than a system people draw on in communication (Pennycook, 2010).

In translanguaging literature, the focus on language as practice shifts the perspective from which named languages individuals speak to what individuals do in order to communicate (García & Li Wei, 2014). Research from multilingual settings has highlighted how speakers draw on multiple named languages in interaction, and psycholinguistics has shown how all named languages are activated while multilinguals speak (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2019). This suggests that languages might not be as compartmentalised as linguists used to think. In educational contexts, a translanguaging conceptualisation of language as practice would propose an approach to teaching and learning where the content was the primary concern, while the code in which the teaching and learning took place would be secondary (García, 2009).

A translanguaging conceptualisation of languages has been met with criticism. Some researchers have continued to argue that speakers' communicative resources are separated in the brains of multilinguals (MacSwan, 2017). In support of this position, others have highlighted speakers' own orientation to separate languages (Auer, forthcoming). Although some sociolinguists dismiss traditional terms, such as 'language' and 'multilingualism' (Heller, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), researchers on translanguaging have also admitted that people frequently identify with discrete languages, and researchers therefore acknowledge the importance of subjective understandings of multilingualism (Otheguy et al., 2019; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). For instance, Otheguy et al. (2019) distinguish 'between the external sociocultural construct of named languages around which identities might be formed and the internal language system of speakers enacting those identities' (p. 3). They acknowledge that named languages play an important role in people's lives as a social marker, and are frequently fundamental for people's identity development. In this sense, named languages are real entities in the world. Furthermore, in a research context, it is not least necessary to convey the understandings of research participants, as they refer to 'multilingualism' and multiple named languages.

I align myself with Pennycook and Makoni (2020) when they argue that 'we are obliged to take account of whether people believe they speak languages, what they believe about those languages, and to analyse the beliefs about language which they hold passionately

even if those languages have been invented' (p. 46). Hence, I frequently describe languages from an emic perspective, where my point of departure is the participants' understanding of language. Based on the sociocultural function of named languages, the research participants' understandings, and the prominence of named languages in pedagogical contexts, I apply the term 'multilingual' to describe contexts where more than one named language is spoken. Furthermore, I also apply the term 'language' when referring to standardised language varieties, such as Amharic and Norwegian. Nonetheless, I consider all speakers to be multilingual to a greater or lesser extent (Li Wei, 2018a; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020) and I concur with researchers on translanguaging who are still not convinced of the separate reality of distinct named languages in the brains of multilinguals (Li Wei, 2018b; Otheguy et al., 2019).

In this dissertation, the dynamic understanding of language expressed through translanguaging theory influences both how I see the role of multilingualism in education and how I analyse PSTs' lived experience of language and language practices (see section 5.5.). Moreover, translanguaging theory accentuates how the current language management in education is influenced by language ideologies that benefit certain groups, while they disadvantage others (García, 2009). In the next chapter, I discuss the educational implications of translanguaging.

4. Multilingualism in education

This dissertation rests on several assumptions about how teachers should approach multilingualism in education. The most fundamental assumption is that teachers should always 'make schooling meaningful and comprehensible for the millions of children whose home languages are different from the dominant language of school and society' (García, 2009, pp. 7-8). This ambition is in line with what Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) describe as 'equitable learning opportunities' (p. 114). In this chapter, I first discuss different approaches to support multilingual students (4.1.), before I elaborate on the objectives behind implementing translanguaging in schools (4.2.). Next, I describe how pedagogical translanguaging can be implemented to support multilingual learners (4.3.), before I present research on teacher education and field placement as a key component for preparing PSTs to teach in multilingual schools (4.4.).

4.1. Different models for supporting multilingual students

Hornberger and Link (2012) remind us that 'recognizing, valorizing, and building on the communicative repertoires in the classroom […] are neither simple nor easy, and no set of strategies exist that are generalizable across all classroom settings' (p. 242). Consequently, there are several education models to support multilingual learners (Baker & Wright, 2017). First, one way for teachers to try to secure linguistically minoritised students' academic success is by providing them with comprehensive instruction in the official language of instruction. By securing that all students have a high proficiency in the language of instruction, this is thought to contribute to reducing the achievement gap between 'majority' and 'minority' students (Baker & Wright, 2017). In their typology of bilingual education, Baker and Wright (2017), describe such approaches as 'mainstreaming/submersion' (p. 199). In Norwegian education, a greater emphasis on high proficiency in the language of instruction has led to a preference for differentiated Norwegian instruction (e.g. Danbolt & Kulbrandstad, 2012), while only a limited number of students are offered 'mother tongue instruction' or 'bilingual subject instruction' (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2018).

An exclusive focus on the language of instruction and a disregard for the students' home language can potentially lead to assimilation, as politicians are eager to integrate (or in

some cases assimilate) all students into the mainstream classroom as quickly as possible (Baker & Wright, 2017; Engen, 2014). Conteh (2018) objects to this approach, as she explains that:

> The central tension of language policy and pedagogy in superdiverse contexts – the need to understand the value of maintaining and even strengthening the diverse repertoires of multilingual students at the same time as ensuring that they become competent and successful mediators of the discourses of power in the contexts in which they live their lives. That the two are mutually supportive is perhaps the most important piece of professional knowledge that mainstream teachers need. (p. 484)

Hence, it is not enough to provide students with compensatory instruction in the language of instruction through the medium of the language of instruction.

In line with Conteh's comments, one could envision a second approach to reduce the achievement gap between linguistic 'minorities' and 'the majority'. Extensive research supports the establishment of bi- or multilingual programmes, providing instruction in the home language or through the medium of the home language, in order to secure that the subject content is comprehensible for the students. Baker and Wright (2017) describe such programmes as 'two way/dual language' programmes (p. 199). Such programmes have been rather widespread and widely supported during certain periods in certain places, such as in the Basque Country, Catalonia, Wales, and Norway in the 1980s (Baker & Wright, 2017; Cenoz, 2009; Øzerk, 2006). However, the opportunities to provide bi- or multilingual programmes are currently being restricted in many places around the world (Baker & Wright, 2017; Engen & Lied, 2011; García, 2009; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014). This shift should, in most cases, be understood as politically motivated actions, since extensive research has documented the pedagogical advantages associated with multilingual programmes (Baker & Wright, 2017; Cenoz, 2009; García, 2009).

A third path to make schooling meaningful and comprehensible for all students is to include students' diverse linguistic repertoires into the mainstream classroom, and enable the students to capitalise on all of their linguistic repertoire in the learning process (García, 2009). In other words, one adopts the understanding of language brought forth by current developments in sociolinguistics, and considers language as practice, rather than structure (Arnaut et al., 2016; Canagarajah, 2013; García, 2009; Pennycook, 2010).

Hence, the named language(s) applied in the learning process is secondary to the learning outcome (García & Li Wei, 2014). Such practices are frequently referred to as pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García et al., 2017). In the typology of bilingual education presented by Baker and Wright (2017), such an approach would resemble and be situated somewhere between 'maintenance/heritage language' and 'mainstream bilingual' (p. 199).

However, pedagogical translanguaging has been met with opposition. For instance, some researchers have questioned whether translanguaging actually has the transformative potential it claims to have (Block, 2018; Jaspers, 2018; MacSwan, 2020) and whether it leads to increased learning outcomes (Allard, 2017; Lang, 2019). Jaspers (2018) warns that translanguaging in education can become a dominating force, rather than a liberating one, due to its 'moral imperative that disqualifies other concerns with language as beyond the pale' (p. 7). Specifically, Jaspers accentuates how fluid language practices can threaten minority languages in education. Furthermore, Block (2018) argues that translanguaging research is limited to dealing with recognition issues, while it fails to alter the underlying economic order that is causing poverty for speakers engaged in translanguaging. Finally, MacSwan (2020) criticises a 'deconstructivist perspective' on language, and points out that 'there can be no rights associated with nonexistence language communities, and no multilingualism in a world where languages, per se, do not exist' (p. 3). Consequently, he argues that translanguaging undermines linguistically minoritised groups' civil rights.

Translanguaging is certainly not a quick fix for all the troubles minoritised groups face in education. On its own, translanguaging can neither resolve the profound issue of poverty in society, nor transform inequalities in education. However, when implemented in a structured and planned manner, translanguaging can contribute to supporting linguistically minoritised groups academically and socioemotionally (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García et al., 2017). Moreover, translanguaging prevents essentialising understandings of students based on a single language within their repertoire (Canagarajah, 2019). Rather, translanguaging encourages teachers to consider all

students' complete linguistic repertoire. In the following section, I further describe the purpose of translanguaging in education.

4.2. Objectives for translanguaging in education

With educationalists' increased attention to multilingualism within education, due to the so-called 'multilingual turn' (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), there has been a growing critique of the ways different languages are currently managed in education (García, 2009; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Mazak & Carroll, 2017). Several researchers on multilingualism in education have therefore turned to poststructuralists' critical examination of discourse and their deconstruction of stable and monolithic categories in search for new conceptualisations of multilingualism in education (Busch, 2017b; García, 2009). Another important inspiration for many researchers concerned with multilingualism in education has been critical pedagogy (Freire, 1996; Shor & Freire, 1987). Drawing on theoretical developments underpinning translanguaging, such as the conceptualisation of language as practice and the recognition of speakers' communicative resources as a repertoire, many educationalists have embraced a more dynamic approach to language in education. Aligning with critical pedagogy, the objective is to provide multilingual students with agency and voice within mainstream education.

Heeding the call to develop instructional strategies that challenge traditional language separation (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Cummins, 2005; García, 2009), the objective for translanguaging in education is to capitalise on the often unexploited potential of students' multilingualism in order to support and promote learning (García et al., 2017). Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012a) describe translanguaging in education as an approach where:

> Languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organise and mediate mental processes in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning. Translanguaging concerns effective communication, function rather than form, cognitive activity, as well as language production. (p. 1)

Thus, in educational settings, the purpose of translanguaging is to encourage students to capitalise on all of their linguistic resources, and for teachers to focus on students' learning rather than through which linguistic code the learning takes place (García & Li

Wei, 2014). When García et al. (2017) introduce their approach to translanguaging, they describe how teachers can use translanguaging to:

1. Support students as they engage with and comprehend complex content and texts
2. Provide opportunities for students to develop linguistic practices for academic contexts
3. Make space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing
4. Support students' socioemotional development and bilingual identities. (García et al., 2017, p. ix)

The objective of translanguaging in education is therefore to provide a scaffold for students when they encounter complex content and texts in a language they are not familiar with, and in the process of developing their proficiency in the language of instruction. Yet, it also creates a space for students' 'ways of knowing' and 'socioemotional development and bilingual identities' (García et al., 2017, p. ix). In line with critical pedagogy as described by Freire (1996), translanguaging in education strives to provide students with 'agency to act linguistically by being both creative and critical, and where teachers encourage those actions' (García & Li Wei, 2014, pp. 74, italics in original).

In order to give multilingual students agency and voice within mainstream education, it is necessary to create a translanguaging space in the classroom. Translanguaging spaces can be defined as 'a space in which identities, languages and values are combined in order to make new identities, languages, values and practices' (Rosén, 2017, p. 39). Dewilde (2017) underlines that translanguaging spaces are not spaces where different identities, values and practices co-exist, rather new identities, values and practices are created in this space. This can be seen as a 'third space' – a space dominated neither by their home language nor by the dominant language of the society. On the contrary, students and teachers can meet in order to negotiate meaning, regardless of the students' or the teachers' proficiency in each other's languages (Flores & García, 2014). Translanguaging spaces are created through translanguaging, but also within a space that opens up for translanguaging (Straszer, 2017).

As described in Chapter 2, different named languages in Norway are assigned a different prestige and function according to the dominating language ideology of society (Sandøy, 2004). This hierarchy of languages influences the lives of individuals, since the value

and status of one's language repertoire will be judged according to this language hierarchy (e.g. From & Holm, 2019). Translanguaging spaces in education can contribute to challenging established language hierarchies by capitalising on a wider range of students' language repertoires (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991). Translanguaging has the potential to give a voice to the voiceless, to position the disadvantaged as equal, and to provide them with agency (García & Leiva, 2014). Blommaert (2005) defines voice in this way:

> Voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so, they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts that are specified as to conditions of use. (pp. 4-5)

Blommaert (2005) claims that 'voice' is the issue that defines linguistic inequality in contemporary societies. 'Linguistic inequality' is understood as the constraints that are imposed on people in times of globalisation (Blommaert, 2005, p. 234). According to Blommaert, linguistic inequality is defined by voice, since the opportunity to make oneself understood – voice – is what constitutes power, and to not be able to make oneself understood constitutes a lack of power in contemporary societies (Blommaert, 2005, p. 5). Translanguaging in education can allow students with diverse linguistic repertoire to be heard within mainstream education. When students are given a voice, teachers can engage in educational practices based on dialogue, rather than monologue (Freire, 1996).

Nonetheless, some researchers have expressed their concern with the consequences of translanguaging, as it may hinder students' development of the language of instruction (Allard, 2017; Lang, 2019). Schools have an unquestionable obligation to teach the official language(s) of society, and to ensure that students develop high proficiency in the language of instruction. Translanguaging does not compromise this aim. It is crucial for students with a home language different from the language of instruction to become proficient in the language of instruction in order to succeed in society, and be empowered to challenge hierarchies and structures of society (García & Li Wei, 2014; Slotte & Ahlholm, 2017). Canagarajah (2013) states that:

> However unfair and limited they may be, these norms and ideologies [of society] have to be taken seriously. Social and educational success means engaging with these norms, though this

doesn't mean uncritical engagement and appropriation. Teachers can help students develop the dispositions and strategies they bring with them in more critical, reflective, and informed ways by engaging with the dominant norms and ideologies. (p. 9)

Hence, the teacher's obligation is not to neglect the instruction of the official languages of society. However, high proficiency in the language of instruction can be achieved through translanguaging (Ebe & Chapman-Santiago, 2016). In the next section, I present international research on the functions of pedagogical translanguaging, and comment on how pedagogical translanguaging can potentially be implemented in a Norwegian context.

4.3. Implementing pedagogical translanguaging

The use of students' linguistic repertoire should be purposeful and strategic (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017; García et al., 2017; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). The planned and structured inclusion of a wider repertoire of students' linguistic repertoire is what researchers describe as pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017) or translanguaging pedagogies (García et al., 2017). The extensive research into pedagogical translanguaging over the course of the last decade has produced several examples of how 'a dynamic and functionally integrated manner' (Lewis et al., 2012a, p. 1) can look like in different classrooms around the world. How translanguaging fits into local school settings varies, thus it is important that pedagogical translanguaging is adapted to the particular local context (Duarte, 2019; Leonet, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2017; Zavala, 2019). In this section, I present how teachers and students can use translanguaging, as well as how translanguaging can support literacy development and students' socioemotional needs. The examples mentioned below are not an exhaustive overview of how pedagogical translanguaging can be applied, but offer some examples of what pedagogical translanguaging can look like, drawing on research from different contexts across the world. In conclusion, I provide a few comments on what pedagogical translanguaging could look like in a Norwegian context.

First, multiple studies have shown how teachers can use several named languages in their instruction. This particular translanguaging practice is applied for several purposes, for example for clarification (Cahyani, de Courcy, & Barnett, 2018; Conteh et al., 2014; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014; Prinsloo & Krause, 2019; Rosiers, 2017) and classroom management (Cahyani et al., 2018; Mary & Young, 2017). Teachers also

use translanguaging in affective interaction with students (Cahyani et al., 2018; García & Leiva, 2014; Mary & Young, 2017) and as a manner of validating students' language practices (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Sylvan, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; Poza, 2019; Rosiers, 2017). García and Sylvan (2011) explain how teachers at a linguistically diverse school for newly arrived high school students in New York supported students' learning through flexible language practices. Although the teachers used English most of the time, they would also use students' home languages strategically when possible, or ask other students to translate when the teacher did not share a language with a particular student.

Pedagogical translanguaging as an approach to teaching has shown to facilitate participation for students who would otherwise not be able to participate in classroom discussions (De Los Reyes, 2019) and to participate in literacy work (Ollerhead, 2018; Orluf, 2016). Furthermore, it can enhance engagement in literacy work for multilingual students already proficient in the language of instruction (García & Velasco, 2014). Palmer et al. (2014) explain how teachers' flexible language practices 'open up spaces for students to engage in sensitive and important topics (e.g., immigration, identity) and take risks to express themselves in developing languages (e.g., attempting to translate)' (p. 769). In other words, teachers' translanguaging may contribute to give linguistically minoritised students a voice and agency in the classroom.

Secondly, students sharing the same home language can also be encouraged to capitalise on their shared linguistic competence through collaboration, even when the teacher is not proficient in these languages (Beiler, 2020; Ebe & Chapman-Santiago, 2016; García & Sylvan, 2011; Rosiers, 2017; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017; Vaish, 2019). In contexts where the teacher is more familiar with the students' home languages, teacher and students can engage in a translanguaging dialogue, where both teacher and students can draw on their complete linguistic repertoire in communication (Kleyn & Yau, 2016; Palmer et al., 2014; Poza, 2019). For example, De Los Reyes (2019) describes how a translanguaging approach to classroom interaction in the Philippines, where students were allowed to respond in the language they preferred, facilitated students' participation. Yet, pedagogical translanguaging does not necessarily mean that students can use whichever

language they want in all situations. Rather, it describes 'how teachers deliberately try to draw on their students' multiple linguistic resources in pedagogy in order to promote and mediate learning' (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017, p. 201). The objective is that all students can participate and learn.

Thirdly, as part of literacy instruction, researchers in diverse school contexts have shown how teachers can use multilingual word walls (García & Sylvan, 2011; Hopewell, 2017; Mary & Young, 2017; Ollerhead, 2018; Woodley & Brown, 2016), cognate charts (Ollerhead, 2018; Woodley & Brown, 2016), and give access to literature in students' home languages (Hopewell, 2017; Mary & Young, 2017; Woodley & Brown, 2016) to support students in their literacy development. Translanguaging can be actively used to support students in the planning, drafting, and production stages of written texts (Ebe & Chapman-Santiago, 2016; García & Kano, 2014; García & Velasco, 2014; Orluf, 2016; Park & Valdez, 2018), even when the final version is expected to be written in one named language. However, teachers sometimes also acknowledge translanguaging as a legitimate practice in final versions of student writing (Beiler, 2020; Canagarajah, 2011; Krulatz & Iversen, 2020; Wedin & Wessman, 2017). For instance, Wedin and Wessman (2017) show how teachers in Sweden capitalised on students' complete linguistic repertoire in literacy development through the use of dictionaries, multilingual educators, parents, siblings and other relatives. Consequently, studies report higher metalinguistic awareness among students in translanguaging classrooms (Ollerhead, 2018). Moreover, research has shown how pedagogical translanguaging supports reading comprehension and content knowledge in social studies (Collins & Cioè-Peña, 2016) and develops vocabulary and content knowledge in science (Espinosa, Herrera, & Gaudreau, 2016).

Fourthly, pedagogical translanguaging can benefit students' identity development. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that translanguaging can link different social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of students' lives and thus forge a stronger multilingual identity. Moreover, researchers have shown how pedagogical translanguaging positions students as capable, providing a voice for the marginalised, and strengthens students' identities (Palmer et al., 2014; Paulsrud et al., 2017; Sierens

& Van Avermaet, 2014). A multilingual writing project for newly-arrived students in Norway showed that 'the students noted that the project helped them reflect on who they are, and some commented on the sense of pride associated with the ability to use three different languages for an academic task they tackled during the project' (Krulatz & Iversen, 2020, p. 14). Thus, translanguaging practices can contribute to empowering multilingual students by accentuating their comprehensive linguistic competence. Consequently, students' multilingual identities are acknowledged and valued in school.

Researchers have also found that pedagogical translanguaging contributes to developing a greater sense of school belonging. An extensive survey among Flemish schools investigated students' sense of school belonging and found that:

> It seems that linguistic and ethnic diversity is an obstacle to pupils' [sense of school belonging]. However, if diversity goes hand-in-hand with more tolerant practices that give it a place at school, pupils' [sense of school belonging] is not "harmed" by this obstacle. (Van Der Wildt, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2017)

In other words, by acknowledging and valuing students' multilingualism, schools can create an environment where students feel they belong, regardless of their linguistic background. Similarly, Mary and Young (2017) report on how the use of pre-primary school students' home languages in France made the students feel at ease during the first days of school and contributed to connecting home and school. The inclusion of students' home languages through the involvement of parents, relatives or multilingual teachers can also contribute to greater involvement from students' families (Wedin & Wessman, 2017). Furthermore, the use of texts in students' home languages for analysis in an English class for newly arrived students in Norway increased students' affective investment in the task (Beiler, 2020).

In a Norwegian context, translanguaging could be introduced in a similar manner as in many other contexts around the world, and would likely have similar effects (e.g. Iversen, 2019). However, there are certain characteristics of Norwegian education that it is necessary to consider when implementing pedagogical translanguaging in Norwegian schools. First, the vast majority of students share Norwegian as a common language, while students with a migrant background speak more than 200 different named languages (Pran & Holst, 2015). Moreover, most PSTs are still recruited from

mainly Norwegian-speaking homes (Dahl et al., 2016). It is therefore unrealistic to think that teachers would be able to teach through the medium of many of the minoritised, named languages of Norwegian education (e.g. Amharic, Bulgarian, or Tigrinya). Nonetheless, teachers can learn words and phrases in order to connect with students from linguistically minoritised communities (Mary & Young, 2017). Moreover, they can create a learner-centred classroom where students can support each other through the medium of different named languages in their linguistic repertoire (Rosiers, 2017; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). Teachers can also support students' literacy development through multilingual strategies that would not require that they familiarised themselves with the languages spoken by their students (Krulatz & Iversen, 2020; Ollerhead, 2018). Such strategies can contribute to supporting both students' academic and socioemotional development.

This overview of studies on translanguaging from the last decade shows that translanguaging holds potential as a pedagogy for multilingualism in mainstream education. Yet, studies suggest that teachers are still hesitant to engage in translanguaging practices (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Palmer, 2011; Ticheloven, Blom, Leseman, & McMonagle, 2019; Young, 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to discuss how teacher education can contribute to educating teachers who are willing and able to employ pedagogical translanguaging as part of their teaching strategies. In the following, I develop key points for a teacher education pedagogy for multilingualism, which can prepare PSTs to implement pedagogical translanguaging once they commence their teaching career.

4.4. Teacher education pedagogy and multilingualism

In line with Freire's (1996) opposition to a 'banking' concept of education, Darling-Hammond (2011) argues that 'to teach effectively, teachers need to understand how learning depends on their ability to draw connections to what learners already know' (p. ix). While a banking model of education assumes students to be a tabula rasa, teachers should rather acknowledge and build on students' previous experiences (Freire, 1996; Shor & Freire, 1987). To capitalise on students' multilingualism is a powerful way to connect students' prior knowledge to academic content and learning. Researchers on teacher education have proposed different models or components to a teacher education

pedagogy for multilingualism. In the following, I elaborate on five key points that researchers suggest constitutes a foundation for developing a coherent teacher education pedagogy for multilingualism. Yet, Lucas and Villegas (2013) remind us that teachers develop their skills and expertise beyond teacher education. Hence, teacher education should only be considered the first phase in teachers' life-long development.

First, researchers suggest that PSTs should be provided with explicit instruction on language systems, language acquisition, and multilingualism (García & Kleyn, 2013; Kleyn, 2016; OECD, 2015; Sharma & Lazar, 2014). In order to meet the needs of multilingual students, Lucas and Villegas (2011, 2013) have proposed a framework for preparing linguistically responsive teachers where they specify which pedagogical knowledge and skills teachers should have (2011, p. 56). Among these skills is 'an understanding of and ability to apply key principles of second language learning' and an 'ability to identify the language demands of classroom tasks' (2013, p. 101). Both of these abilities require linguistic knowledge, beyond pedagogical and cultural knowledge. However, not everybody has been convinced that more coursework is sufficient, because 'speaking about new practices for the classroom is said to be much easier than really implementing them with students' (Liberali in Brisk et al., 2014, p. 172). This is illustrated by studies that find that PSTs might change their stance as a result of translanguaging coursework, yet not necessarily employ a translanguaging pedagogy in practice (Lau, forthcoming; Robinson, Tian, Crief, & Prado, forthcoming).

Secondly, researchers argue that teacher education should enact pedagogical translanguaging and give PSTs direct experiences with multilingual classrooms through field placement (Catalano & Hamann, 2016; García & Kleyn, 2013; Kleyn, 2016; López & Assaf, 2014; Schwartzer & Fuchs, 2014). Catalano and Hamann (2016) provide multiple examples of how PSTs can gain direct experience with multilingualism as part of the instruction on campus. For example, they argue that PSTs should learn an additional language as part of their teacher education in order to develop a better understanding of multilingual students' school experiences. Furthermore, they propose that PSTs should get the opportunity to test translanguaging pedagogies as part of the instruction on campus (Catalano & Hamann, 2016). In line with these recommendations,

Möllering, Benholz, and Mavruk (2014) present a nation-wide initiative in Germany to teach PSTs 'migrant languages' and engage them in supporting classes for migrant students in local secondary schools. Moreover, Makalela (2015) describes the benefits of a translanguaging approach to teaching Sepedi for speakers of other African languages as part of teacher education in South Africa. He argues that translanguaging not only contributes to facilitating the PSTs' learning of Sepedi, but also builds recognition and understanding across linguistic and cultural divides.

Thirdly, researchers have argued that translanguaging should be planned and structured (Ganuza & Hedman, 2017; Toth & Paulsrud, 2017). For this to happen, PSTs should be encouraged to plan for translanguaging (García et al., 2017; García & Kleyn, 2013; Kleyn, 2016). In the framework proposed by Lucas and Villegas (2011, 2013), they argue that linguistically responsive teachers should have 'a repertoire of strategies for learning about the linguistic and academic backgrounds of [English language learners] in English and their native languages' and 'a repertoire of strategies for scaffolding instruction for [English language learners]' (2013, pp. 101-102). Teachers who possess this knowledge will also be able to plan for pedagogical translanguaging in the classroom. Hult (2018) describes a study where PSTs participated in role-play that was designed to raise awareness among PSTs about how they can engage with language policy interpretation and negotiation. This approach facilitated policy-practice connections, and supported the PSTs in becoming language policy arbiters as teachers in multilingual schools under monolingual policies.

Fourthly, inspired by critical pedagogy (Freire, 1996; Shor & Freire, 1987), researchers argue that it is important to raise PSTs' awareness about social inequalities in connection to language and education (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; García et al., 2017; Kleyn, 2016; Sharma & Lazar, 2014). Darling-Hammond (2011) states that 'teachers unaware of cultural influences on learning – as well as the structure and substance of inequality – will find it difficult to understand students whose experiences do not resemble what they remember from their own necessarily limited experience' (p. x). Such an awareness is part of what Lucas and Villegas (2013) describe as orientations of linguistically responsive teachers. These orientations are: 1) Sociolinguistic consciousness; 2) value

of linguistic diversity; and 3) inclination to advocate for English language learners. Lucas and Villegas (2011, p. 57) include PSTs' understanding of the connection between language, culture, and identity; awareness of the socio-political dimensions of language use and language education; value of linguistic diversity; and inclination to advocate for linguistically minoritised students' rights. These orientations are similar to what Canagarajah (2013) describes as dispositions for translingual communication and García et al. (2017) describe as a stance. For PSTs to develop such an awareness, it is necessary to create 'training contexts in which the recognition and analysis of lived experience occupy a prominent position' (Pérez-Peitx, López, & Sangrà, 2019, p. 237). Through self-reflexive inquiry it will be possible to challenge PSTs' stance with regards to multilingualism in education (Athanases, Banes, Wong, & Martinez, 2018; Gaines et al., 2018).

Fifthly, at an institutional level, researchers argue that there is a need to include all faculties across disciplines in the effort to prepare PSTs for working with multilingual students (García & Kleyn, 2013; Kleyn, 2016; Kleyn & Valle, 2014). Based on extensive fieldwork at a teacher education institution in Sweden, Carlson (2009) describes how an attention to multilingualism is limited to linguists at the institution, while other colleagues are uninterested or have a deficiency perspective on multilingualism. Research from Norway has similar findings (Dyrnes et al., 2015; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015). Kleyn and Valle (2014) provide an interesting example of how teacher educators can collaborate across courses to prepare PSTs to teach multilingual students. However, their study is limited to two teacher educators from related fields (bilingual education and inclusive education/disability studies), and more examples are needed to develop a model for how multilingual perspectives can become part and parcel of teacher education across subjects.

By providing all PSTs with the necessary linguistic knowledge, direct experience, the ability to plan for translanguaging, and to develop an awareness about social inequalities, PSTs will be better prepared to work in multilingual schools. However, for PSTs to develop these skills and orientations, there is a need for closer collaboration between teacher educators across disciplines. Moreover, researchers have identified a

gap between what PSTs are taught on campus and what they experience during field placement (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Civitillo et al., 2018; Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Copland, 2010). Hence, field placement does not constitute a simple solution for teacher education to prepare PSTs for multilingual schools.

5. Methodology

In this chapter, I first present the dissertation's research design (5.1.), before I describe the process of selecting site and participants (5.2.). I also present the methods of data collection (5.3.). In the following sections, I present considerations regarding transcription and translation (5.4.), strategies for analysis of the data material (5.5.), as well as research rigour (5.6.). Finally, I comment on challenges and limitations of this dissertation (5.7.) and research ethics (5.8.).

5.1. A qualitative research design

This research project has been designed as a qualitative study based on focus groups, classroom observation, and linguistic autobiographies. As one can see from Figure 1, the data collection took place in two stages. The first stage consisted of seven focus groups with PSTs, who had recently participated in field placement in schools characterised by a multilingual student population. Based on the findings from these focus groups, I decided to invite all of the participants to write their own linguistic autobiographies, and selected one group of PSTs for classroom observation. Eventually, six PSTs agreed to write linguistic autobiographies with a focus on their experiences with language and multilingualism, and one group of PSTs was observed during the final week of their first field placement. The research process is illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Research design and data sources
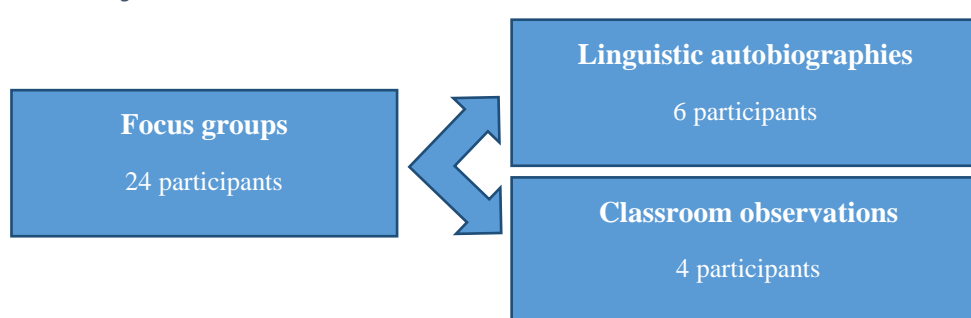
I should note that the research process in qualitative research is rarely as linear as Figure 1 might suggest. This was not the case for the current research project either. In the following, I describe the research process in greater detail.

As already presented in section 1.1., this research project explores the following research question:

What characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education?

I investigated this overarching research question through the following three sub-questions:

• How do PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language?

• How do PSTs negotiate an understanding of which multilingual practices are legitimate in mainstream classrooms in Norway?

• How do PSTs capitalise on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement in multilingual, mainstream schools?

I approach the research questions with a poststructuralist ontology and epistemology. Poststructuralism has its origins in postmodernism, and as a philosophical position, it proposes that 'how we come "to know" the world is very much bound up with issues of power relations in societies, communities and organisations that, in turn, interact with individual identities and actions' (Baxter, 2016, p. 35). From a poststructuralist perspective, knowledge 'is viewed as an effect of power and is produced, reproduced, and transformed through discourse' (Kamberelis, Dimitriadis, & Welker, 2018, p. 703). Consequently, epistemological questions become ontological questions (Kamberelis et al., 2018). Ontologically, poststructuralist philosophy suggests that meaning is constructed by the researcher in interaction and dialogue with the research participants, rather than constituting something given or independent of the researcher (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). Thus, knowledge is never absolute nor objective, but always situated and tied to human practice (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 37). This understanding of knowledge and knowledge construction influences the choices that have been made throughout the research process, as will become evident from this chapter.

5.2. Selecting site and participants

The selection of the site and the participants for a study are crucial steps in a qualitative research design. In this research project, I employed a purposeful sampling strategy (Toma, 2011), which involves 'studying information-rich cases in depth and detail. The

focus is on understanding and illuminating important cases rather than on generalising from a sample to a population' (Patton, 1999, p. 1197). For the purpose of my research project, it was necessary to identify PSTs who had participated in field placements in schools with a linguistically diverse student population. After contacting three teacher education institutions, the administration at two institutions, University A and University B, agreed to participate. The administration provided lists of schools that would be used for field placement, and together we identified schools with a linguistically diverse student population. Then the PSTs who were scheduled to participate in field placement at the identified schools were invited to participate in focus groups.

Both teacher education institutions were well-established institutions in Norway, which have conducted research on multilingual and multicultural issues in education for decades. University A was located in a medium sized town with a small minority of multilingual students. In this municipality, 13,5% of the population were immigrants or Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, compared to a national average of 17% (Statistics Norway, 2019). University B was situated in a larger urban area with a higher degree of multilingualism represented in the local community, among the PSTs, and in the field placement schools. In this municipality, 33,5% of the population were immigrants or Norwegian-born to immigrant parents (Statistics Norway, 2019).

The 24 participants were recruited from the first year at two general teacher education programmes for grades 1 to 7 (GLU 1-7) at University A and University B. The groups participated in field placement for three to four weeks, in addition to one week of observational field placement. Most participants were in their early twenties, thus born in the late 1990s. At that point, Norway had already experienced substantial immigration. Nonetheless, the majority of the participants reported to have limited experience with multilingual classrooms from their own schooling. Thus, many of the participants reported to face a multilingual classroom for the first time when they participated in field placement.

7 of the participants were male and 17 were female. This reflects the general gender balance within the GLU 1-7 programmes in most teacher education institutions (Dahl et

al., 2016). All of the participants had been born and raised in Norway. The participants came from different parts of Norway, but the majority had grown up in the same district as the teacher education institution where they were studying. Only one of the participants had grown up with a different named language (Swedish) than Norwegian at home, one had grown up with Nynorsk as her written language, while she was living in an area where Bokmål was the dominant written form at the time of the focus group. One participant had also grown up with Norwegian sign language in addition to Norwegian as home languages. These numbers also reflects the poor recruitment of PSTs with a home language different from Norwegian to the teacher education programmes in Norway (Dahl et al., 2016). See Appendix 2 for more information about the participants.

In this research project, the initial sampling for focus group participation was crucial, because later sampling for classroom observation and linguistic autobiographies were recruited from the pool of focus group participants. Figure 2 illustrates how there was an overlap between the participants who were observed and who contributed with their linguistic autobiographies: Three participants were observed and contributed with linguistic autobiographies; three participants provided their linguistic autobiographies without being observed; and one participant was observed, but did not provide a linguistic autobiography:
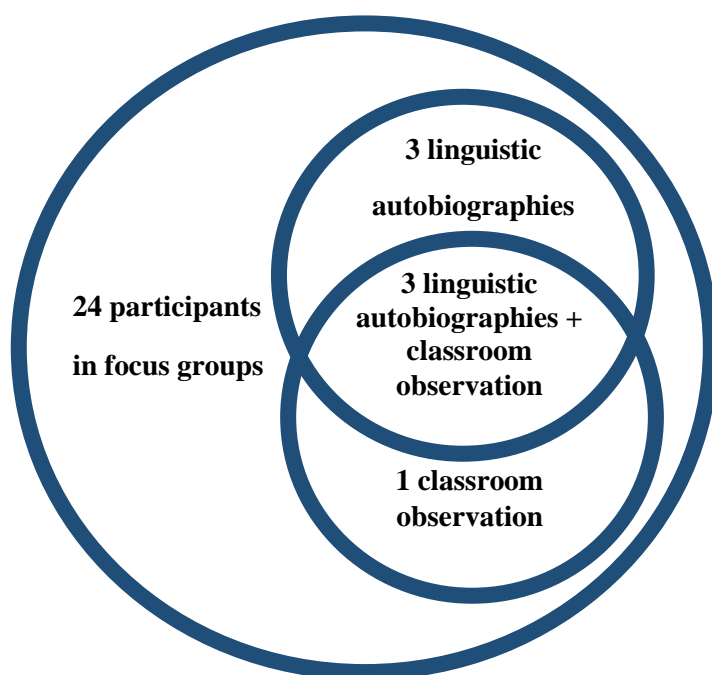
Figure 2: Participants and data sources

As one can see from Figure 2, three participants were represented in all three data sets (focus groups, observations, linguistic autobiographies). This distribution of participants provided more opportunities for these three PSTs to voice their opinion. Nonetheless, it was not usually the most vocal participants in the focus groups who provided their linguistic autobiographies. Rather, the linguistic autobiographies provided an alternative way for quieter participants to articulate their opinions and experiences. The combination of three sources of data enabled thick descriptions of the PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement.

I had already conducted six focus groups when I planned the classroom observations. According to these focus groups, only two out of the six groups reported that they employed what I at that point would have described as translanguaging practices. Since my main interest in observing PSTs during field placement was to see when and how they drew on translanguaging practices within mainstream education, it was necessary to choose a school for observation where I could expect the PSTs to engage in such strategies, as it would make little sense to spend weeks in different classrooms in schools where the PSTs had reported no translanguaging practices. Consequently, I decided to return to one of the schools I had previously visited for the focus groups, where the PSTs had reported using translanguaging strategies in the classroom. I also wanted to include the same PSTs for classroom observations and a focus group in order to investigate the potential relationship that existed between what they did in the classroom and what they said during the focus group. A final focus group was therefore conducted towards the end of the week-long observation.

Finally, all of the PSTs involved in the focus groups received an invitation via e-mail to write their linguistic autobiographies. The PSTs were asked to write about their own experiences with language through their lifetime, from their childhood to the present. Three PSTs responded that they would like to write their linguistic autobiography and share it with me. I also invited the four PSTs I observed to write their own linguistic autobiographies. From a group of four PSTs, three submitted their linguistic autobiography. Hence, I managed to collect six linguistic autobiographies.

After the collection of linguistic autobiographies, I had three sets of data. Table 1 provides an overview of the different data sources, including information about how many participants had been involved in the various data collections and the quantity of the obtained data:

Table 1: Overview of the data

Data source	Number of participants	Quantity
Focus group recordings	24	5 hours and 23 minutes 59 394 words (transcriptions)
Classroom observation	4	14 hours and 15 minutes 8680 words (fieldnotes)
Linguistic autobiographies	6	3446 words

As one can see from Table 1, the main source of data was the focus groups, where 24 PSTs participated. However, classroom observations and the collection of linguistic autobiographies contributed to important perspectives in the investigation of PSTs' first encounter with multilingualism in field placement. In the next section, I elaborate on the different methods of data collection.

5.3.   Methods of data collection

In this section, I further present the three sources of data in this research project: Focus groups, classroom observation, and linguistic autobiographies. In the presentation of these three sources of data, I elaborate on the theoretical background of the different methods of data collection, and how the particular methods contributed to the answering of the research questions. Furthermore, I also describe the actual procedure of data collection according to the three methods. Finally, I comment on my researcher positionality during the particular data collection.

5.3.1. Focus groups

The main source of data derives from focus groups. Marková, Linell, Grossen, and Orvig (2007) define focus groups as 'a research method based on open-ended group discussions that examine a particular set of socially relevant issues' (p. 32). There were three reasons why I chose to conduct focus groups. First, I chose focus groups because of the method's potential to access viewpoints usually not expressed in individual interviews, due to the group interaction (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2011). Secondly, I chose to conduct focus groups since I understand

language ideologies from a poststructuralist standpoint, to be socially shared knowledge and dialogically constructed. Thus, focus groups are suitable to explore the 'dynamic interactions that take place during communication as well as the formation, maintenance and change of socially shared knowledge' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 45). In this way, the focus groups provided me with an opportunity to explore the dynamics that take place as language ideologies are being constructed. Thirdly, I chose focus groups due to the social nature of field placement. Teacher education, and particularly field placement activities, requires that the PSTs 'work together to solve problems of practice and improve student learning by engaging in ongoing inquiry and reflection' (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015, p. 113). Thus, focus groups seemed appropriate for researching the social activity that field placement is, since 'focus groups may be regarded as socially situated interactions, with this aspect being the defining feature of focus-group research' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 45). When I met the PSTs to conduct the focus groups, they had already spent several weeks together at the field placement school, planning, conducting, assessing and discussing their own and each other's teaching. Hence, I considered the social dynamic of the field placement groups as relevant to the answers I would receive during the interviews.

Kamberelis et al. (2018) distinguish between two approaches to focus groups: A tightly focused approach developed around question-answer structures, and a dialogic approach, where power relations between researcher and participants are diminished and 'people collectively interrogate the conditions of their lives to promote transformation' (p. 694). Brinkmann (2018) claims that:

> Although structured interviews are useful for some purposes, they do not take advantage of the dialogical potentials for knowledge production that are inherent in human conversations. They are passive recordings of people's opinions and attitudes, and they often reveal more about the cultural conventions of how to answer questions than about the conversational production of social life itself. (p. 579)

Brinkmann argues that semi-structured interviews are more appropriate when the process of knowledge production through dialogue is in focus. The approach I applied can be located somewhere between the two extremes proposed by Kamberelis, and closer to what Brinkmann describes as semi-structured interviews, as a semi-structured interview guide directed the focus groups (see Appendix 3).

Marková et al. (2007) state that 'the context in which the focus groups take place is essential to the analysis. Meanings and contents of the participants' communicative interactions derive their significance from situations in which they take place as well as from many related and socially relevant phenomena' (p. 45). I decided to interview the PSTs in connection with their field placement, since the experiences the PSTs brought with them from field placement could function as a reference and point of departure for the focus group discussions. If the PSTs had not had this experience, the interview questions would likely be considered hypothetical and abstract. Having participated in field placement in multilingual classrooms for several weeks, the PSTs had more knowledge about the topics discussed in the focus groups.

As part of the preparation for the focus groups, I developed an interview guide (see Appendix 3). This interview guide was semi-structured, consisting of four topics with suggestions for questions: 1) The PSTs' knowledge about multilingualism and their own experiences with multilingualism. 2) The PSTs' own experiences with multilingualism from field placement. 3) Three vignettes involving multilingual students engaging in translanguaging practices within mainstream education, developed by the researcher. 4) What the PSTs experienced that they needed to learn more about regarding multilingualism in order to prepare them for working in such classrooms. The four topics enabled thick descriptions of the PSTs' experiences relating to their first encounter with multilingualism in field placement.

Another part of the preparation for the focus groups was the construction of three vignettes to prompt discussions on language ideologies. Vignettes can be defined as 'text, images or other forms of stimuli which research participants are asked to respond' (Hughes & Huby, 2004, p. 37). Vignettes are commonly used in studies in social work research and cross-cultural research (Barter & Renold, 2000; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Soydan, 1996) and in studies in fields such as organisational behaviour, psychology, and business (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). Within educational research, there are few examples of studies involving vignettes. Still, I chose to use vignettes since the available literature demonstrates that vignettes 'capture how meanings, beliefs, judgements and actions are situationally positioned' (Barter & Renold, 2000, p. 308). Furthermore,

research suggests that the use of vignettes makes it easier to discuss various situations in a less personal manner (Soydan, 1996), since the PSTs' own teaching practices would not be assessed and discussed. By using vignettes that were not directly related to the PSTs' own practice in the classroom, I hoped this would open up for a more honest and open conversation about the topic (e.g. Soydan, 1996).

When using vignettes, there is a risk that the situations described are perceived to be too hypothetical, and are therefore irrelevant to the participants (Hughes & Huby, 2004; Soydan, 1996). Hence, the vignettes were carefully constructed, based on the research literature (Barter & Renold, 2000; Hughes & Huby, 2004; Soydan, 1996) and my own experience as a teacher in multilingual classrooms. Moreover, it was important not to be normative in any way regarding what was the right or preferred practice. Rather, it was necessary to construct vignettes that described a scenario without imposing my own evaluations or considerations regarding the specific situation. Each vignette was first constructed by myself before being revised, based on feedback from my supervisors.

The focus groups with the PSTs at University A were conducted during their last week of field placement, towards the end of their first semester of their teacher education. I met the groups of PSTs at the school where they participated in field placement. The focus groups with the PSTs from University B were conducted at the University B campus, in the week following their first field placement period. After a preliminary analysis of the first three focus groups, I had found that Ruiz' framework of language orientations (1984) had provided me with useful categories to analyse the PSTs' language ideologies. Nonetheless, I realised that the data material did not provide me with sufficiently rich data on the language as right-ideology in Ruiz' framework (1984). Hence, I decided that I needed a vignette specifically aimed at prompting a discussion surrounding language rights within Norwegian education (All of the vignettes can be found in Appendix 4). The revision of the interview guide was in accordance with the strategy for qualitative data analysis laid out by Boeije (2010):

> Every time new data have been gathered and data collection is temporarily halted so that the data can be analysed, new codes might be formulated, the content of an existing category might change, and new questions and propositions might arise about the relationship between the categories. All these outcomes can be considered interim products and results. These interim

results are then tested in a new round of data collection, for which the cases studied are chosen strategically. (p. 83)

Boeije here argues that the analysis of the data material is an integral part of the data collection process, and that the process of data collection should be adapted to the data that is being collected. Furthermore, Kvale and Brinkmann state that: 'For a theoretical analysis of interview texts, it is important that there is a rich material on those aspects of the subject matter relevant to the theoretical approaches' (2015, p. 274). As a result, I replaced vignette 3A with a new vignette (3B) when I realised that a vignette specifically aimed at prompting a discussion on language rights was necessary. Since a final focus group was conducted in connection with the classroom observation of PSTs from University A, this group of PSTs also discussed vignette 3B, rather than vignette 3A (See Appendix 4 for an overview of the different vignettes).

Consequently, the focus groups with the PSTs from University B contributed with valuable perspectives on issues related to language rights in Norway. Beyond that, these focus groups did not contribute much to expand my understanding of PSTs' language ideologies and practices in multilingual classroom settings. Thus, I seemed to approach a point of saturation, insofar as the same themes and perspectives kept recurring in the focus groups. When all the focus groups had been conducted, I had seven groups discussing vignette 1 and 2, three groups discussing vignette 3A, and four groups discussing vignette 3B (see Appendix 4).

An overview of the focus groups, with the number of participants, the time of the focus groups, and how long the different focus groups lasted, is presented in the table below:

Table 2: Focus groups

Name of groups:	Number of participants:	Date:	Time:
Group A1	3 participants	21 Nov. 2017	60.00 minutes
Group A2	4 participants	22 Nov. 2017	45.54 minutes
Group A3	4 participants	23 Nov. 2017	63.23 minutes
Group A4	4 participants	22 Nov. 2018	62.41 minutes
Group B1	3 participants	14 Mar. 2018	49.13 minutes
Group B2	3 participants	15 Mar. 2018	47.06 minutes
Group B3	3 participants	15 Mar. 2018	47.32 minutes

As one can see from the table, the focus groups consisted of three to four participants. Although this is fewer than what is sometimes recommended for focus groups, the group size was defined according to the field placement groups, as previously discussed.

During the focus groups, the interview guide was used in a flexible manner, in order for participants to raise questions and concerns, include their own experiences in their own words, and provide alternative perspectives. In line with Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015) recommendations, I took on a moderator role where I positioned the participants and myself as equally competent to provide answers to the questions I brought up, emphasising that there is not just one correct answer to any of the questions I asked. Moreover, I stressed that I was interested in their perspectives and opinions. As a result, I experienced the focus groups as quite relaxed, and that the PSTs generally seemed to express their genuine opinion. Nonetheless, my approach could not diminish the asymmetrical power relations of the focus groups, where I was probably considered a representative from a teacher education institution, while they were students attending such an institution.

5.3.2. Classroom observation

As a research method, classroom observation is closely related to other forms of observational research methods, such as participant observation. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) define participant observation as 'a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture' (p. 1). Among the advantages associated with participant observation, Heck (2011) argues that it allows for an investigation into what people actually do – not only what they claim to do. Even though observational research is often associated with fields such as anthropology and sociology, this method also has a strong position within educational research (Klette & Blikstad-Balas, 2018). In fact, Martinez, Taut, and Schaaf (2016) state that 'observation remains the method of choice (a de facto gold standard) for gaining systematic insight into [teachers'] practices in their natural setting' (p. 15). Moreover, classroom observation has constituted an important element in educational research for almost a century (Martinez et al., 2016). Through observational data, I set out to investigate how the PSTs capitalised on their own and their students' linguistic

repertoire in their teaching. Thus, the focus of the classroom observations was on the PSTs' language practices and the conditions under which these practices took place.

When I had decided which school I would like to conduct classroom observations in, I contacted University A to inquire whether any first-year PSTs would participate in field placement at this particular school the following semester. When the teacher education institution confirmed that there would be first-year PSTs participating in field placement at this school, I contacted these PSTs, to invite them to participate. As extensive research has shown, a teacher might be hesitant to be observed by outsiders (Ávila de Lima & Silva, 2018; Bell & Mladenovic, 2008; Bitain, Haep, & Steins, 2015). At first, this was also the case for the PSTs I invited to participate. However, after a meeting on campus where I explained that the aim of the project did not involve any assessment of their teaching as such, they agreed to participate in the research project. Next, I contacted their supervising teacher and the principal at the field placement school, in order to obtain their consent. As long as the observation did not focus on the students in the classrooms, the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) suggested that the students and their parents or guardians were informed about the research project, but that it would not be necessary to get their consent (see Appendix 7 for the information letter).

When preparing for the classroom observations, I had to have an idea about what could be included as 'translanguaging practices' in my fieldnotes. Based on the focus groups, I expected to observe incidents where the students or teachers would use named languages besides Norwegian to communicate, use translation software, use other students as translators, and use visual support and gestures to support their communication. Furthermore, I also considered other studies that included categories of translanguaging practices (e.g. Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Sylvan, 2011). Hence, instances of providing the students with metalinguistic information, the mentioning of languages besides Norwegian, or other awareness building activities would also be described as a 'translanguaging practice' during the observations. Nonetheless, I started the classroom observations without any clear categories, observation manuals or schedules.

Angrosino (2007, p. 56) claims that observation is not a research method in itself. Rather, observation only facilitates data collection. Operating on the assumption that Angrosino is correct, my actual research method was the writing of fieldnotes. During the classroom observations, taking fieldnotes was in fact my primary tool for documenting what I observed. Through the process of taking fieldnotes, the aim was to obtain thick descriptions of incidents where the PSTs engaged in translanguaging practices. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) note the following when discussing the term 'fieldnotes':

> Some field researchers […] consider fieldnotes to be writings that record both what they learn and observe about the activities of others and their own actions, questions, and reflections. Others insist on a sharp distinction between records of what others said and did—the "data" of fieldwork—and those notes incorporating their own thoughts and reactions. (p. xvi)

Thus, it is necessary to define what is meant when stating that one has used fieldnotes during classroom observations. Coming from a poststructuralist tradition, I argue that the researcher has a decisive role in interpreting and presenting findings from the observation. Bratich (2018, p. 527) argues that the postmodern turn has called 'objective observation' into question. Rather, the researcher's observations should be understood as interpretations based on the researcher's particular social position (class, race, gender, etc.). This calls for a greater sensitivity on the researcher's part about how one's social position influences the interpretations of what is taking place during observation. This issue is further discussed in section 5.8. However, in this context, this position makes it difficult to draw clear lines between what is observation and what is interpretation. Emerson et al. (2011) support this understanding when they write that 'there is no one "natural" or "correct" way to write about what one observes' (p. 6).

When I was in the classroom, I was seated at the back of the room, withdrawn from the activities going on in the classroom. I tried to write down as much as possible while I was present. This was necessary because I could never predict when the PST would suddenly apply a translanguaging strategy. Thus, if I should describe what had prompted the incident, I had to continuously describe what was happening in the classroom. This minute-by-minute report of the classroom activities was brief, including only key words. These brief descriptions are similar to what Emerson et al. (2011) describe as 'record jottings', understood as 'a brief written record of events and impressions captured in key

words and phrases' (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 29). As opposed to the record jottings on the routine classroom activities, instances of translanguaging strategies were described as detailed and as accurately as possible. Finally, after each lesson or at the end of each day, I wrote out full descriptions of each lesson I had observed, with an emphasis on the instances of translanguaging practices that the PSTs had used. Emerson et al. (2011) state that all writing is constructing and that 'Through his choice of words, sentence style, and methods of organization, a writer presents a version of the world' (p. 46). Hence, Emerson et al. (2011) argue, writing functions more as a filter than a mirror.

After one week of observation, I had completed 14 hours and 15 minutes of classroom observation (7 hours where the PSTs taught themselves and 7 hours and 15 minutes where they observed and/or served as teaching assistants). I observed classes in Norwegian (4 lessons), English (2), Mathematics (2), Physical Education (2), Art and Crafts (1), Music (1), Natural Science (1), Religion (1), Social Science (1). In addition, I took part in three feedback sessions and two meetings, for the faculty at the particular grade level, and for the whole faculty at the school respectively. Informal conversations over lunch and during breaks came in addition to these formal settings. These informal encounters contextualised the classroom observations, and provided me with a better understanding of the field placement experience for the PSTs. The week of observation resulted in 28 pages of handwritten field jottings and 20 pages of typed fieldnotes.

Due to the limited time span of my observation, my role in the classroom can be defined as a moderate participant and as a peripheral member of the group that I observed (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Moderate participation is, in fact, often the most common degree of participation within classroom observation studies, because the researcher is present in the classroom, is identifiable as a researcher, but is not actively participating in the learning activities (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Angorsino and Rosenberg (2011) argue that observational research should be understood as collaborative research between the researcher and those who are being observed, rather than a method of data collection. This underlines the social nature of observational research, which in turn shifts the role of the researcher from an extension of her academic institution to an agent of the communities she observes (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 469). In other

words, the researcher should no longer be conceptualised as an outsider entering a community to observe. Rather, as the researcher enters a community, she becomes part of that community, and influences both the activities taking place and how individuals present themselves. This dialogical perspective on the relationship between the researcher and the community being observed has a great influence on the interpretations and analyses following the observation.

5.3.3. Linguistic autobiography

Linguistic autobiographies as a research method originates from a long tradition of biographical research, particularly strong within the German-speaking scientific world, and within linguistic, sociological, feminist, and post-colonial studies (Busch, 2017a). Within these fields, the object of study has been language learning diaries, literacy diaries, and other biographical texts (Busch, 2017a). Autobiographies with an emphasis on language, such as the autobiography by Derrida (1998) discussed in chapter 3, also have a long tradition (Ramsdell, 2004). As a research method, linguistic autobiographies have been common for analysing the connections between language and identity, particularly in Italy (Canobbio, 2005; Castiglione, D'Agostino, & Ruffino, 2008; Marcato, 2007). More recently, linguistic autobiographies have increasingly been applied in research with individuals with migration histories and/or multiple cultural and linguistic identities (Canagarajah, 2020; Haller, 2014; Nekvapil, 2001). Yet few studies have investigated the linguistic autobiographies of individuals with more 'monolingual' language repertoires, such as the PSTs in this research project.

The basic assumption behind the use of linguistic autobiographies is that an individual's linguistic repertoire is continuously constructed and reconstructed in response to the needs and challenges that the individual faces through a lifetime. These needs and challenges can also be described as the lived experience of language (Busch, 2017b). Through an investigation of PSTs' lived experience of language and language repertoire, it is possible to see how these influence the PSTs' language ideologies and classroom practices. As Busch states, when she is describing the aim of analysing the lived experience of language, the goal is 'to trace how, by way of emotional and bodily experience, dramatic or recurring situations of interaction with others become part of the repertoire, in the form of explicit and implicit linguistic attitudes and habitualized

patterns of language practices' (2017b, p. 350). This is clearly influenced by a Bakhtinian worldview, where the subject is not considered to be a stable category. Rather, the subject is 'seen as continuously (co-)constructed in interaction with and in relation to others' (Busch, 2017a, p. 49). Hence, the PSTs' linguistic autobiographies provided useful insights into the circumstances in which the PSTs' language ideologies and language practices in the classroom had been developed.

Drawing on recent developments in biographical research in sociolinguistics, I define a linguistic autobiography as a personal narrative, which describes the experiences an individual has had with language throughout her or his lifetime, including emotional and intellectual experiences connected to language and language use. A personal narrative can be defined as 'a distinct form of communication':

> It is meaning making through the shaping of experience; a way of understanding one's own or others' actions; of organizing events, objects, feelings, or thoughts in relation to each other; of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions, events, feelings, or thoughts over time (in the past, present, and/or future). (Chase, 2018, p. 549)

Considering this definition of personal narratives, linguistic autobiographies are personal expressions of the meaning-making process the individual has undergone in relation to language.

Research suggests that there are clear links between the teachers' previous experiences with language, their language attitudes, and their reported pedagogical practice with regard to multilingualism (Gilham & Fürstenau, 2020). Hence, I decided to invite the focus group participants to narrate their linguistic autobiographies in order to explore how their lived experience of language and language repertoires contribute to shaping language ideologies and language practices in the classroom. Busch points out that 'lived experience of language can hardly be observed from an outside perspective, it can be approached through first-person accounts' (Busch, 2017a, p. 52). She proposes that biographical research is useful when exploring issues related to 'subject positions or identity constructions, language and emotion, fears and desires associated with ways of speaking or language attitudes linked to language ideologies or discourses on language' (Busch, 2017a, p. 46).

When I contacted all of the participants via e-mail, I described the linguistic autobiography as their 'personal language history'. Several examples of 'experiences with language' were mentioned in the e-mail, such as languages and/or dialects spoken at home, in school, as well as particular individuals or situations that stood out when they thought about their own experiences with language. Finally, the PSTs were invited to reflect on how their experiences would influence them as teachers in the future. Eventually, I received six linguistic autobiographies. In the table below, you can see the six texts I received:

Table 3: Overview of collected linguistic autobiographies

Participant	Length	Received
Stine	1146 words	16 September 2018
Pernille	1093 words	2 October 2018
Nelly	122 words	2 October 2018
Tiril	335	4 January 2019
Tore	138	7 January 2019
Olivia	612	7 February 2019

The texts varied in scope and detail, ranging from a short description of which languages and dialects one had encountered through one's life (Nelly) to extensive and personal confessions of struggling with dyslexia (Stine). In agreement with Pernille, her linguistic autobiography can be read in Appendix 5 as an example of the texts I received.

5.4. Transcription and translation

The focus groups were conducted in Norwegian, and the PSTs also chose to write their linguistic autobiographies in Norwegian. During the observations, Norwegian was usually the only language used. Moreover, most of the analysis of my data was conducted in Norwegian. Nonetheless, this dissertation is written in English. Hence, it is necessary to comment on the particular challenges relating to the process of transcription and translation.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) describe transcripts as 'a translation from one narrative mode – oral discourse – into another narrative mode – written discourse' (p. 204). In the interview situation, people interact through oral speech, gestures, tone of the voice, and other semiotic resources, which a transcript will never be able to capture fully. Yet, depending on the aim of the interview, different recording strategies, such as video

recording, and transcription styles can be applied in order to overcome some of the limitations innate to transcripts. After conducting the focus groups, I transcribed the recordings myself. Since my main interest was the content of what was being said during the focus groups and individual interviews, I chose not to include video recordings. Nonetheless, I had to make certain choices regarding transcription style.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) assert that transcription 'is an interpretive process, where the differences between oral speech and written text give rise to a series of practical and principal issues' (p. 203). This implies that any transcription will, in fact, be a translation of the spoken word into written form. In other words, regardless of the transcription style, something will always be lost in the transfer from speech to writing. For the purpose of readability, I chose to transcribe the focus groups in standard Norwegian Bokmål, although all of the participants spoke in their local dialect, and one of the participants used Norwegian Nynorsk in her own writing. In Norway, the use of local dialects is acceptable in all situations, both in professional and personal life. My decision to transcribe according to standard Norwegian Bokmål included not only spelling, but also punctuation.

Although the transcription was done in standard Norwegian Bokmål, some modifications had to be made in order to capture some of the nature of oral speech. In order to illustrate how the transcribed focus groups looked, an extract of a transcript is presented below:

Table 4: Example of transcription

Original (Norwegian Bokmål)	Researcher's English translation
Intervjuer: Så hvis vi snakker litt om skolen dere var på, hvordan vil dere beskrive det språklige mangfoldet der?	Interviewer: So if we talk a little about the school you have been to, how would you describe the linguistic diversity there?
Leah: Det var stort, holdt jeg på å si [ler].	Leah: It was great, I almost said [laughs]
Intervjuer: Stort?	Interviewer: Great?
Leah: Ja, det var mange ulike språk som var representert der.	Leah: Yes, there were many languages that were represented there.
Intervjuer: I den klassen, hvordan så det ut i den klassen dere var i?	Interviewer: In the class, how was it in the class you were in?
Stine: Det var- Hvor mange språk var det, da? På den halve gruppa vi hadde den ene gangen tror jeg vi var oppe i åtte språk, på den ene gruppen. Så kanskje…	Stine: There was—How many languages was it again? In half of the group, where we were once, I think it was up to eight languages, in one of the groups. So maybe…
Intervjuer: Åtte språk i klassen?	Interviewer: Eight languages in the class?
Stine: Nei, i halve klassen.	Stine: No, in half of the class.

As one can see from the example above, pauses were indicated with '…' and a sudden break in a sentence was indicated with '—'. Laughter was indicated with the word 'ler' [laughs] in brackets. Although not exemplified in the table, participants who were listening often expressed their support through sounds, such as 'mhm', 'uh-huh', etc. For practical reasons, these were not transcribed. Only when such sounds occurred alone, and not while someone else was speaking, did I transcribe these sounds as 'mhm'. Moreover, if one of the participants emphasised a certain word, this word would be italicised. A referee on the third article recommended that the participants should comment on the transcripts to secure the transcriptions' trustworthiness. In accordance with this suggestion, all quotes used in the article were sent to the participants for comments. Although not all responded, I only received conforming responses from the participants.

Because there is no neutral way to translate a statement or a text from one language to another, the process of translation is also a part of the knowledge production (Temple & Young, 2004). Spivak (2007) even goes as far as to claim that 'translation is necessary but impossible' (p. 263). Nonetheless, by being transparent about the process of translation and the researcher's position, one might present a trustworthy rendering of what has been expressed in one language in a different language. Regarding the question about who should conduct the translation, one might assume that it is better if the researcher and translator is the same person. Yet, Temple and Young (2004) argue that whether you conduct the translations yourself or use an external translator, both approaches have implications for the validity of the research. I chose to conduct the translation for several reasons. Since I am a proficient speaker of both Norwegian and English, it was convenient that I conducted the translations when I needed them and without any delay or additional costs. Furthermore, I was familiar with the interview situation, the larger context and the participants, and could therefore take these factors into consideration in the translation. Yet this also implies that my translation is more vulnerable to my own subjective interpretations, and that the translations might be of a lesser quality than that of a professional translator.

As an active agent in the research process, including the translation process, I had a great responsibility in how I represented the research participants through language (Temple & Young, 2004). In the translation of the focus group data, I strived for a representation of the participants' language use in English that reflected their language use in Norwegian. This was no simple task. As already discussed, the transfer from spoken to written Norwegian, which the transcription deals with, already contributes to create a distance between what the participants said and what is conveyed in later publications (e.g. Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). When this written representation of the participants' utterances was translated into English, the participants' use of dialect and register is to a great extent lost. Hence, it was my assignment to represent the participants' way of expressing themselves in the English translation. This was done by keeping the general structure of their utterances, although the exact sentence structure was impossible to keep. Furthermore, I tried to keep their informal speech. This was done through my choice of vocabulary (such as 'like' [liksom] and 'sort of' [på en måte]) and use of contractions (such as 'it's', 'they're' and 'won't'). Although such contractions are not used in written Norwegian and therefore not applied in my Norwegian transcripts, they are common in spoken Norwegian (such as 'kan'ke' [can't] and 'ska'ke' [won't]). To apply a vocabulary and spelling that seems close to informal speech was important in order to convey the relaxed atmosphere during the focus groups. In other words, the language that I used in the translated excerpts from the focus groups were not chosen to represent the participants as uneducated or with a limited vocabulary. For the third article, all participants that were quoted were given the opportunity to comment on my translations. Again, not everybody responded, but there were no objections to the way I had translated their utterances.

5.5. Data analysis

In order to answer the three sub-questions of this dissertation, three separate analyses of the data were conducted. Although these analyses are described in the three articles found in Chapter 6, in the following sections, I expand the description of the different methods of data analysis in order to increase the transparency of the analysis process. In addition, I connect the different methods to my overarching approach to data analysis.

5.5.1. Approaching the data

From the onset of the research project, I chose to investigate the PSTs' first encounters with multilingualism in field placement from three distinct perspectives in order to obtain rich data. The particular perspectives I chose to investigate were the PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices. These perspectives were selected as the result of a deductive process, where I reviewed prominent topics in previous research from sociolinguistics and on multilingualism in education. Within the three categories, abduction was the leading principle behind my data analyses (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018).

Abduction takes empirical data as the point of departure, although it does not dismiss theoretical preconceptions. The procedure of abduction is thus characterised by an alternation 'between (previous) theory and empirical facts (or clues) whereby both are successively reinterpreted in the light of each other' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, p. 5). Hence, after I had developed a descriptive understanding of the particular data (focus group transcripts, fieldnotes, or linguistic autobiographies) through an initial reading of the data material, I added theoretical layers to the original text in order to understand the meaning. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) describe the process of text interpretation in this way:

> In contrast to the decontextualization of statements through categorization, interpretation recontextualizes the statements within broader frames of reference. As compared to the text reduction techniques of categorization and condensation, interpretations often lead to a text expansion, with the outcome formulated in far more words than the original statements interpreted. (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, pp. 235-236)

In other words, text interpretation involves connecting empirical data to relevant theory in order to better understand and explain a given phenomenon.

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) define the relationship between 'facts' – understood as empirical data – and theory, in this way: 'The theory must also transcend "facts" in order to achieve scope. "Facts" thus serve to occasion the theory, while continually playing the role of critical tuning instrument and fount of new ideas for the theory' (p. 5). As one can see from the description by Alvesson and Sköldberg, the adding of theoretical layers to the empirical data is not a linear process, but a repeated alternation between data and theory. The aim of this continuous alternation between data and theory is to

reveal the underlying pattern that explains the individual case (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). This approach to text interpretation was repeated across data analyses.

In the first article, the PSTs' lived experience of language were subject to a narrative analysis (Wortham, 2001). In the second article, I adopted a dialogical method of conversation analysis in the investigation of the PSTs' language ideologies (Linell, 2009; Marková et al., 2007). Finally, in the third article, I analysed the PSTs' language practices during field placement through a translanguaging lens (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Li Wei, 2014). In the following, I present these methods of data analysis in greater detail, and describe how they relate to abduction and my poststructuralist position.

5.5.2. Analysis of lived experience of language

In the first article of this dissertation, I analysed six of the participants' lived experience of language. This topic was selected, since research has shown the intimate link between speakers' experiences with language and their language ideologies and practices (Busch, 2017b; Gilham & Fürstenau, 2020; Kroon & Kurvers, 2019). For the analysis of the PSTs' lived experience of language, I combined data from two narrating events, from the focus groups and the six PSTs' linguistic autobiographies. These data were subject to a narrative analysis, where I traced the six participants' utterances across the focus groups and their linguistic autobiographies.

After an initial reading of the focus group transcripts and linguistic autobiographies, I noticed the six PSTs' discursive positioning of themselves and 'the multilingual' across the two narrating events (focus groups and linguistic autobiographies), and in an abductive move decided to focus the analysis on positioning. Positioning is used 'to elucidate how identities are deployed and negotiated in narratives' (Deppermann, 2015, p. 369). Davies and Harré (1990) distinguish between self- and other-positioning (p. 48), yet self-positioning often entails other-positioning because most positions are complementary and therefore the self- and other-positioning is accomplished simultaneously (Harré & Van Langenhove, 2010).

I first identified all instances of positioning across the two data sets using colour markers. Thus, I was able to identify three recurring patterns across the focus groups

and linguistic autobiographies: Self-positioning as authentic speakers of Norwegian; self-positioning as subjects to othering; and other-positioning of 'the multilingual'. Nelly's self-positioning as an authentic speaker of Norwegian can serve as an example of how certain positions would be acted out across narrating events:

> *Nelly (in focus group):* I speak quite dialectal. So, well, but it's a little- When you stand there in the kitchen and they [the students] don't understand what wheat flour [Dialect: *kveitemjøl*, as opposed to standard: *hvetemel*] is. That goes for everyone, it's not something- It's worse for those who are not very proficient in Norwegian to understand us who speak dialect. But at the same time, there are many from around here who don't understand what I mean although I'm from here.

> *Nelly (in linguistic autobiography):* My upbringing has been in a confident family that speaks dialect and are proud of that!

In both narrating events, Nelly emphasised her belonging to a community of speakers of a particular local dialect. For all of the six participants, it was possible to identify how certain positions were repeated across narrating events. However, I also wanted to investigate how the participants accomplished these acts of positioning. Hence, in line with my abductive approach, I turned to the literature to explore ways to classify the different acts of positioning I had identified in the data material.

After a literature search, I identified Wortham's work on positioning as relevant. Wortham (2001) describes how acts of positioning are mediated through indexical cues. Indexical cues must be analysed in context. Therefore, Wortham (2001) argues that 'an utterance's interactional function depends on how subsequent utterances cohere with it' (p. 14). Hence, the meaning of a statement develops throughout the conversation or text. This is why Wortham claims that positioning is an emergent process, where indexical cues must be interpreted in relation to previous and subsequent utterances. Sets of indexical cues throughout a narrating event establish a pattern, which contributes to solidifying a particular position (Wortham, 2001). Positions are not explicitly represented in narratives, rather they are implicitly enacted (e.g. Deppermann, 2015).

Through a categorisations of the participants' acts of positioning according to Wortham's (2001, p. 70-75) indexical cues, it was possible to describe how the six PSTs accomplished the self- and other-positioning through the use of different indexical cues

across the focus groups and linguistic autobiographies. Nelly can again serve as an example:

> *Nelly (in focus group):* I speak quite dialectal. So, well, but it's a little- When you stand there in the kitchen and they [the students] don't understand what wheat flour [Dialect: *kveitemjøl*, as opposed to standard: *hvetemel*] is. That goes for everyone, it's not something- It's worse for those who are not very proficient in Norwegian to understand us who speak dialect. But at the same time, there are many from around here who don't understand what I mean although I'm from here.

> *Nelly (in linguistic autobiography):* My upbringing has been in a confident family that speaks dialect and are proud of that!

In both of these utterances, Nelly employs the indexical cue described as 'reference and predication', where her repeated association with a particular dialect predicates belonging to a rural community, associated with traditional dialects and authenticity. Hence, she establishes her own position by repeating certain indexical cues. Through this analysis, I could describe not only which positions the participants took themselves and assigned to others, but also how they accomplished these acts of positioning through language.

The narrative analysis I conducted is closely related to a poststructuralist understanding of discourse as both an effect and an instrument of power with the potential to define and control people, as described by Foucault (1981). Hence, I also interpreted the PSTs' acts of positioning as part of a larger discourse in Scandinavia about 'the multilingual' as related to immigration (see the first article in Chapter 6). As one can understand from this description, narrative analysis is a dialogical approach to analysis. The dialogical aspect of narrative analysis lies in the attention to the layers of meaning, the multivoicedness, and dialogues within narratives (Josselson, 2011). The analysis of the PSTs' lived experience of language is presented in the first article of this dissertation (see Chapter 6).

5.5.3. Analysis of language ideologies

In the second article, I analysed the participants' language ideologies. I decided to investigate language ideologies, since these have been shown to influence how teachers approach multilingualism in education (Jaffe, 2009; Palmer et al., 2014). The analysis of language ideologies was based on the focus group transcripts and conducted as a

conversations analysis, drawing on a Bakhtinian understanding of dialogue (e.g. Linell, 2009; Marková et al., 2007). Central to this understanding of dialogue is that utterances have both prospective and proactive aspects, pointing both at what has previously been stated, and setting the conditions of what can potentially follow (Linell, 2009, p. 181). Bakhtin (1986) states that 'there can be neither a first nor a last meaning; it always exists among other meanings as a link in the chain of meaning, which in its totality is the only thing that can be real' (p. 146). Utterances occur in interactive sequences. Interactive sequences involve response, initiative, and reciprocity of contributions (Linell, 2009). Linell (2009) notes that it is important to be aware that responses and initiatives are not separate acts, but simply two aspects of an utterance.

According to Linell (2009), discourse may be seen as a flow of projects, in the sense that talking is a means to solving communicative projects. These 'projects' deal with topics and actions that the participants in the interaction are somehow concerned with (Linell, 2009, pp. 188-189). The communicative projects operate at two levels: Local and global. Through local communicative projects, 'participants accomplish a communicative task over a limited sequence' (Linell, 2009, p. 195).

Hence, the first step to the analysis included coding printed copies of the focus group transcripts according to each statement's local communicative project using colour markers. That is, I coded each utterance based on the function of the utterance. These functions were developed from what Linell describes as response, initiative, and reciprocity of contributions (Linell, 2009). Eventually, I ended up with four functions: To present, to challenge, to agree with, or to clarify an idea/opinion/interpretation. I describe these functions as local communicative projects, because each utterance serves a purpose for the speaker. The utterances fulfil the individual speaker's project in the given situation. For instance, when one focus group was asked whether multilingualism is something positive or negative in education, one sequence looked like this:

Håkon:	Positive
Madeleine:	Well…
Håkon:	It provides many opportunities. It does. There's nothing negative about being able to speak many languages. You're more attractive on the labour market if you know many languages.

Madeleine:	Yes, on an individual level. But I think about it on a group level. If there's a group of six people, and then you have several different languages in that group, […] It can be very difficult to communicate with each other and their multilingualism will make it harder, unless they speak the same language.
Håkon:	I agree.

Håkon's initial local project was to present a new idea/opinion/interpretation. Madeleine's local project was to challenge Håkon's idea/opinion/interpretation. As a response, Håkon tried to clarify an idea/opinion/interpretation. Again, Madeleine responded by challenging Håkon's latest utterance. In the final utterance from this excerpt, Håkon agrees with Madeleine's idea/opinion/interpretation.

In the next round of analysis, I considered how each utterance related to global communicative projects; which discourses each statement was drawing on in the conversation. Global communicative projects can cover whole social encounters, series of encounters, and even greater discourses. Linell (2009) argues that utterances are 'participatory actions within something larger than the single acts in and by themselves' (p. 181). These larger wholes are described as global communicative projects (Linell, 2009). At first, these discourses were not described as language ideologies. However, as this analysis proceeded and I was going to categorise the different codes, I found Ruiz' (1984) framework of language orientations to be useful categories. Hence, in line with my abductive approach, the codes were categorised according to Ruiz' three language orientations or language ideologies. Once again, the exchange between Håkon and Madeleine can serve as an example:

Håkon:	Positive
Madeleine:	Well…
Håkon:	It provides many opportunities. It does. There's nothing negative about being able to speak many languages. You're more attractive on the labour market if you know many languages.
Madeleine:	Yes, on an individual level. But I think about it on a group level. If there's a group of six people, and then you have several different languages in that group, […] It can be very difficult to communicate with each other and their multilingualism will make it harder, unless they speak the same language.
Håkon:	I agree.

When Håkon first asserts that multilingualism is something positive, his global communicative project is to suggest that multilingualism is a resource. Madeleine's

response, on the other hand, suggests that her global communicative project is to argue that multilingualism is a problem. Initially, Håkon maintains his global communicative project. However, after Madeleine's second challenge of this project, Håkon resigns and expresses support for Madeleine's global communicative project.

When each statement in the focus group transcripts had been assigned a local and a global communicative project, it became possible to see how the language ideologies were negotiated among the PSTs: As problem-oriented utterances were contradicted by resource-oriented utterances, which was then supported by yet another resource-oriented utterance, and finally accepted by the first speaker. Consequently, I could describe how the PSTs changed positions during the focus groups, and therefore explain why PSTs often provide contradictory answers in studies investigating language ideologies (e.g. Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; L. A. Kulbrandstad, 2007; Martínez-Roldán, 2015; Palmer, 2011).

However, I was not only interested in the interaction and ideologies of the PSTs, but also which arguments they used. This led me to conduct a final topical analysis (Linell, 2009; Marková et al., 2007). In this analysis, I returned to the focus group transcripts, and identified all arguments connected to the PSTs' statements regarding the inclusion of multilingualism in the classroom, using colour markers. The different arguments were then categorised into three main categories: The PSTs' concern for the students at a group level; for the teacher; and for the multilingual students. Hence, the analysis demonstrated how different concerns were negotiated through contradictory communicative projects throughout the focus group discussions. The analysis of the PSTs' language ideologies is presented in the second article of this dissertation (see Chapter 6).

5.5.4. Analysis of language practices

In the third article, I analysed the PSTs' language practices during field placement. I decided to analyse PSTs' language practices in field placement because there is limited knowledge about how PSTs engage with multilingualism during field placement (Pacheco et al., 2019). In this analysis, I combined fieldnotes from classroom observations with focus group transcripts. Angrosino (2007) proposes that the first steps

to analysing observational data in the form of fieldnotes is to manage the data well. Before any analysis can commence, it is crucial that fieldnotes are kept in an orderly fashion. Next, the researcher should start with an overview reading of the material, to become acquainted with the fieldnotes. Finally, the classification of categories in the data begins. According to Angrosino (2007, p. 68), an important component of the analysis of observational data is the search for patterns. In this case, the objective was to identify the pattern of PSTs' language practices.

The first step of the analysis was to identify the different language practices that the PSTs had reported in the focus groups and that I had described in the fieldnotes. Hence, I conducted a focused coding (e.g. Emerson et al., 2011, p. 192) of the fieldnotes and focus group transcripts to identify how PSTs drew (or reported to draw) on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires to support and promote learning. This coding was conducted using colour markers on printed versions of the focus group transcripts and fieldnotes. Here is one brief example of a language practice that was repeated both in focus group transcripts and fieldnotes:

Steinar (in focus group):	And then I can notice that…um…The one who is a little weak in Norwegian doesn't always understand all terms that the teacher uses. So she has to ask the teacher to repeat it or ask if the teacher can explain what it means.
Fieldnote:	[…] both pre-service teachers move around the classroom and repeat the instructions for students who do not seem to have understood the task.

Secondly, I categorised the different language practices I had identified across the data sets. There are different ways to analyse language practices, but researchers suggest that categorisations are based on previous research (Angrosino, 2007). Thus, in an abductive move, I consulted translanguaging literature (e.g., Canagarajah, 2013, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014; Lu & Horner, 2013) in order to categorise the various practices. This abduction between the reported and observed language practices and the translanguaging literature resulted in the identification of five translanguaging practices: Within one named language (Norwegian); with visual support; through translation; through peer support; and through several named languages.

Finally, the different language practices were considered in light of research on spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García et al., 2017). By considering the situation in which the PSTs drew upon or reported to draw upon a wider repertoire of their own and their students' linguistic resources, and how the PSTs assessed these language practices, it was possible to explore whether the different practices were associated with a coherent pedagogy, or should be considered as spontaneous acts. The analysis of the PSTs' language practices is presented in the third article of this dissertation (see Chapter 6).

5.6.   Rigour in qualitative research

How to determine the rigour of qualitative research is much debated. Morse (2018) argues that 'there has been a gradual realization that reliability and validity are not simply declared by researchers themselves or awarded by reviewers. Rather, they are something that is built into the process of inquiry' (p. 804). When assessing the rigour of qualitative research, some researchers adapt to the standards of quantitative research, such as validity, reliability, and objectivity. However, Toma (2011, p. 265) argues that 'standards based on absolutes – such as validity (perfect instruments) and objectivity (interchangeable researchers) in quantitative and experimental work – are inapplicable to qualitative work unless adjusted considerably to reflect its nature'. Instead, Lincoln and Guba (1985) have suggested credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as a parallel set of standards of rigour to the quantitative standards of validity, generalisability, reliability, and objectivity. Lincoln and Guba (1981; 1985) argue that the proposed standards of rigour are appropriate for determining the trustworthiness of qualitative research. Thus, in this section, I will consider the rigour of my research project based on the suggested standards for determining trustworthiness in qualitative research.

Credibility can be considered a parallel term to what quantitative researchers describe as 'internal validity'. In qualitative research, credibility is linked to the researcher-as-instrument (Toma, 2011). Thus, credibility is established when the researcher's interpretations are considered accurate and convincing for the researcher, participants, and readers (Toma, 2011, p. 271). In order to ensure that my interpretations were as accurate as possible, I regularly summarised my understanding of the conversations that

were taking place in the focus groups, and asked the PSTs if I had understood them correctly. Throughout the observation, I also talked with the PSTs during breaks about what I had observed, and sometimes asked them to comment on what they had done. For my interpretations to seem convincing to the readers, it was necessary to present comprehensive and context-rich descriptions of the data material (Toma, 2011). According to Toma (2011), thick descriptions should also include the variation and contradictions that exist within the data material. This was also a part of my theoretical framework, which does not encourage coherent and logical descriptions of the data material.

Transferability describes a study's usefulness for other settings (Toma, 2011). This might be considered a parallel to what quantitative researchers describe as 'generalisability'. However, in qualitative research, the question is rather to what extent the research is considered transferable. To what extent qualitative research is deemed transferable depends on the reader (Toma, 2011). Nonetheless, there are several steps that a qualitative researcher can take in order to increase a study's transferability: For the reader to assess the similarity between their research or context and the study, it is necessary to provide thick descriptions (Toma, 2011). Hence, I always strived for providing detailed descriptions of the context of my research project. Through a description of the GLU 1-7 programme, I indicate how the findings in the current research project are relevant to other teacher education programmes in Norway, due to the similarity in structure and content. The fact that the groups of participants were placed in grades 4 to 7 in field placement contributes to the transferability for the whole general teacher education in Norway, from grade 1 through 10. In addition, I collected data from two teacher education institutions. Since '[m]ost contemporary interview researchers not only believe they study phenomena that are contextual but also see the interview situation as a specific context for knowledge production' (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 103), the change of settings and form of the focus groups was likely to influence the findings. Still, when I considered the answers the PSTs provided at University A and University B, they were very similar across contexts. Hence, I concluded that the findings from the first university were, in fact, transferable to the second university. Another step to support the study's transferability is to connect the

study to previous research and a theoretical framework, to make it clear that the study contributes to a larger body of research (Toma, 2011).

Dependability can be compared to 'reliability' in quantitative studies. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) argue that reliability describes the 'the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings' (p. 281), and that reliability 'is often treated in relation to the issue of whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers'. However, in qualitative research, several elements contribute to a study's dependability (Toma, 2011, p. 274): First, it is important to show that the research method is appropriate to explore the research questions. Hence, I have argued how linguistic autobiographies can contribute to explore PSTs' lived experience of language, why focus groups are appropriate for researching language ideologies, and why observation is suitable for investigating language practices. Secondly, it is necessary to describe the role of the researcher. This was particularly done throughout section 5.8. Thirdly, findings should be confirmed across data sources. Two out of three articles rest on more than one data source. In these cases, it was important to show how the same patterns were evident across data sources by providing extensive examples from the empirical data. In the final discussion of this dissertation, it was also necessary to describe how key findings were reflected in the different data sources. Fourthly, the theoretical and analytical framework, as well as how these were applied, should be explicitly described. Fifthly, the data collection should include different settings, different respondents, and so on. Hence, two teacher education institutions were selected, and 24 PSTs who participated in field placement in six different schools participated. All of these factors contribute to a study's dependability.

Confirmability can be compared to the concept of 'objectivity' within quantitative research. Toma (2011) notes that qualitative research acknowledges that the researcher will never be completely objective. Nonetheless, Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that findings should be founded on the participants and the research process, rather than the researcher's preconceived understandings and prejudices. Although the researcher's position will shape how the research is designed and conducted, conclusions should be drawn on the basis of the data material and not on the basis of the researcher's biased

opinions. For example, observational researchers have often strived to establish standardised procedures in order to achieve objectivity, validity and reliability (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). Contemporary observational researchers, on the other hand, acknowledge the subjectivity of the classroom observation, in part due to the influence of the researcher on the context they observe (Bratich, 2018). Nonetheless, Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) emphasise that observational research 'cannot become so utterly subjective that it loses the rigor of carefully conducted, clearly recorded, and intelligently interpreted observations' (p. 468). In this dissertation, several steps were taken in order to reduce the risk of biased interpretations. First, preliminary analyses and findings were shared and discussed with my supervisors and two research groups (DivE at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences and SISCO at the University of Oslo), as well as presented and discussed at different conferences. This contributed to identifying issues in my analyses and argumentation, which encouraged me to return to the data material and consider it in light of new insights (e.g. Morse, 2018). However, the most important measure a researcher can take in order to ensure the confirmability of the research is to be transparent about the research process – step by step. As long as the researcher is open about the choices that have been made throughout the process, and the considerations that have been made, it will be easier for other researchers to confirm or contradict the research findings.

5.7. Challenges and limitations

A research project spanning three years will usually not develop without any challenges, and the research project will necessarily have certain limitations. In the following, I comment on the main challenges I faced during this research project and how these challenges also led to certain limitations in my research project.

It can be difficult for a PhD student to get access to the field, recruit participants, and collect data. This has also been a challenge throughout this project. Field placement is an overwhelming experience for many PSTs, and there are many obstacles they need to confront. During the first field placement experience, PSTs are occupied with classroom management, mastering the content they are going to teach, and worried about how their supervising teacher will evaluate them. To participate in research is naturally not their primary concern. Neither is it a priority for teacher educators, who are interested in

securing that the PSTs have a positive experience, meet the learning objectives in the framework plan, and deliver on the pre-defined assignments. In both cases, PSTs and teacher educators are delivering on what they are expected to do. Hence, I am even more grateful to the participants who volunteered to participate, and everybody who offered their support in carrying out this project.

This dissertation has taken a qualitative approach to investigating PSTs' encounters with multilingualism in field placement. Although qualitative research can never provide definitive conclusions (Toma, 2011), when the data is rich, it provides the opportunity to describe certain phenomenon in detail and with great nuance (Patton, 1999). This is evident from the three articles presented in Chapter 6. However, the current dissertation's analyses could have been strengthened with more extensive data from classroom observations and from more linguistic autobiographies. If I had conducted more classroom observations in different field placement schools, and if more PSTs had submitted their linguistic autobiographies, other patterns or nuances might have emerged, or new perspectives on the PSTs' experiences might have been added. Nonetheless, the considerable number of focus groups contributed with rich and varied data that revealed much of the complexity and contradictions in the PSTs' encounters with multilingualism in field placement.

Finally, I have researched linguistic diversity in contexts where linguistic diversity is often ignored or downplayed (e.g. Chinga-Ramirez, 2015). Hence, it has been a continuous challenge to identify practices and ideologies connected to something that is often hard to observe and difficult to articulate for the participants. I have devoted much time to looking for experiences, ideologies, and practices that were not obvious in the data, and therefore spent even more time explaining why these experiences, ideologies, and practices were nowhere to be found.

5.8. Research ethics

Copland and Creese (2015, p. 177) define research ethics as 'what is right and wrong in the research process, contingent on the context'. Although this might seem a simple definition, it is, in fact, much more complex. What is right and wrong in a given situation cannot be clearly defined, and in many cases, it is up to the researcher to judge. Still,

there are certain guiding principles that researchers can apply when assessing ethical aspects of their research. Research in teacher education is characterised by a power asymmetry between researcher and participants. This obligates the researcher to reflect on ethical issues related to the research project. In this section, I discuss key principles for ethical research (Copland & Creese, 2015) that have guided my own work with research ethics. In conclusion, I elaborate on my own role as a researcher.

Copland and Creese (2015, p. 177) propose four principles for ethical research. The first principle is autonomy – that the researcher respects the participants' autonomy. The second principle is beneficence – that the researcher is concerned with the participants' best interests. The third principle Copland and Creese propose is non-maleficence – that the researcher does not cause any harm. The fourth and final principle for ethical research is justice – that the researcher ensures justice for the participants. In the following, I will discuss how these principles have been adhered to in my research project.

An important way to secure participants' autonomy is through informed consent (Copland & Creese, 2015). On a procedural level, this is achieved through a signed consent form. Yet, 'signed consent forms do not constitute informed consent, they merely provide evidence (perhaps of questionable value) that consent has been given' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 272). In practice, informed consent is a part of the interpersonal relationship between the researcher and the participants (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). It is never obtained once and for all, but constitutes a continuous process (Copland, 2018). Nonetheless, at an initial stage, informed consent means that the prospective participant 'comes to an understanding of what the research project is about and what participation would involve and makes his or her own free decision about whether, and on what terms, to participate' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 272). In my research project, I met with all of the participants before the focus groups started and discussed what participation meant for them, and what rights they had as participants in a research project. Only after this conversation did I receive the PSTs' written consent.

The second principle that Copland and Creese (2015) present is beneficence. This means that the research should benefit the participants. Copland (2018) claims that research is

often characterised by 'research on' rather than 'research with' participants, involving short-term benefit for the researcher. However, researchers should be concerned with the long-term impact of the research for participants or the community (Copland, 2018). In my research project, I describe the PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices. After participating in focus groups and writing linguistic autobiographies, some PSTs occasionally said that they had learned much from their participation. Furthermore, an overarching aim for the research project is also to provide teacher educators with valuable knowledge of PSTs' preparedness for multilingual classrooms. This knowledge will contribute to better prepare future PSTs for multilingual classrooms. Hence, the PSTs' participation in the research project will potentially benefit PSTs as a group in the future.

The third principle, non-maleficence, suggests that participation should not cause any harm to the participants (Copland & Creese, 2015). Throughout this research project, I was confronted with PSTs who did not always present views on multilingualism that I considered to be appropriate or accurate. I also observed practices that were not in line with a multilingual approach to education. Then, there was a question about how to present these findings without causing any harm to the participants. In order to meet this challenge, I found it important to always describe the PSTs in a respectful way, and to contextualise why they might hold certain beliefs or act in a given way. Still, the most important measure that one can take is to keep the participants' identity and location confidential (Copland, 2018). Hence, I do not provide the participants' names, exact age, place of origin, the teacher education institution, nor the field placement school. This was done in order to secure the participants' confidentiality and avoid the risk of causing any harm to the participants. Yet this only complied with the procedural ethics of my project, while it was also necessary to consider the principle of non-maleficence in the continuous interaction with the participants throughout the project (e.g. Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

The fourth and final principle is concerned with justice – that the researcher treats the participants fairly (Copland & Creese, 2015). This includes how I present the participants. Copland (2018) states that the principle of justice ensures that 'particular

positions, particularly those of the powerful […], are not privileged over others' (p. 136). Thus, the reported findings should give the participants a voice, and reflect what they actually said and intended. This issue is discussed in section 5.4. However, the question of justice also involves the multilingual students. Although this research project does not involve multilingual students directly, this is a group that is indirectly involved. 'Within societies that are ethnically and culturally diverse, almost any study that involves children and families need to attend to culture and ethnicity' (Boddy, 2012, p. 71). Although this dissertation is about PSTs with a predominantly Norwegian majority background, this dissertation is also concerned with the education of multilingual minority students. Hence, there is a need for an awareness of culture and ethnicity in this research project.

Currently, any research involving questions of migration and multiculturalism may be controversial. Hence, it is important to be precise when describing phenomenon connected to multilingual education. Boddy states that 'classificatory systems of ethnicity and related topics' (2012, p. 82) are always ethically and politically dangerous, and thus, requires the researcher to be careful when deciding on which definitions, categories and research questions one wants to apply. Within a Norwegian context, some researchers have voiced concern about the use of terms, such as 'cultural diversity', because the term promotes a notion of otherness (Fylkesnes et al., 2018). Furthermore, in line with Boddy's caution of cultural bias as a risk for researchers with a majority background (2012), other Norwegian researchers have pointed out teacher educators' and in-service teachers' lack of critical perspectives on diversity in education (Burner, Nodeland, & Aamaas, 2018). Nonetheless, I describe field placement schools characterised by 'linguistic diversity', 'multilingual classrooms', and 'multilingual students' since these terms are frequently used in literature on multilingualism (e.g. Dewilde, 2017; From & Holm, 2019; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Sylvan, 2011; Paulsrud et al., 2017; Rosiers, Willaert, Slembrouck, & Van Avermaet, 2016; Strobbe et al., 2017). When referring to statistics on multilingualism in Norway, I apply Statistics Norway's data on 'immigrants' and 'Norwegian-born to immigrant parents' (Statistics Norway, 2019), since there are no statistics on the Norwegian population's language use.

It is also necessary to comment on my own positionality. My first field placement as a young and inexperienced PST was in a multilingual school. Although this was a new experience for me, I was not discouraged, but inspired by the experience. Later, when I worked on my bachelor's dissertation, and afterwards, my master's dissertation, it was only natural that I chose to write about multilingualism within Norwegian education. When I graduated, I started working in introductory classes for newly arrived students. My experiences with multilingualism throughout my teacher education and teaching practice have shaped the way I see the role of multilingualism within mainstream education in Norway. Through my work in introductory classes for newly arrived students, I gradually learned how to include multilingualism in my teaching practices, which provided me with a strong conviction of the importance of including students' home language into the classroom in order to promote students' learning and socioemotional development.

My background has of course influenced how I approach the study of education in multilingual settings. As previously mentioned, I approach this research project with several assumptions about how teachers should engage with multilingualism in education (see Chapter 4). These assumptions are clearly a result of my educational and professional experiences. Moreover, as a previous PST who has participated in field placement myself, I was able to connect with the participants of the research project. At the same time, I was most likely considered a representative of a teacher education institution. This insider/outsider role did potentially contribute to my access to the field, although it did not diminish the asymmetrical power relations between me and the participants (e.g. Lagunas, 2019; Savvides, Al-Youssef, Colin, & Garrido, 2014).

6. Dissertation articles

This dissertation's findings are presented in three scientific journal articles. Each of the articles provide a particular perspective on PSTs' first encounter with multilingualism in field placement. Below is a brief summary of the different articles, including their theoretical perspectives, data source(s), and important empirical findings:

Table 5: Brief summary of articles

Article	Theory	Data source	Empirical findings
Pre-service teachers' narratives about their lived experience of language, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*	Linguistic repertoire Lived experience of language	Focus groups Linguistic autobiographies	PSTs do not have an adequate vocabulary or understanding of multilingualism. PSTs have diverse and complex lived experiences of language that teacher education can capitalise on in the preparation of PSTs for multilingual classrooms.
Negotiating language ideologies: Pre-service teachers' perspectives on multilingual practices in mainstream education, *International Journal of Multilingualism*	Language ideologies Heteroglossia	Focus groups	PSTs have three concerns when assessing the appropriateness of multilingual practices in school: The needs of the teacher, students as a group, and the multilingual students. These needs are negotiated drawing on language ideologies. PSTs are able to create a space for multilingualism despite monoglossic language ideologies.
Pre-service teachers' translanguaging during field placement in multilingual, mainstream classrooms in Norway, *Language and Education, 34*(1), 51-65.	Translanguaging	Focus groups Classroom observation	PSTs are hesitant to engage with multilingualism in field placement. PSTs resort to spontaneous translanguaging in situations where Norwegian is not sufficient.

1

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Pre-service teachers' narratives about their lived experience of language

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on recent developments within sociolinguistics, the objective of the current article is to explore how six pre-service teachers (PSTs) discursively positioned themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events focused on their lived experience of language. The narrating events were focus groups with other PSTs ($N = 24$) and the participants' linguistic autobiographies ($n = 6$). A narrative analysis across the two events demonstrated how the six PSTs used indexical cues to discursively position themselves as monolingual speakers of Norwegian in contrast with 'multilinguals' as speakers of 'other languages'. Based on these findings, the article argues that the PSTs do not have an adequate understanding or vocabulary to discuss multilingualism in education, leading them to present 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves. However, teacher educators can take PSTs' lived experience of language as a point of departure for discussing multilingualism in education and challenging the traditional understandings of multilingualism.

Introduction

In recent decades, sociolinguistics has become increasingly concerned with the fluidity and dynamic qualities of language and multilingualism (Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010). This shift has challenged traditional understandings of monolingualism and multilingualism (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, 2012; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015, 2019; Wei 2018). In the context of teacher education, researchers have asserted that it is necessary to prepare pre-service teachers (PSTs) to appreciate multilingualism and enable them to capitalise on the linguistic resource students bring to the classroom (García and Kleyn 2013; Kleyn 2016). Hence, I argue that it is imperative for teacher educators to understand how PSTs position themselves in relation to multilingualism in general and to students' multilingualism in particular. Based on this argument, the current article investigates how six PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language.

Understanding narrating as an activity, I take a performance-based approach to analysing what the PSTs in this study accomplished through narrative trajectories across narrating events (see Bamberg 2007). In this article, I define narratives as 'sequences with a specific order, temporal or otherwise, which takes it beyond description; and by a particularity that distinguishes it from theory' (Squire, Andrews, and Taboukou 2013, 13).

In the following, I first describe the Norwegian context of the study. Then I present recent developments in sociolinguistics and present two key concepts for this article: *linguistic repertoire* and *lived experience* of language. Next, I elaborate on the study, before I present the narrative analysis across the two narrating events. In the final section, I discuss the potential for exploring PSTs' lived experience of language in teacher education to challenge PSTs' traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Norwegian context

In order to contextualise the experiences narrated in the PSTs' representations of their lived experience of language, it is necessary to provide an overview of the linguistic situation in Norway. From a traditional understanding of multilingualism, linguistic diversity in Norway can be identified on at least four levels: First, Norway is characterised by the prominent position of local dialects and no widely accepted standard of speech. Thus, speakers of Norwegian use their own dialect not only in familiar and private situations, but also in situations that are more formal. For instance, dialects are commonly used in media, education and parliament. Despite this openness to dialectal variation, there exists a clear dialect hierarchy, where different dialects are assigned various degrees of prestige (Sollid 2014). To account for the dialectal variation in Norwegian, two written standards exist: Bokmål and Nynorsk. Bokmål was derived from the traditional Danish written standard used during and following the Danish–Norwegian union (1380–1814), while Nynorsk was developed in accordance with Norwegian dialects. In 2016, only a minority of 12% of students in Norwegian schools used Nynorsk (Statistics Norway 2017). Second, the indigenous Sámi languages and Norwegian sign language are recognised as co-official languages in addition to Norwegian, and three national minority languages (Kven, Romanés and Romani) are granted certain protections (Øzerk 2016). Third, all students are required to learn English from grade one, and they have the opportunity to learn a 'second foreign language' throughout secondary school (Krulatz, Dahl, and Flognfeldt 2018). Finally, recent immigration has contributed more than 200 additional 'minority languages' (Wilhelmsen et al. 2013) without particular legal protection, the most prevalent being Arabic, Lithuanian, Polish and Somali (Statistics Norway 2019).

Despite this linguistic diversity, Norwegian education is characterised by a strong ideology of equality understood as egalitarianism and sameness, which leads to an emphasis on commonalities rather than diversity (Chinga-Ramirez 2017). In a much-referenced article, Gullestad (2002) described a rigid dichotomy between 'Norwegians' and 'immigrants' in public discourse and highlighted the paradoxical demand for immigrants to 'become Norwegian' although 'it is tacitly assumed that this is something they can never really achieve' (59). Since Gullestad's article was published, the polarising discourse towards 'immigrants' in Norway has not diminished (Eriksen 2017). Similar dichotomies can also be found in language policies and discourses concerning multilingualism. Sickinghe (2013) noted that Norwegian language policies imply that 'multilinguals' are 'persons with another mother tongue than Norwegian' (87). Additionally, Sickinghe (2013) reported that upper secondary students discursively constructed 'multilingual students' as 'being students with an immigrant background and potentially lacking Norwegian skills' (Sickinghe 2016, 504). This is also reflected in other studies from Scandinavia. For example, Daugaard and Laursen (2012) reported that:

> Bilingualism is looked upon in terms of a lack of competences in Danish and in terms of an individual's – or the individual's parents' – place of origin, thus linking bilingualism to a certain part of the immigrant population and invoking images of an inherently impoverished group or even an abnormal phenomenon. (103)

These findings suggest that there is a need to investigate further how Norwegian PSTs position themselves in relation to 'the multilingual' in order to challenge traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Challenging conceptualisations of multilingualism

Within the field of sociolinguistics, an increasing number of researchers question traditional understandings of language (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Heller 2010; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). For example, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have claimed that 'languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast the inventions of social, cultural and political movements' (2). Sociolinguists see language as heavily embedded in social activity, location, movement, interaction and history, and therefore as continuously developing and changing (Busch 2017b; Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018).

As an extension of these developments, traditional understandings of 'multilingualism' as two or three monolinguals in one have also come under criticism (Arnaut et al. 2016; García 2009; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019). The continuous linguistic and cultural negotiations taking place in contemporary societies have led Wei (2018) to conclude that we are entering a post-multilingualism era, where language is reconceptualised 'from the conventional notion of speech and writing to a multilingual, multimodal and multisensory meaning-making resource' (27). As a response to the post-multilingualism era, researchers have proposed 'multilingual franca' (Makoni and Pennycook 2012) as an alternative to traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism. Makoni and Pennycook (2012) described multilingual franca as an understanding of the speaker's languages as 'so deeply intertwined and fused into each other that the level of fluidity renders it difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved' (447). From a multilingual franca perspective, one considers each individual's composition of diverse communicative resources as reflecting particular experiences different from those of anyone else (Makoni and Pennycook 2012). Consequently, describing speakers as monolingual or multilingual becomes futile. Rather, all speakers have a linguistic repertoire made up of all of their communicative resources (Blommaert 2010; García and Wei 2014).

Busch (2017a, 53) expanded the concept of the linguistic repertoire and stated that it 'cannot simply be considered a toolbox or a reservoir of competences but should be conceived as a space for potentialities linked to life trajectories' (Busch 2017a, 53). An individual's linguistic repertoire is continuously constructed and reconstructed in response to the needs and challenges the individual faces throughout a lifetime. She explains:

> The linguistic repertoire reflects the synchronic coexistence of different social spaces in which we participate as speakers, and it points diachronically to different levels of time. It not only points backward to the past of the language biography, which has left behind its traces and scars, but also forward, anticipating and projecting the future situations and events we are preparing to face. (Busch 2017b, 356)

This conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire includes the speaker's emotionally and bodily experiences with language – the *lived* experience of language – in addition to other semiotic resources. Busch (2010, 2017b) argued that emotionally charged experiences, of either well-being or discomfort, are inscribed into the linguistic repertoire. These experiences contribute to determine the potentialities of how the speaker can draw on different resources of the linguistic repertoire under various conditions.

As the understanding of the linguistic repertoire has changed, so have other previously established linguistic concepts. Particularly relevant for this article, the concept of dialect has undergone a reconceptualisation (Beal 2018; García 2009; Pennycook 2018), and researchers have concluded that 'dialects, like languages, are ideological constructs' (Beal 2018, 169). García (2009) suggested that the term dialect should be considered just another component of a speaker's integrated repertoire of semiotic resources.

The recent developments in sociolinguistics presented in this section, challenge the dichotomy between monolingualism and multilingualism and expand the traditional view of the linguistic repertoire to include the lived experience of language. In accordance with a multilingual franca perspective, all speakers should be considered multilingual, with complex linguistic repertoires,

including multifaceted lived experiences with language. This perspective provides greater opportunities to identify the potentiality in all PSTs' previous experiences when they encounter multilingual classrooms. In the next section, I describe how I investigated PSTs' understandings of multilingualism through an analysis of how PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language.

Study and context

In this section, I first describe data collection and participants before I present how their narratives developed across narrating events and how I conducted the narrative analysis.

Data collection and participants

The focus groups and collection of linguistic autobiographies were part of a study on PSTs' experiences with field placement in multilingual classrooms. I invited PSTs in their first year of teacher education from two teacher education institutions in Norway to participate in focus groups. Norwegian teacher education programmes constitute an integrated 5-years master's programme. Many PSTs enrolled in these programmes have recently graduated from upper secondary education, which was also the case for the participants in this study. Twenty-four first-year PSTs volunteered to take part in the study and six participants provided their linguistic autobiographies. They participated in three to four week long field placements in six different schools characterised by a linguistically diverse student population. All of the participants had grown up with Norwegian as their home language, which reflects the general recruitment to teacher education in Norway (Dahl et al. 2016).

I conducted seven focus groups with 3–4 participants in each group. The focus groups took place towards the end of the PSTs' first field placement or the following week. The focus groups were semi-structured, with three main topics: The PSTs previous experience with language and multilingualism, their experiences from field placement, and a discussion of three prepared vignettes. The data presented in this article is taken from the first topic. The discussion of the first topic prompted several 'small stories' (see next section) about their lived experience of language, which I will further analyse in this article. I recorded and transcribed the focus groups. Since the focus groups were conducted in Norwegian, I translated the examples provided in this article into English.

After the focus groups, I contacted all participants via personalised e-mail and invited them to narrate their linguistic autobiographies. In the invitations, I described the text as their 'personal language history'. I mentioned several examples of 'experiences with language', such as languages and/or dialects spoken at home and in school, as well as particular individuals or situations that stood out when they thought about their own experiences with language. However, this explanation might have been too vague for some of them, which potentially prevented them from writing their own text. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants who both participated in focus groups and provided their linguistic autobiographies. The names are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.

As the table shows, I collected six linguistic autobiographies from the participants. Stine, Pernille and Nelly had participated in separate focus groups, while Tiril, Steinar and Olivia had taken part in

Table 1. Participants and data.

Participant	Duration of focus group interview	Length of linguistic autobiography
Stine	47.32 min	1146 words
Pernille	47.06 min	1093 words
Nelly	63.23 min	122 words
Tiril	62.41 min	335 words
Steinar	62.41 min	138 words
Olivia	62.41 min	612 words

the same focus group. All of the participants chose their own pseudonyms. My contact with the PSTs and their linguistic autobiographies were in Norwegian. I translated all of the extracts from the focus groups and linguistic autobiographies presented in this article. In the analysis, I traced the narratives of the six authors of linguistic autobiographies across the two narrating events.

Narratives across narrating events

Busch (2017a, 52) stated that, although 'lived experience of language can hardly be observed from an outside perspective, it can be approached through first-hand accounts' (52). Thus, linguistic autobiographies and a narrative approach to analysis seemed appropriate. Chase (2018) described a personal narrative as a distinct form of communication that 'is meaning making through the shaping of experience' (549). Chase further explained that a personal narrative is 'a way of understanding one's own and others' actions; of organising events, objects, *feelings, or thoughts in relation to each other;* of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions, events, *feelings, or thoughts* over time' (549, italics in original).

Recently, narrative researchers have become increasingly concerned with the interconnectedness of narrating events, leading De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015) to conclude that 'narrative events cannot be understood without looking at the communicative chains into which they are inserted' (10). This realisation has increasingly led researchers to analyse narratives as chains of narrating events, rather than discrete events. Through such an approach, one can trace how 'individuals move along chains of narrating events that occur in different spatio-temporal locations' (Wortham and Rhodes 2015, 161). In this article, I analyse what Bamberg (2007) and others have described as 'small stories'. Small story narratives include 'repeated content or themes spread out across interviews or other data' (Squire, Andrews, and Taboukou 2013, 8). Hence, I consider the small stories reported in this article as interconnected and part of greater narrative trajectories.

In the article at hand, I focus on two narrating events: (1) focus groups with PSTs in connection with their first field placement and (2) participants' linguistic autobiographies narrating their lived experience of language. In both these events, I asked the PSTs to describe their previous experiences with language and multilingualism. The two events were separated by time, space and modality, yet linked through repetition of theme and acts of discursive self- and other-positioning. Analysing how the PSTs discursively positioned themselves and 'the multilingual' across the two narrating events allowed me to identify an emergent narrative trajectory that accomplished a particular social function.

The analysis of data for this article began with an initial reading of the narratives about the participants' lived experience of language in the focus group transcripts and linguistic autobiographies. Through this initial reading, I noticed the repeated positioning of themselves as 'monolingual speakers' as a contrast to the 'multilingual speaker'. Next, I returned to each example of self- and other-positioning and identified how the PSTs discursively positioned themselves and their students. Drawing on Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986), Wortham (2001, 70–75) described five types of cues that narrators use to index particular positions. In Table 2, I present the five indexical cues and provide a brief definition and an example from the data to illustrate how the indexical cues were identified.

The five indexical cues presented in Table 2 are important for identifying how the participants accomplished the self- and other-positioning in their narratives. For the first indexical cue, references and predications, Nelly's reference to herself as a speaker of a dialect illustrates how references to objects or individuals contribute to categorising the object or individual in certain ways. Next, I exemplify meta-pragmatic verbs with Stine's use of the verb 'to leave' when describing her grandfather's language shift away from the local dialect. Due to the relative high status of dialects in Norway, the verb 'to leave' can be interpreted as a negative move on her grandfather's part. The next indexical cue, quotations, contributes to position the quoted person based on how the quotation is presented. In Pernille's narrative, she quoted her peers as being ignorant, since she was obviously a proficient writer of Norwegian, although she usually wrote according to a different written standard

Table 2. Indexical cues, adapted from Wortham (2001).

Type of cue:	Definition:	Example:
References and predications	Concern the identification of things in the world and the way these things (e.g. persons, objects, events, actions) are categorised (e.g. neighbour, teacher, partner).	'I speak quite dialectal'. (Nelly's comment during focus group)
Meta-pragmatic verbs	Categorise linguistic actions (e.g. negotiating, arguing, blaming).	'He left much of the dialect he had' (Stine's linguistic autobiography)
Quotations	Position the quoted person, for example through the narrator's style, vocabulary or translanguaging, or simply by selecting the particular quote and how it is framed.	'Peers would ask me questions like "How is it for you to write in Norwegian?"' (Pernille's linguistic autobiography)
Evaluative indexicals	Draw on stereotypes and shared normative expectations about different social groups to describe indexically how individuals behave.	'From here, I have brought with me some dialects when we moved to the town, although most people spoke Bokmål' (Steinar's linguistic autobiography)
Epistemic modalisations	Define the narrator's status or perspective in the narrative.	'We who are from Norway, we have Norwegian as our mother tongue' (Nelly's comment during focus group)

than her peers (Nynorsk rather than Bokmål). Evaluative indexicals draw on stereotypes about different social groups. In Steinar's linguistic autobiography, he drew on stereotypes about 'the town' and the standardised 'Bokmål' as contrasting to the countryside and the authentic dialect. Finally, epistemic modalisations contribute towards defining the narrator's status or perspective in narratives. In the example of epistemic modalisation, Nelly defines her status as belonging to a defined group through the use of the pronoun 'we'.

Pre-service teachers' self- and other-positioning

The analysis of the six PSTs' lived experience of language across two narrating events revealed a multifaceted self-positioning, where the PSTs positioned themselves both as members of a community of authentic speakers of Norwegian and as subjects to othering based on their linguistic identity. Furthermore, they positioned 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves, associated with an immigrant background, low proficiency in Norwegian, and academic challenges. In the following, I provide extensive examples of how the PSTs accomplished these three acts of positioning and discuss their implications.

Self-positioning as authentic speakers of Norwegian

As extensive research has confirmed, language and identity are closely intertwined (Busch 2012; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2014; Kroon and Kurvers 2019). The affective belonging one perceives to have to a language community is often of great importance to the subject, although this sense of belonging might be dynamic and volatile (Bürki 2019; Hajek and Goglia 2019). This perceived belonging was an important theme in the PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language. The participants conveyed this perceived belonging by positioning themselves as members of a community of authentic speakers of Norwegian.

Olivia, Pernille and Tiril opened their linguistic autobiographies with the phrase 'I grew up in a small village in [...]' while Nelly wrote, 'My upbringing has been in a confident family that speaks dialect and are proud of that!' Similarly, Steinar stated, 'I have grown up in a family that uses dialect'. By referring to their home villages and families, these participants predicated belonging to rural communities, associated with traditional dialects and authenticity. The PSTs' positioning of dialect is similar to how Swiss dialects of German are positioned as markers of Swiss ethnic identity with great symbolic capital (Bürki 2019). The PSTs further elaborated this theme through extensive references to how their grandparents, parents and siblings spoke. To illustrate this point is the following

excerpt from Stine's linguistic autobiography, where she was particularly concerned with explaining why she did not speak the local dialect of her hometown (see transcript system in the Appendix).

Extract 1: Stine's linguistic autobiography, received 16 September 2018

1		On my father's side, none of my grandparents have a higher education, and that is why
2		they have not left their dialect, like my grandparents on my mother's side have. My
3		grandfather on my mother's side comes from [name of county], but when he studied social
4		welfare he left much of the dialect he had. My grandmother on my mother's side did the
5		same when she studied to become a teacher. Thus, my dad grew up in a household with a
6		dialect, while mum has been surrounded by an academic language from the beginning.
7		Yet, neither of my parents speak a very strong dialect, and that is probably why my brother
8		and I do not have a strong dialect either. None of us can speak the local dialect even though
9		we have lived here our whole life.

In Stine's narrative, dialect is something one can have (line 5–6) or not have (lines 7–8). Her father had grown 'up in a household with a dialect' (line 5) and was thus in possession of dialect, while her mother had grown up in a household of 'academic language' (line 6). In Stine's narrative, 'academic language' functioned as an evaluative indexical associated with the absence of dialect. Stine consistently referred to the process of shifting from the local dialect to a more standardised, academic language as 'leaving their dialect' (Norwegian: *legge fra seg dialekten*; lines 2 and 4), which functions as a meta-pragmatic descriptor indexing loss or submission. Through her narrative, not to have a dialect was evaluated as a deficit, most explicitly in the phrase: 'none of us can speak the local dialect' (line 8). Still, by referencing her grandparents (lines 1–4) and her lifelong connection to her local community (lines 8–9), Stine predicated her authenticity as a member of that particular community.

In a focus group, Nelly told a story of when she was teaching home economics during her field placement and the students struggled to understand her dialect (see Extract 2).

Extract 2: Focus group 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly and Sofie

10	Nelly:	I speak quite dialectal. So, well, but it's a little- When you stand there in
11		the kitchen and they [the students] don't understand what wheat flour
12		[Dialect: *kveitemjøl*, as opposed to standard: *hvetemel*] is. That goes for
13		everyone, it's not something- It's worse for those who are not very
14		proficient in Norwegian to understand us who speak dialect. But at the same
15		time, there are many from around here who don't understand what I mean
16		although I'm from here.
17	Researcher:	Yeah, and what did you do then?
18	Nelly:	Well, I repeated it, so I said wheat flour [Dialect: *kveitemjøl*] and showed
19		them what it is.

In this narrative, Nelly referenced herself as someone who speaks 'quite dialectal' (line 10), which she stated she was 'proud of' in her linguistic autobiography. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun 'us' (line 14) functioned as an epistemic modalisation, which positioned her as belonging to a community of authentic speakers of the local dialect. In contrast, she referenced the students as being deficient either because they 'are not very proficient in Norwegian' in general (lines 13–14) or because they did not speak the authentic dialect of the area (lines 14–16). Subsequently, she explained how she repeated the dialectal word '*kveitemjøl*' instead of using the standard '*hvetemel*' (lines 18–19), which could have supported the students' understanding. Again, Nelly evaluated 'dialect' as something positive, while viewing the absence of dialect as something negative (e.g. 'it is worse', line 13).

Wei (2018) argued that the increased mobility of the twenty-first century 'gives rise to the feeling of temporariness and momentariness, but also a strong desire for connectedness and sharedness' (20). In the PSTs' narratives about their lived experience of language, this strong desire for connectedness to their town or village of origin and to their family was evident. Furthermore, these descriptions underscored the strength of traditional linguistic categories in the PSTs' minds and the importance of their association with the local linguistic communities for their identity (e.g. Wei

2018). This association also led the six PSTs to draw clear boundaries between themselves and individuals they defined as speakers of other dialects or languages.

Self-positioning as subjects to othering

In the six PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language, all of them devoted space to describe experiences of feeling out of place based on their linguistic repertoire. In support of this notion, Busch (2017b, 340–341) stated that 'the underlying experience that one's own linguistic repertoire no longer "fits" is […] one that not only occurs in extreme situations but is shared (though often in a very attenuated form) by all speakers when experiencing dislocation' (340–341). In their narratives about relocation and their subsequent experiences of not 'fitting in', the participants positioned themselves as subjects to othering from their surroundings.

Several linguistic autobiographies included experiences of feeling out of place in situations when the individuals had either moved or changed schools. Olivia explained that, when she started attending a lower secondary school in a neighbouring village, she 'often got comments about how [she] spoke less dialect than the others in the class'. In this short extract, Olivia quoted 'the others' as criticising her through the meta-pragmatic descriptor 'got comments', which conveys a sense of feeling attacked. Furthermore, Stine wrote, 'I guess it was not until I started studying […] that I noticed that I actually have some dialect words'. In line with her previous positioning as a member of her small town community, her reference to her 'dialect words' predicated her connection to this authentic community as opposed to her peers at university. In these narratives, Olivia and Stine positioned themselves as different from the others and as subject to attenuate forms of othering.

This sense of mismatch between one's own linguistic repertoire with the new context was most evident in Pernille's linguistic autobiography. She had grown up in a small village in the Vestlandet region of Norway, where Nynorsk was used as the written standard of Norwegian. In her linguistic autobiography, she wrote the following:

Extract 3: Pernille's linguistic autobiography, received 2 October 2018

20	When I started at the university that was the first time I experienced that I stood out
21	as a writer of Nynorsk. All of a sudden, I was the only writer of Nynorsk in the
22	classroom. Peers would ask me questions like 'How is it for you to write in
23	Norwegian?' as if that was not something I did every day. What they meant was
24	Bokmål, but the phrasing did not help a girl from Vestlandet who already felt a little
25	different […]. There is just something about the fact that I am the one who always
26	has to adapt. I have to write assignments in a written standard that is not my own. I
27	mean that the language is a part of the identity, and often it feels like it is not my
28	words when I write in Bokmål. It makes the writing process take longer, not
29	necessarily because of the language in itself, but because it is not 'me' who is writing.

In her narrative of commencing her university education, Pernille positioned herself as being in a vulnerable position by using evaluative indexicals, such as 'the only writer' (line 21) and 'a girl from Vestlandet' (line 24). Furthermore, her use of quotes accentuates her experience of being subject to a form of exclusion or othering. In the sample quote about writing in Norwegian (lines 22–23), she positioned herself as being othered by her peers. When stating that 'I am the one who always has to adapt' (lines 25–26), she again positioned herself as being subject to a mundane form of othering. She concluded by drawing a strict line between the language she identifies with, Nynorsk, and 'a written standard that is not my own' (line 26).

For all of the PSTs, the experience of leaving their village or hometown behind and commencing their university education in a bigger city made them aware of their own linguistic repertoire. This experience aligns with what Busch (2017b) suggested when she argued that 'speakers only realize that they have such a thing as a linguistic repertoire when they are made aware that those around them perceive them as "speaking another language"' (343–344). Although the experience of dislocation was painful for Pernille, Steinar narrated this experience in a more positive manner. Steinar

described how he had 'picked up' and 'collected' words and dialects as a result of him moving from the countryside to a nearby town (see Extract 4).

Extract 4: Steinar's linguistic autobiography, received 7 January 2019

30	When it comes to dialects, I have grown up in a family that uses dialect. From here, I have
31	brought with me some dialects when we moved to the town, although most people spoke
32	Bokmål. Through school, I got friends from different villages around town. These friends
33	used different dialects and words that I brought with me, and that is why I have managed
34	to collect these by using them along the way. It depends on whom I speak to, but if there
35	are some speaking in a strong dialect, I respond to them in a strong dialect too.

Similar to the narratives from Olivia, Pernille and Stine, Steinar drew a clear line between himself and his new surroundings through the use of evaluative indexicals: 'town' (line 31) and 'Bokmål' (line 32) are associated with 'most people' (line 31). Through the indexical 'dialect' (line 30), he positioned himself as belonging to the countryside. However, rather than describing his linguistic development in terms of something he was forced to do (cf. lines 25–26) and describing linguistic varieties in dichotomist ways (cf. lines 27–29), Steinar narrated his linguistic development through the use of more positive meta-pragmatic verbs. He referenced his linguistic development in terms of 'collecting' (line 34) dialects and words, which he stated he 'brings' (line 31 and 33) with him and uses in interaction with others.

Steinar's description provides seeds of an understanding of language as a fluid and dynamic entity, which changes over the course of time and as a result of spatial mobility (Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018). Yet, Pernille's narrative highlights that this change is not always uncomplicated. As her linguistic autobiography indicates these processes are closely connected with the speaker's identity and self-perception (e.g. Busch 2012).

Other-positioning of 'the multilingual'

So far, I have described how the six PSTs positioned themselves as belonging to particular communities of speakers of authentic Norwegian and as subjects to othering from people they positioned as belonging to other speech communities. As evident in the examples presented above, self-positioning often entails other-positioning because most positions are complementary and accomplished simultaneously (Harré and Van Langenhove 2010). In the following, I accentuate the PSTs' positioning of 'the multilingual' as a contrast to their self-perceived monolingualism in their narratives of lived experience of language.

Analysis of the two narrating events revealed that all of the PSTs had been in contact with various language varieties. Specifically, all of them had at least learnt English in school, while Stine reported to have learnt both German and Spanish as well. Furthermore, in her linguistic autobiography, Stine described a close childhood friend she referred to as a 'German–Norwegian bilingual' while she later became friends with a 'Bosnian–Norwegian bilingual' individual. Both these friends taught her some phrases in their respective languages. At the time when she narrated her linguistic autobiography, she also had a boyfriend born in Thailand. Nonetheless, she noted in her linguistic autobiography that 'I have often thought that it would have been nice for me to have more languages around me in my upbringing'. This comment could be interpreted as an implicit reference to her self-perceived monolingual upbringing, despite her apparent experience with numerous languages.

Stine was not the only PST positioning herself as having a monolingual background. Therefore, in the focus groups, I explored the participants' narratives of their monolingualism and asked them directly if they could potentially consider themselves multilingual. When confronted with this question, the six PSTs invariably discussed the role of English in their life. For example, Pernille first rejected that she was multilingual because 'we don't use English to communicate every day. It's something different'. In this utterance, she used 'we' as an epistemic modalisation positioning her as part of a monolingual group of speakers of Norwegian together with her peers in the focus group. When she then followed up with the statement 'it's something different', she distinguished

her own and her peer's 'monolingualism with English' from some sort of *true* multilingualism. 'Multilingualism' seemed to function as an evaluative indexical, but it was still unclear what this term indexed for the PSTs.

When I questioned Pernille's narratives about her monolingualism and pointed out that she used both of the written standards of Norwegian (Bokmål and Nynorsk) and therefore could potentially be perceived by others as being multilingual, she first laughed and then said, 'I have never thought about that. Hm … it is a written language, so maybe [I am] a little [multilingual]'. In a different focus group, Olivia also hesitated to label herself as 'multilingual' (see Extract 5).

Extract 5: Focus group 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril and Tore

36	Olivia:	Yes, I find it difficult to imagine. Because I have learned many languages, but
37		when I think about multilingual, I think about those who use many languages in
38		their everyday life. Whereas I use Norwegian, they might use Norwegian and
39		another language. Er … Yes.

In this extract, Olivia referred to 'those who use many languages' (line 37) as a contrast to 'I use Norwegian' (line 38). In all of these examples, the PSTs positioned their own competence in Norwegian and English as something different from the linguistic competence of 'the multilingual'. These examples show that the PSTs did not consider themselves nor their peers as multilinguals despite their proficiency in several languages and dialects (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2012).

From the examples above, the PSTs seemed to share an idea about who 'the multilingual' (e.g. line 37) might be. From Nelly's response below, one might find traces of this typical 'multilingual' and better understand what this term indexed. She first stated, 'I wouldn't think about myself as [a multilingual], no. I would maybe think about multilingual like you have a mother tongue, another mother tongue'. She went on to explain:

Extract 6: Focus group 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly and Sofie

40		Well, for example. At least when I think about the classroom. Then the multilingual is the
41		one from Poland and has Polish as mother tongue. We who are from Norway, we have
42		Norwegian as mother tongue, and then we have learned another language. So that's …

In her statements, Nelly drew a clear boundary between 'we who are from Norway' (line 41) and 'the multilingual' (lines 40–41); between those perceived to belong to the 'Norwegian majority' and those perceived as 'the multilingual student'. Using 'we' as an epistemic modalisation, she positioned herself and her peers as members of a monolingual group, as opposed to 'the multilingual' (line 40).

In the focus groups, the six PSTs argued that 'multilingualism' was a concept indexing speakers of 'another language' (Olivia) or speakers with 'another mother tongue' (Nelly), and they seemed to consider their own multilingualism as 'something different' (Pernille) from 'the multilingual'. These evaluative indexicals contribute to position 'the multilingual' as someone different – an 'other', while they can maintain the position as monolinguals. When narrating her experiences from field placement, Olivia explained that she came to realise that some of the students who they might have categorised as monolinguals were, in fact, multilinguals (see Extract 7).

Extract 7: Focus group 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril and Tore

43	Olivia:	There are more [multilinguals] than we think. I mean, there are more that- Like,
44		multilingual, but that we might not notice.
45	Tore:	Mhm.
46	Olivia:	Because they are really fluent … in Norwegian and yes. So you wouldn't think
47		that. I have noticed that in both of the classes. That- That one hasn't really
48		considered that many of the multilinguals are actually multilinguals because one
49		can see that they are similar to the others.
50	Tore:	Because they look Norwegian, sort of?
51	Olivia:	Not necessarily, but in- Yes, so we have- Yes, and in both classes there is maybe
52		one student that sticks out a bit. That you can hear from their language that they
53		speak broken, but also that they are moving about, give up easily, don't pay
54		attention.

In this extract, Olivia revealed how she identified 'multilinguals' in the classroom. Although they 'are similar to the others' (line 49), 'you can hear from their language' (line 52) and tell from how they behave in class (lines 53–54) that they are multilingual. The Norwegian word '*gebrokkent*' (English: 'broken') is, according to Kulbrandstad (2007), a concept with clear negative connotations, used to describe immigrants' incorrect or inauthentic Norwegian. In this context, the use of '*gebrokkent*' can be defined as a meta-pragmatic adverb that helps categorise the multilingual students' speech as incorrect and inauthentic. Furthermore, she referenced three negative classroom behaviours that she associated with the multilingual students in her class (lines 53–54). This was supported by both Pernille and Tiril in their respective focus groups, where Pernille described students who would chatter in a language she could not understand in class, while Tiril described 'unrest' in the classroom from students who did not immediately understand her instructions.

Busch (2012) argued that 'every assignment to a category is also inevitably a misrecognition, because it is based on the establishing of a boundary which excludes or marginalizes something else' (508). Across the two narrating events, the six PSTs discursively positioned themselves, both individually and as a group, as authentic speakers of Norwegian and monolinguals (with at least English as an additional language). They implicitly and explicitly contrasted this positioning with 'the multilingual' as a speaker of 'other languages' or of 'broken' Norwegian, occasionally associated with negative classroom behaviour. This dichotomy reflects the findings from previous research on the concept of 'multilingualism' in Norway (Sickinghe 2013, 2016), as well as research related to the dichotomy between 'Norwegians' and 'immigrants' (Eriksen 2017; Gullestad 2002). In the concluding section, I discuss the potential for exploring PSTs' lived experience of language in teacher education to challenge PSTs' traditional conceptualisations of multilingualism.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This article set out to explore how six PSTs discursively position themselves and 'the multilingual' across two narrating events about their lived experience of language. The analysis shows that the PSTs employed several indexical cues to position themselves as belonging to particular communities of speakers of authentic Norwegian. Furthermore, they positioned themselves as subjects to othering from people belonging to other speech communities. Finally, they positioned 'the multilingual' as someone different from themselves and from a non-Norwegian background. In an educational context, the term 'multilingual' consequently indexes immigration, limited proficiency in Norwegian and even problem behaviour in school.

Busch (2017a) described the linguistic repertoire as 'a space for potentialities linked to life trajectories' (53). The lived experience of language contributes to determine speakers' opportunities to draw on different parts of their linguistic repertoire under various conditions. When the PSTs consistently position 'the multilingual' as someone radically different from themselves, they disregard their own complex and multifaceted linguistic repertoire, which includes varied and multifaceted lived experiences of language. These experiences hold the potential to challenge a traditional understanding of 'the multilingual', instead supporting a more fluid and dynamic conceptualisation of the linguistic repertoire (Makoni and Pennycook 2012; Wei 2018). Consequently, a strict boundary between monolinguals and multilinguals is not always a meaningful distinction. This means that also PSTs who self-position as monolingual have experiences that they can capitalise on when working in multilingual schools. Teacher educators should not disregard these experiences when preparing PSTs to teach in multilingual classrooms; instead, educators should capitalise on the potential in these experiences.

When preparing PSTs for working in multilingual schools, teacher educators should take the PSTs' lived experience of language as a point of departure. As apparent in the narratives presented in this article, not all PSTs are fully aware of their multilingual repertoires, which will prevent them from connecting their lived experience of language to their teaching practices. Thus, a first step is to support PSTs in developing greater awareness about their own linguistic repertoire and the linguistic

diversity that has surrounded them in their upbringing and schooling. Furthermore, PSTs should attend to the situations in which they have had to adapt their speech in accordance with the expectations in the given context (Athanases et al. 2018). The PSTs' narratives on dislocation provided several opportunities for such discussions. Such an examination can spark a conversation about what language use is appropriate and acceptable in different circumstances, which in turn can lead to a better understanding of the socio-political dimension of language use and language education. This can potentially contribute to a more inclusive school environment for all students – regardless of linguistic background.

Second, PSTs need guidance in developing a vocabulary to facilitate such conversations (Athanases et al. 2018). A greater understanding of speakers' linguistic competence as a repertoire rather than distinct and separate languages will potentially challenge their perception of 'the multilingual' as radically different from themselves. By identifying as multilinguals themselves, PSTs may be able to value multilingualism as a resource.

In conclusion, the PSTs' narratives about their lived experience of language indicated that even individuals who perceive themselves as monolingual and with a limited linguistic repertoire acquire diverse experiences with language throughout their lives. Although these PSTs' experiences of comfort and discomfort in relation to language are more attenuate than those of students who have experienced that their multilingualism has been ignored by the school, these experiences offer opportunities for teacher educators to develop PSTs' awareness and understanding of multilingualism in education.

The analysis of the PSTs' narratives as trajectories of small stories across narrating events contributes to connect what appears to be isolated and arbitrary comment as, in fact, part of larger patterns. This particular approach to narrative analysis demonstrates how linguistic cues in talk and text presuppose earlier cues, which should contribute to our understanding of individual narrating events as interconnected with past events (Wortham and Rhodes 2015). It would benefit future studies to collect a larger sample of linguistic autobiographies about PSTs' lived experience of language. Then, it would be possible to explore a greater variety of experiences from PSTs with different backgrounds. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the lived experience of language of PSTs brought up in linguistically minoritised homes with the experiences of PSTs from dominant language households.

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Appendix

Transcription system

-	Sudden stop
…	Pause
[]	Information inserted by the researcher to clarify
[…]	Part of the extract removed

2

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Negotiating language ideologies: pre-service teachers' perspectives on multilingual practices in mainstream education

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how pre-service teachers (PSTs) negotiate an understanding of which multilingual practices are legitimate in mainstream education in Norway. Data were collected through seven focus groups with 24 PSTs participating in their first field placement. I designed three fictive vignettes about multilingual students in mainstream education, and these were introduced and discussed in the focus groups. The analysis of the PSTs' discussions of multilingual practices in mainstream education drew on Ruiz's framework of language ideologies and Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia. The analysis shows how the PSTs were concerned with the needs of the class, of the teacher and of the multilingual students when multilingual practices were introduced to mainstream classrooms. The PSTs drew on different language ideologies to determine which multilingual practices were legitimate. The results indicate that the PSTs considered multilingual practices to be legitimate if they did not compromise group work nor challenged Norwegian as the language of instruction. However, the results also show a potential to work with PSTs in order to develop awareness of their own heteroglossic language ideologies. This study suggests that teacher educators can use focus groups to achieve this goal.

Introduction

Using focus groups, this article explores how pre-service teachers (PSTs) negotiate an understanding of the legitimate multilingual practices in Norwegian mainstream education. In their study of multilingual practices in complementary schools in the UK, Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 110) showed how 'the teacher and students are finely tuned to the normative pattern of [the] classroom ecology' and 'sense the limits of what is acceptable in terms of the use of one language in relation to the other' (p. 110). Creese and Blackledge (2010, p. 113) identified the need for more research on how and why participants legitimise certain multilingual practices. In study at hand, legitimate multilingual practices are delineated as those involving more than one language that the

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involved parties consider to be in accordance with the normative pattern of language use in the classroom and are therefore contextually appropriate. These practices can be initiated by either the teacher or the student.

As classrooms are becoming increasingly multilingual (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015), debate has emerged on the role of languages besides the language of instruction in mainstream education. Many countries have experienced increased hostility towards multilingualism and multiculturalism, resulting in the restriction of students' rights to instruction in their home languages (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Engen, 2011; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014). Moreover, studies have indicated that teachers are reluctant to include languages other than the language of instruction (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2017; Young, 2014). Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou (2015) found that in-service teachers expressed positive views of multilingualism that did not necessarily influence their teaching practices. Similarly, Palmer (2011) claimed that teachers often hold positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity but are restricted by dominant language ideologies opposing multilingual practices.

Several researchers have called for more research on the role of teacher education in the multilingual reality of today's education sector (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Mazak & Carroll, 2017; Paulsrud, Rosén, Boglárka, & Wedin, 2017). Although 'most teachers still receive scant training in how to support plurilingual children in their learning of and through the language of instruction' (Young, 2014, p. 157), few studies have so far investigated how PSTs come to see multilingual practices as legitimate.

In what follows, I will first present the linguistic situation in Norway and recent research on Norwegian teacher education. Then, I will introduce Ruiz's (1984) framework of language orientations and Bakhtin's (1981, p. 430) concept of heteroglossia, which will provide a useful lens to analyse PSTs' perspectives on multilingual practices in mainstream education. Next, I will present the study, method used and data material. Finally, I will analyse PSTs' discussions in light of Ruiz's framework and Bakhtin's understanding of heteroglossia.

The Norwegian context

Along with Norwegian, Norway has traditionally been home to the Sami languages and other national minority languages, such as Kven and Romani. Since the 1850s, however, widespread Norwegianisation has resulted in policies intended to suppress the Sami and Kven languages and forge a common Norwegian identity amongst the population (Engen, 2010). This policy was repealed in the mid-twentieth century. Since then, Sami and Kven have been granted specific rights as indigenous and national minority languages, respectively. Recently, Norway has become further multilingual because of increased mobility within Europe and international migration. Consequently, about 17% of all students within Norwegian education speak a language other than Norwegian or Sami at home (Statistics Norway, 2018).

Despite the current linguistic diversity and the repeal of Norwegianisation policies, a language hierarchy persists within Norwegian education (Sandøy, 2004). Two parallel systems exist for students who speak languages other than Norwegian at home: one for speakers of the indigenous Sami languages and the national minority language Kven and another for 'other linguistic minorities' (Norwegian Education Act, 1998). Whilst

student belonging to the first group can claim instruction in their home language as long as they reside in certain parts of Norway, students belonging to other linguistic minorities can only claim 'mother tongue instruction', instruction in basic Norwegian and bilingual subject instruction as long as they do not have the 'necessary proficiency in Norwegian' (Norwegian Education Act, 1998).

From a Norwegian context, three studies have examined how teacher education programmes prepare PSTs for working in multicultural schools (Dyrnes, Johansen, & Jónsdóttir, 2015; Randen, Danbolt, & Palm, 2015; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015). One study investigated PSTs' ability to reflect critically on issues related to teaching multicultural students. One of the findings is that PSTs feel they have not been sufficiently prepared to teach multicultural students (Thomassen, 2016). Overall, these studies have indicated that teacher education has room for improvement when it comes to preparing PSTs for working in multicultural and multilingual classrooms.

One survey study by Kulbrandstad (2007) explored PSTs' attitudes towards linguistic diversity ($n = 318$). Interestingly, Kulbrandstad found that most PSTs (58%) felt that parents should speak to their children in Norwegian at home but that schools should support these students in developing their home languages (84%). Kulbrandstad also identified considerable resistance to the idea of new minority languages establishing themselves permanently in Norway (23%). These findings align well with international research on language ideologies, which has found that individual teachers frequently report contradicting ideologies (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Martínez-Roldán, 2015; Young, 2014). The current study's dialogical approach may provide a better understanding of the paradoxical responses that PSTs provided in Kulbrandstad's and other studies.

Language ideologies

The debate on the role of students' home languages within mainstream education is always influenced by language ideologies (García, 2009). A language ideology is a complex concept involving 'the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse that constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels' (Blackledge, 2008, p. 29). In this study, language ideologies are also considered at an individual level as socially shared knowledge, which implies that language ideologies are 'formed and maintained in and through dialogical thinking and communication' (Marková, Linell, Grossen, & Orvig, 2007, p. 17). The study of language ideologies is important because research shows that teachers' language ideologies are closely linked to their classroom practices (Jaffe, 2009; Kroskrity, 2000; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014).

I consider Ruiz's framework of language orientations as useful when describing PSTs' language ideologies. Although Ruiz (1984) acknowledged the similarity between language orientations and language ideologies, he was 'reluctant to claim a perfect match' between these concepts (1984, p. 29). Ruiz (1984) defined orientations as the 'complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society' (1984, p. 16, emphasis in original). Despite Ruiz's distinction, I align myself with other researchers who described Ruiz's language orientations as language ideologies (De Jong, Li, Zafar, & Wu, 2016). Ruiz described the following three language ideologies: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource.

The language-as-problem ideology is based on the idea of the nation-state, in which the nation has one language and other languages are considered to be a threat to the unity of the nation, resulting in their suppression. Moreover, the lack of proficiency in the majority or colonial language constitutes a deficit for the individual, and mastery of this language is necessary for economic, educational or political success. In other words, this ideology is thought to promote some sort of equality of opportunity. An ideology promoting the idea of language-as-problem is often associated with assimilationist discourses. In Norway, this ideology propelled the comprehensive Norwegianisation process towards the Sami and Kven population until the second half of the twentieth century and remains a driving force behind educational policies aimed at other linguistic minorities.

The language-as-right ideology stems from the notion that linguistic inequality leads to societal inequality. Ruiz referred to Macías (1979), who argued that this ideology exists in both a weak and a strong form; it can either be articulated as the 'freedom from discrimination on the basis of your language(s)', or it can be expressed as 'the right to use your language(s) in the activities of communal life' (Macías, 1979, pp. 88–89). Since the late twentieth century, a strong form of this ideology has provided the Sami and Kven populations in Norway with increased rights and helped revitalise the Sami and Kven languages. Nevertheless, Ruiz was sceptical of initiatives that aim at introducing linguistic rights top-down, especially if they lack local support. Whilst languages might have legal support, these initiatives may result in limited implementation or real change for the minority group. Thus, Ruiz presented a third ideology that he believed provided the best opportunities for linguistic minorities.

The language-as-resource ideology considers all languages to be both individual and national resources, and promotes access to bilingual and multilingual academic programmes designed for both linguistic minorities and the majority. In this ideology, languages are also considered resources for national security, diplomacy, business and education, as well as instruments to deescalate intergroup conflicts (Ruiz, 1984, pp. 27–28). An ideology promoting language-as-resource might lead to the use of multilingual students' home languages in the classroom to promote learning for all students (Baker & Wright, 2017).

Ruiz's (1984) language ideologies should be considered typologies of ideologies. Different ideologies will always be simultaneously present and interact, as confirmed by extensive research on teachers' language ideologies (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Kulbrandstad, 2007; Martínez-Roldán, 2015; Palmer, 2011). Hence, Ruiz's framework should be applied in a dynamic manner.

Heteroglossia

In addition to knowing what characterises different language ideologies, being aware of how ideologies are developed, appropriated by individuals and further promoted is necessary. Heteroglossia provides a useful lens to explore this issue. Heteroglossia describes the various conditions that influence how an utterance is used and perceived in a given context in terms of the cultural, social and political aspects of communication (Bakhtin, 1981). Every utterance a speaker makes occurs in a specific context. Bakhtin (1986, p. 69) claimed that,

> Any speaker is himself a respondent to a greater or lesser degree. He is not, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe. And he presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances – his own and others' – with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation [...] Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances. (p. 69)

Therefore, the PSTs in this study did not invent nor develop the language ideologies they express. On the contrary, from a heteroglossic perspective, a language ideology is a response that stands in relation to other language ideologies. Thus, within a heteroglossic framework, dialogues are not conceived as 'a series of juxtaposed individual contributions by autonomous speakers' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 3). Rather, a dialogue is 'an intricate web of sense-making and sense-creating in which, in principle, each contribution is interdependent with previous and possible next contributions' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 3). Through this web of dialogue, 'every individual makes her/his world in terms of others by dialogically constructing and re-constructing the social world as a set of multifaceted and multivoiced realities situated in culture' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 8). This is similar to what Bakhtin (1981, p. 341) describes as 'ideological becoming' (p. 341). This is a 'process of selectively assimilating the words of others' (p. 341). Bakhtin (1981, p. 333) conceives of all speakers as 'ideologues' (p. 333) because language is always embedded in ideology and can never be neutral. Hence, he argues that in order to understand a speaker's ideology, one has to explore the speaker's ideological becoming.

Yet, dialogues do not only take place between individuals. Bakhtin described dialogues that take place *within* the individual and argued that people speak with multiple voices. Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (2001, p. 249) explained that this multivoicedness implies that 'the I in the one position [...] can agree, disagree, understand, misunderstand, oppose, contradict, question, challenge and even ridicule the I in another position' (p. 249). Indexicality is an important concept to understand how individuals can speak with multiple voices. Bakhtin (1981, pp. 291–292) claims that socio-ideological languages (e.g. the languages of social groups, generations, etc.) 'are specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualising the world in words, specific world views, each characterised by its own objects, meaning and values' (pp. 291–292). Hence, when individuals speak, their utterances always point or index a specific worldview or ideology. The relationship between an utterance and its meaning is determined through historical association (Blackledge & Creese, 2014, p. 5).

The study

The focus groups were a part of a larger PhD project that also included classroom observation and the collection of linguistic autobiographies from PSTs attending two teacher education institutions in Norway. The PSTs were participating in or had just participated in field placement in schools with linguistically diverse student populations. A total of 24 PSTs participated in seven focus groups that were first recorded and transcribed.[1] Each focus group consisted of three to four participants and lasted between 45 and 63 minutes. All participants were in their early 20s and had spoken Norwegian at home as they were growing up. In addition, one participant had also spoken Swedish at home,

whereas another had used Norwegian sign language in addition to spoken Norwegian. The PSTs came from different parts of Norway and had different experiences with multilingualism from their own schooling – from students who hardly had any experience with home languages other than Norwegian in their class to students who had grown up in larger urban areas with a multicultural and multilingual student population. Although the PSTs' background certainly influenced their ideological becoming and their participation in the focus groups, this is not further discussed in the analysis. All participants provided themselves with pseudonyms. The study was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

Focus groups are described as 'a research method based on open-ended group discussions that examine a particular set of socially relevant issues' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 32). In focus groups, participants can develop a common understanding of a given topic or jointly make meaning of a phenomenon. Hence, one 'should not look upon focus groups as occasions in which we as researchers simply tap social representations that already exist beforehand in a fixed and ready-made form' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 132). Rather, the discussions taking place during focus groups are of a particular interest in themselves. Moreover, I understand language ideologies to be socially shared and dialogically constructed knowledge, so focus groups are suitable to explore the 'dynamic interactions that take place during communication as well as the formation, maintenance and change of socially shared knowledge' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 45).

This study aims to explore the PSTs' professional perspectives on multilingual practices rather than their personal opinions. Hence, the focus groups were in formal settings, where the participants were positioned as professionals. I conducted four focus groups at the field placement schools during the final week of field placement and three focus groups at a university campus the week after the PSTs had finished their field placement. During the focus groups, I attempted to take on a facilitating role by not expressing my own views in any way.

I structured the focus groups into three parts. First, we discussed multilingualism in education, in general. Second, we discussed the PSTs' experiences with multilingualism during their field placement, and then the participants considered three researcher-designed fictive vignettes about different situations involving multilingual students' language use within mainstream education. The different parts contributed to triangulating the PSTs' language ideologies. In this article, the discussions related to the vignette presented below serve as examples to illustrate the main findings from all parts of the focus groups. The vignette reads as follows:

> Sixth graders are learning about the Viking Age. They are going to work in groups. First, they are supposed to collect information and then make a PowerPoint presentation on the topic. The teacher has decided that all students need to speak Norwegian so that they can cooperate most efficiently.

> Heja is new in this class. She has a Kurdish background and an irregular educational background. She came to Norway as a refugee two years ago and recently completed an introductory programme. In the same group, there is also another Kurdish student. They work together in Kurdish, so the other students in the group cannot understand what they are talking about.

> In the same class is Weronika. She has a Polish background and a regular educational background from Poland. She moved to Norway, together with her family, four years ago. When she searches

online for information about the Viking Age, she reads Polish Wikipedia and takes down notes in Polish. Once in a while, she uses Google Translate to translate words into Norwegian, but most of the time, she contributes with information in Norwegian to the rest of the group.

As this vignette illustrates, I included students belonging to different linguistic and migrant groups when constructing the vignettes. In the three vignettes, the students engaged in various multilingual practices in different settings related to education: in the classroom, in the schoolyard and in communication between home and school. I chose the above vignette as an example because the resulting discussions included all three concerns and ideologies that the PSTs expressed elsewhere in the focus groups.

Through a dialogical analysis, I coded the PSTs' utterances according to local and global communicative projects. Local communicative projects describe how 'participants accomplish a communicative task over a limited sequence' (Linell, 2009, p. 195). Hence, each utterance was coded as either presenting, contradicting, agreeing with or clarifying an idea. Because global communicative projects index greater discourses in society (Linell, 2009), such as different language ideologies (Ruiz, 1984), each utterance was coded according to which language ideology it seemed to index. Yet, drawing on Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, every utterance should also be considered multivoiced in the sense that individuals continuously index various ideologies and considerations, and each utterance will have multiple purposes.

In the analysis, I not only considered the patterns of interaction, but I also analysed the content or topics of conversation. Linell (2009, p. 243) defined a topic as 'points (places, *topoi*) that participants or authors stay on and develop' (p. 243). In the analysis of content, I began by identifying local topics and investigated the patterns of topics (Linell, 2009). From the coding of topics, three reoccurring topics emerged: the PSTs' concern for the students at a group level, for the teacher and for the multilingual students. The analysis of topic patterns revealed the PSTs' considerations when they assessed the use of multilingual practices within mainstream education. Furthermore, the analysis of communicative projects showed how the PSTs' local communicative projects related to their previous utterances and other PSTs' local communicative projects, as well as how their global communicative projects indexed larger language ideologies within Norwegian education.

Negotiating language ideologies

The analysis explored how PSTs negotiated an understanding of which multilingual practices are legitimate in mainstream education. The analysis revealed three recurring topics in the PSTs' discussions: they were concerned about how multilingual practices could influence the students at a group level, how it could influence the teacher's position and work and, finally, how this could be a potential resource for multilingual students' learning. In the following, I will present three examples of how the PSTs negotiated different concerns and indexed language ideologies in their discussions of multilingual practices in mainstream education.

Students' needs as a group

The PSTs were concerned with how allowing multilingual practices could influence group dynamics and the students at a group level. The extract below reveals how the PSTs

expressed and negotiated this concern when discussing Kurdish students' use of Kurdish during group work (see transcription system at the end).

Extract 1. Focus group, 22 November 2017: Emilie, Martine and Nora.

1	Emilie:	But here it says 'so the other students in the group cannot understand'.
2		That's bad.
3	Nora:	Yes, but then I also think that it might be necessary for her, Heja, yeah,
4		for her to learn something at all. She came to Norway two years ago
5		and had an irregular education background.
6	Martine:	Yes, but if there is another Kurdish student in the same group, maybe
7		the Kurdish student who has been there for a while can translate for
8		the others. It depends on the background, though.
9	Nora:	No, I think–If they're supposed to learn anything, maybe it's better for
10		them to speak their mother tongue. And then, when they are going to
11		learn or interact with the group, they should speak Norwegian. Or else
12		it won't work because the others don't speak Kurdish.
13	All:	Yes ...

Emilie's local communicative project was to present the idea that the students' use of Kurdish was excluding the other students and was therefore 'bad' (line 2). She valued the other students' need to understand above the multilingual students' opportunity to draw on their complete linguistic repertoire in the classroom. Thus, Emilie's global communicative project indexed a language-as-problem ideology. Yet, Nora's local communicative project contradicted Emilie's utterance (lines 3–5). Nora's global communicative project indexed a language-as-resource ideology when she took the multilingual students' perspectives and argued that the use of Kurdish might support the students' learning (line 4). Through this stance, she expressed a concern for the Kurdish students (see also 'Multilingual students' needs' below).

Following this, Martine's local communicative project was first to express agreement with Nora, starting her utterance with 'Yes' (line 6). However, she pointed out the need of 'the others' in the group for translations (lines 6–8). She expressed a concern for the group dynamic, and her utterance functioned as a contradiction against Nora's concern for the multilingual students and a support for Emilie's concern for the group. Hence, Martine's global communicative project indexed a language-as-problem ideology by suggesting an approach that would consider the need for cooperation in Norwegian. This approach served as a compromise between Nora and Emilie's positions. However, she chose to secure her position by stating, 'It depends on the background, though' (line 8), which welcomed other suggestions whilst anticipating Nora's and Emilie's reactions.

After listening to Martine's utterance, Nora first hesitated and interrupted herself, 'No, I think–' (line 9). Then, she agreed with Martine's utterance by elaborating on her suggestion that the Kurdish students could speak Kurdish with one another but interact with the rest of the group in Norwegian (lines 9–11). This approach incorporated her previous concern for the multilingual students (lines 3–5) with Emilie's initial concern for the group dynamic (lines 1–2), resulting in Emilie's and the others' support (line 13).

This negotiation reveals the gradual development of an agreement within the group on how to assess the use of Kurdish in class, which balanced different concerns and ideological positions. The PSTs argued that it was important that all students could understand one another at all times (lines 1–2 and 7–8) and that all students could interact efficiently (lines

9–11). These concerns index a language-as-problem ideology and an idea of Norwegian education as a Norwegian-only zone (Dewilde, 2013).

Teachers' needs

The PSTs' second concern was related to the needs of the teacher. In the example below, a different focus group from another teacher education institution discussed concerns for the teacher if multilingual practices were to be allowed.

Extract 2. Focus group, 14 March 2018: Thea and Thora.

14	Thora:	Well, it's–it's difficult. And it's kind of, like, they exclude the two
15		Norwegians [by speaking Kurdish]. But it would be the opposite if–
16		Then, the Norwegian might have completely taken over. But we are
17		in a Norwegian school where we speak Norwegian, so … And it
18		would be difficult for the teacher to control whether they are talking
19		about the subject, then. So, it's like it all comes down to relational
20		competence: How well does the teacher know the students? Does she
21		know–Does she understand from their conversation, okay, they're
22		talking about this now. I'll give you 10 minutes, then you have to–
23		Anyways, in a group work, you have to work a bit on your own: I
24		find information, you find information and then we put it together.
25		So, if they sort of manage to bring it to the group, then it might be
26		okay.
27	Thea:	Yes, I think that as long as the teacher has limits and demands for
28		them, then it's not a problem, sort of, that they speak a bit of Kurdish
29		first so that they activate their own knowledge and that they actually
30		understand what is being said. Rather than them just sitting there
31		without having anything to say because they have to speak
32		Norwegian and don't understand what is being said or what they
33		read, or … Mhm
34	Researcher:	Right. What do you think about the rule that the teachers have set for
35		language use, then? Does it support or hinder students' learning?
36	Thora:	Yes, we thought that was a bit difficult. […] We thought it sounded
37		a bit drastic, but then we suddenly thought, what if the majority of
38		the students were Kurdish, then? So, then you have to. Because that
39		would be excluding, and one must speak Norwegian. So, maybe you
40		have to. But it's like, you have to consider the situation.

Through Thora's initial statement, one can observe how an internal dialogue was developing (lines 14–26). First, her local communicative project was to present the idea of how the use of Kurdish was excluding and problematic at a group level (lines 14–15). Then, she elaborated by presenting how the use of Kurdish could compromise the teacher's need to understand what was said in the classroom (lines 17–19). Thora's global communicative project indexed an ideological understanding of Norwegian school as a space for Norwegian, influenced by a language-as-problem ideology. Yet, she also acknowledged that it depended on the specific situation. The use of 'like' (lines 14 and 19), 'kind of' (line 14), 'sort of' (line 25), hesitations and interruptions indicated that she was not convinced with what she was saying.

Thea's local communicative project was to express agreement for what Thora had said by opening her utterance with 'Yes' (line 27). However, Thora's local communicative project was rather contradicting and incoherent. Hence, Thea elaborated on Thora's last point, supporting the idea that Kurdish could be used to support the students' learning, yet adding that the teacher should control such a language practice (lines 27–28). Still, she added 'sort of' (line 28), which softened her position. She continued by arguing for

the benefits of using 'a bit' of Kurdish for the multilingual students (lines 28–33). As a global communicative project, Thea's utterance indexed both language-as-resource and language-as-problem ideologies because Kurdish was considered both a legitimate tool for learning and a challenge that the teacher had to manage, indicating a shift in perspective from a concern for the teacher to a concern for the multilingual students.

When Thora spoke again (lines 36–40), responding to the researcher, she returned to the principle of a Norwegian school as a space for Norwegian language. Despite the negotiation that took place and Thea's suggestion, the ideological belief about language use within Norwegian education pointing to the teacher's need to understand seemed to be stronger than other concerns for Thora.

In sum, the PSTs asserted that teachers should be able to supervise what the students talk about (lines 17–19), to understand what is being said in the classroom (lines 21–22) and to control classroom activities (lines 27–28). Other focus groups also focused on a limited opportunity to prevent bullying and on the teacher's inability to assess all students' learning as important reasons why students could not use languages other than Norwegian in class. Although these are legitimate concerns, they place the teacher at the centre of the argument, ignoring the benefits that multilingual students enjoy when they can use their complete linguistic repertoire for learning. This focus on the teacher also index a language-as-problem ideology (Ruiz, 1984).

Multilingual students' needs

Although they were in the minority, some PSTs argued that learning through the medium of other languages had value and that students should be allowed to use any language in the learning process, as shown in Extracts 1 (lines 9–12) and 2 (lines 27–33). In Extract 3, the participants discussed two multilingual strategies.

Extract 3. Focus group, 23 November 2018: Jenny, Lars, Nelly and Sofie.

41	Nelly:	So, I sort of think about how Weronika works. She gets what she reads
42		because it is Polish Wikipedia, but then she translates it easily so that she
43		can tell the others in her group about it. So, I think maybe that's the way.
44		
45	Sofie:	Yes, I agree that it's nice [to] use.
46	Nelly:	And then, first of all, she finds the information she is supposed to find. Second,
47		she learns what the different words mean in Norwegian and in
48		Polish. And then she gets to communicate with the others in her group. It
49		says here that the others in her group understand. 'So the other students in
50		the group cannot understand what they are talking about', on that Heja–
51		group. Then there are two groups in one instead of one group.
52	Jenny:	But then I think that Heja, who has a Syrian background, and the other Kurd,
53		that they–If they talk about the Viking Age [...] They could've talked
54		together because it might be that they know a lot about it but that they can't
55		express it. So, I think if you were supposed to force them to speak
56		Norwegian, they might get really close, and they would have a lot of
57		information and find a lot [of ideas] that they couldn't express.
58	Nelly:	I'm just thinking, it says, 'another Kurdish student'. So, maybe they could
59		talk in Kurdish to each other, and then he [the other Kurdish student] could
60		speak in Norwegian to the rest of the group. Then, it's sort of the same thing
61		as what Weronika is doing. And then, at the same time, as he speaks
62		Norwegian, maybe there's a word you don't understand, so it means that.

In the beginning of this discussion, Nelly's local communicative project was to present Weronika's approach of reading and writing in Polish as a legitimate strategy (lines 41–

43) whilst implying that Heja's strategy of discussing in Kurdish was problematic. This contradiction suggests that Nelly was open to including students' home languages, as long as doing so did not affect the rest of the class. In other words, Nelly seemed to value the needs of the group above the multilingual students' needs, which, as a global communicative project, indexed a language-as-problem ideology.

However, Jenny contradicted Nelly by emphasising the knowledge these students bring to the classroom regardless of language (lines 53–55). Jenny was primarily concerned with the multilingual students' opportunities to learn by acknowledging the value of Kurdish as a useful and legitimate resource for learning. She also warned against forcing the Kurdish students to speak Norwegian (lines 55–57). These arguments, which place the multilingual students' needs at the centre, are in line with a global communicative project indexing a language-as-resource ideology.

Nelly's local communicative project was to respond to Jenny's suggestion by presenting a compromise, in which the Kurdish students could communicate with one another in Kurdish whilst maintaining Norwegian as the common language for the group work (lines 58–60). Again, the PST's global communicative project was simultaneously indexing language-as-problem and language-as-resource ideologies when she acknowledged the needs of the multilingual student whilst considering other languages as a problem at a group level.

To summarise, the PSTs argued that multilingual practices could help multilingual students understand, learn new content (lines 9–10 and 52–55) and activate prior knowledge (lines 28–30 and 54–55). The PSTs were hesitant to enforce any kind of ban on the students' home languages (lines 55–57). However, they also agreed that the multilingual practices should not have any negative consequences for the rest of the class or the teacher (see Extracts 1 and 2).

Concluding remarks

Language ideologies influence teachers' practices in multilingual classrooms (Jaffe, 2009; Kroskrity, 2000; Palmer et al., 2014). Hence, this study sets out to investigate how PSTs negotiate an understanding of which multilingual practices are legitimate in mainstream education in Norway. The findings show that the PSTs constructed a normative pattern of language use based on their concern for the needs of students as a group and of the teacher. However, all focus groups also considered multilingual students' needs. The PSTs balanced these concerns by indexing their ideological beliefs about language in education. In the PSTs' discussions, all three of Ruiz's (1984) language ideologies were present. Yet, the clearest finding was that none of the PSTs expressed opinions indexing only one ideology. The focus groups functioned as negotiations in which the PSTs would bring up opinions and suggestions associated with different concerns and ideologies. Through these negotiations, they created a space where multilingual practices were considered legitimate as long as they did not compromise the group work nor challenge Norwegian as the language of instruction.

As this study has shown, many PSTs were hesitant to include languages besides the language of instruction. Hence, this study indicates that previous findings that *in*-service teachers generally act according to assimilating language ideologies (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Palmer, 2011; Young, 2014), in line with what Ruiz (1984) described as language-as-problem, can be transferred to a great extent to PSTs. Nonetheless, the PSTs were

also engaged in a process of internal dialogue (Bakhtin, 1986), in which they negotiated conflicting considerations and ideologies. The dialogical analysis shows that the PSTs drew on ideologies that were not fixed nor monolithic, confirming the findings of previous research (Gkaintartzi et al., 2015; Kulbrandstad, 2007; Martínez-Roldán, 2015; Palmer, 2011). Thus, PSTs who were hesitant to support multilingualism within mainstream education were nevertheless able to suggest strategies to include multilingualism.

These findings identified an opportunity to work systematically with PSTs' language ideologies to challenge their perspectives and enable them to develop greater awareness of their own heteroglossic language ideologies and see the potential of including all languages in mainstream classrooms. Focus groups offer one approach to raise PSTs' awareness of linguistic diversity. Although the focus groups did not always conclude in a way that the researcher would have recommended, the discussions prompted the PSTs to reflect and debate, thereby developing an awareness of how to include multilingualism in mainstream classrooms. Rather than providing PSTs with a set manual for inclusion, focus groups encourage them to negotiate solutions to practical issues related to the linguistic diversity of multilingual classrooms themselves.

Note

1. I conducted and transcribed the focus groups in Norwegian. I translated the excerpts provided in this article into English.

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Appendix. Transcription system

"" Reading from the vignette
– Sudden stop
… Pause
[] Information inserted by the researcher to clarify
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Pre-service teachers' translanguaging during field placement in multilingual, mainstream classrooms in Norway

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ABSTRACT

Field placement allows pre-service teachers (PSTs) to gain experience teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students. However, little is known about how PSTs engage with multilingualism during field placement. This article investigates how PSTs capitalise on their own as well as their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement in multilingual, mainstream schools in Norway. The data were collected through seven focus groups with 24 PSTs alongside classroom observations of four of these PSTs during 1 week of field placement. Although the PSTs expressed uncertainty about including in the classroom languages apart from Norwegian, this article provides examples for how they spontaneously drew upon their own and their students' linguistic repertoires via translanguaging, although it also demonstrates how these PSTs adapted to the practices commonly accepted at their respective field placement schools. Thus, I argue that the spontaneous translanguaging these PSTs apply should be integrated into a comprehensive translanguaging pedagogy to challenge traditional approaches to multilingualism in education and to benefit the schooling of all children. This approach encourages teacher education to prepare PSTs for acting out pedagogical translanguaging.

Introduction

Researchers recognises field placement as an important context in which pre-service teachers (PSTs) acquire experience with culturally and linguistically diverse schools (Anderson and Stillman 2013; Cochran-Smith et al. 2015; García and Kleyn 2013; Kleyn 2016). Nevertheless, studies indicate that Norwegian PSTs are not being sufficiently prepared to teach culturally and linguistically diverse students (Iversen 2019; Randen, Danbolt, and Palm 2015; Skrefsrud and Østberg 2015; Thomassen 2016), and little is known about how PSTs engage with multilingualism during field placement. Hence, this article investigates how PSTs capitalise on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement in multilingual, mainstream schools to support and promote learning. The study's objective is to identify spontaneous language practices that may be integrated into a more

coherent pedagogy, and these practices are analysed through a translanguaging lens (e.g. Cenoz and Gorter 2017; García and Wei 2014).

In the following sections, I firstly present the study's context and secondly introduces two key concepts: spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging. I describe the study's methods and materials before discussing how the PSTs capitalised on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement. Finally, I provide some concluding remarks about the potentialities for a coherent translanguaging pedagogy that can be identified from these practices.

Context

Educational policies regarding multilingualism influence how teacher education approaches the topic and, in turn, teachers' engagement with multilingualism in the classroom (Tarnanen and Palviainen 2018). The European context contains a clear ambition aimed at developing citizens' multilingualism through the so-called 'mother tongue plus two' policy (Johnson 2013), which has been criticised for solely focusing on highly prestigious national languages (Johnson 2013; Romaine 2013). Currently, Norwegian Education Act §2–8 states that all students who belong to a 'linguistic minority' are entitled to differentiated instruction in basic Norwegian until their proficiency has reached a level sufficient to follow ordinary instruction (Norwegian Education Act 1998). Moreover, the Education Act guarantees mother tongue instruction and bilingual subject instruction 'if necessary' (Norwegian Education Act 1998). This vague statement has led to a situation wherein a limited number of students are provided with mother tongue training or bilingual subject instruction (Statistics Norway 2016), and thus the aim is that students who belong to a 'linguistic minority' transition into Norwegian emersion as quickly as possible.

Norwegian teacher education programmes have recently been through an extensive reform. In 2017, they were extended to 5-year master's programmes. As part of this reform, teacher education institutions adopted new national guidelines (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions 2016) and regulations for those programmes (Ministry of Education and Research 2016). The new policy documents suggest that the government intends to prepare PSTs for working in multilingual classrooms (Ministry of Education and Research 2016; The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions 2016). Teacher education programmes in Norway include a minimum of 110 days of field placement over the course of 5 years (Ministry of Education and Research 2016). The first field placement typically occurs during the first semester and lasts for 3–4 weeks. Field placement offers PSTs the opportunity to become familiar with day-to-day work in schools, to observe experienced teachers, and to practice teaching under the supervision of more accomplished teachers (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions 2016). Thus, field placement is an interesting arena for investigating how PSTs are being prepared to work in multilingual classrooms.

Spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging

For the past decade, the concept of translanguaging has gained popularity among multilingualism researchers (see Cenoz and Gorter 2017; García and Wei 2014; Zavala 2018).

Unlike *code switching*, *translanguaging* accentuates the power dynamic at play when certain named languages are given privilege over others (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2018) as well as foregrounds the speaker's agency to 'fashion and re-fashion standardized norms' (Lu and Horner 2013, 28) in communication, as the speaker draws upon diverse parts of her/his linguistic repertoire depending on the situation. In accordance with recent developments in sociolinguistics, I distinguish 'between the external sociocultural construct of named languages around which identities might be formed and the internal language system of speakers enacting those identities' (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2018, 3). Hence, I reject an understanding of languages as cognitive systems separated by hard boundaries and simultaneously acknowledge the importance of the sociocultural constructs of named languages. In line with this argument, I assume the participants' understanding of *multilingual* schools, classrooms, and individuals, although I apply the concept in a dynamic way to agree with recent developments in sociolinguistics. In the current article, I therefore define *translanguaging* as 'the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages' (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015, 281). I apply this term to describe practices wherein PSTs and students deploy their full linguistic repertoires in the classroom, including the use of other named languages or 'codes'.

Translanguaging often refers to the complex language practices of multilinguals in multilingual contexts (see García 2009). Cenoz and Gorter (2017) use the term *spontaneous translanguaging* to refer to 'the reality of bi/multilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting' (904). Whereas García and Sylvan (2011, 398) caution that, 'without teachers who truly understand how to use students' home language practices to make sense of new language practices and academic content, translanguaging could become random, not sense-making' (398). This challenge indicates the need for the strategic and planned implementation of translanguaging in schools, which is also known as pedagogical translanguaging.

Extensive research indicates that including students' complete linguistic repertoires through multilingual word banks, translations, multilingual writing, and multilingual greetings reaps several educational and socioemotional benefits (e.g. Duarte 2019; Krulatz and Iversen 2019; Ollerhead 2018). One approach that includes students' complete linguistic repertoires is translanguaging; as a pedagogical practice, translanguaging aims at deliberately and strategically including multilingual students' full linguistic repertoires to promote their learning and academic success (Ganuza and Hedman 2017). García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer (2017) argue that a translanguaging pedagogy comprises two dimensions: students' translanguaging performance and teachers' translanguaging pedagogy. For teachers to engage in pedagogical translanguaging, they must develop their translanguaging beyond spontaneous use such that it becomes a planned and structured inclusion of all students' complete linguistic repertoires. García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer (2017) describe three important strands of translanguaging pedagogy. Firstly, teachers must adopt the translanguaging stance or ideological conviction that students' complete linguistic repertoires should be included and celebrated in classroom practices. Secondly, teachers must build a translanguaging design that includes lesson plans,

instruction, and assessment specific to students' complete linguistic repertoires. Thirdly, teachers must make translanguaging shifts—that is, the moment-by-moment decisions they make during lessons. This flexibility in PSTs' language practices is what I investigate in the current article.

Research from Norway indicates that PSTs adapt their teaching practices to the ideals and traditions of their respective field placement school (Fosse 2011; Haugan 2014) and therefore tend to emulate how the supervising teacher approaches teaching (Sundli 2007). International research on the experiences PST gain from field placement has produced similar findings (Edwards and Protheroe 2003). This tendency to emulate supervising teachers might prevent PSTs from further developing their spontaneous translanguaging during field placement unless doing so is an established practice at the field placement school. Therefore, an investigation into PSTs' language practices during field placement is necessary.

Methods and materials

The data are part of a larger PhD study on PSTs' first encounter with multilingualism in field placement in mainstream schools. This article explores PSTs' translanguaging in mainstream education because regulated and institutionalised contexts have thus far received limited attention from translanguaging researchers (Prinsloo and Krause 2019, 3). I investigated the participating PSTs' translanguaging through a combination of focus groups and one week of classroom observations. I recruited the participants ($N = 24$, 17 women, 7 men) from PSTs attending their first year of teacher education at two teacher education institutions in Norway. First-year PSTs were recruited to describe potentialities in their language practices early on in their teacher education. All participants were in their early twenties and had spoken Norwegian at home during their upbringing, thus reflecting Norway's broader teacher education recruitment (Dahl et al. 2016). The participants completed their field placement at six different primary schools (grades 4–6) that are characterised by a linguistically diverse student population. The Norwegian Centre for Research Data approved the study due to its compliance with their ethical standards, which include that all participants provide their consent to participate and be informed of their right to withdraw. All participants chose their own pseudonyms.

Field placement is a social experience, and thus I conducted focus groups because '[they] may be regarded as socially situated interactions, with this aspect being the defining feature of focus-group research' (Marková, Linell, Grossen, and Orvig 2007, 45). When I met with the PSTs to conduct the focus groups, they had already spent two to three weeks together at the field placement school, during which time they had planned, conducted, assessed, and discussed their own and one another's teaching practices. During the focus groups, the PSTs discussed multilingualism's role in education and their own experiences from field placement. For instance, I asked them to describe the linguistic diversity of their classrooms, reflect on how they had worked with multilingual students, and explain what guidance they had received from their

supervising teachers to support their multilingual students' learning. I recorded and transcribed all the focus group discussions and then conducted and transcribed the focus group interviews in Norwegian. I translated the excerpts provided in this article into English. In order to secure trustworthiness in the transcripts and translations, I offered these materials to the participants and invited them to comment on their accuracy.

After I had conducted six focus groups, I identified one school for classroom observations. At this school, the PSTs reported having experienced great linguistic diversity, and they made frequent reference to translanguaging practices in which they had engaged during field placement. Due to this school's apparent commitment to including students' complete linguistic repertoires, I returned to the same school the following year to observe one group of four PSTs whilst they participated in the school's field placement for a duration of 1 week. Although this group had not previously participated in focus groups, they nevertheless did so towards the end of the 1-week observation period. The data collection resulted in the observation of 14 lessons, seven of which the PSTs planned and conducted in pairs and with guidance from the supervising teacher as well as other teachers at the school. When the PSTs were not in charge of the lesson, they functioned as teacher assistants. I followed the PSTs throughout the day, both in and outside the classroom. During lessons, I played a non-participant role in which I usually sat in the back of the classroom taking fieldnotes (e.g. DeWalt and DeWalt 2011). When conducting the observations, I focussed on how the PSTs capitalised on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires.

Following the data collection period, I coded and analysed the transcripts from the focus groups and fieldnotes. I conducted a focussed coding session (e.g. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011, 192) to identify how PSTs drew on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires to support and promote learning. Following this session, I categorised the various practices according to the translanguaging literature (e.g., Canagarajah 2013, 2017; García and Wei 2014; Lu and Horner 2013), which resulted in the identification of five translanguaging practices: within one named language (Norwegian), with visual support, through translation, through peer support, and through several named languages.

Pre-service teachers' translanguaging during field placement

In this section, I present how the PSTs capitalised on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires to support and promote learning. Through focus groups and classroom observations, I identified a spectrum of translanguaging strategies, from simplified speech in one named language (Norwegian)—via visual support and translations—to translanguaging through various named languages between students and between PSTs and students. Furthermore, I discuss whether or not these practices are compatible with a translanguaging pedagogy (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017). Among my findings, the clearest pattern was that PSTs reported their hesitance to engage with multilingualism during field placement. Thus, I firstly elaborate upon how this hesitance was expressed through their language practices.

Hesitance to engage with multilingualism

In accordance with prior research on teachers' inclusion of languages aside from the language of instruction (e.g. Bailey and Marsden 2017; Dewilde 2013; Doiz and Lasagabaster 2017; Young 2014), the PSTs in this study provided few examples of how they include a wide spectrum of their own and their students' linguistic repertoires in their teaching practices. The PSTs expressed uncertainty regarding how they should position themselves in relation to the multilingualism present in the classroom. The most prominent findings from the focus groups and classroom observations were that the PSTs typically spoke Norwegian in all situations and seldom initiated any activities that celebrated, included, or capitalised on those multilingual resources. In fact, many PSTs hesitated to acknowledge the linguistic diversity in their classrooms as long as their students seemed sufficiently proficient in Norwegian. Extract 1 illustrates this pattern with an example from one focus group discussion (see transcript system in the Appendix).

Extract 1. Focus group, 22 November 2017: Elise, Emma, Martine, and Nora

1	Nora:	Yes, there are actually quite a lot [of multilingual students], but they speak—
2	Emma:	Everybody speaks Norwegian.
3	Nora:	—fluently.
4	Martine:	And most of them are born here or born [somewhere else] and grown up in
5		Norway. So, you don't see much of the foreign in them.

As one can observe from Extract 1, Nora was aware of the linguistic diversity in the classroom (line 1), although the group agreed that this diversity had limited their importance as teachers due to the students' proficiency in Norwegian (lines 2–5). Participants in three of the seven focus groups presented such arguments and mentioned that, since the students were sufficiently proficient in Norwegian, considering the students' language backgrounds would be unnecessary. However, in other classrooms, students' limited proficiency in Norwegian forced the PSTs to consider the students' language backgrounds to support and promote their learning, as is visible from their translanguaging practices presented in the extracts below (Extracts 2–11).

Translanguaging within one named language

Despite the hesitance presented above, all focus groups provided examples of how they supported their students whose Norwegian proficiency was limited. Most of their approaches involved adapting how they spoke Norwegian in the classroom, which can be described as translanguaging because the strategic use of the speaker's available linguistic resources—even in a single named language—is an expression of agency (Lu and Horner 2013). The PSTs mentioned they repeated instructions in various ways, for instance, by speaking slowly, using simple vocabulary, providing short and clear instructions, and verifying students' understanding, to support students whose Norwegian proficiency was limited. Such language practices challenge classroom hierarchies as the PSTs accommodate their speech according to their students' needs (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017), which is illustrated in Extract 2:

Extract 2. Focus group, 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril, and Tore

6	Steinar:	And then I can notice that…um…The one who is a little weak in
7		Norwegian doesn't always understand all terms that the teacher uses.
8		So she has to ask the teacher to repeat it or ask if the teacher can
9		explain what it means. And…often, if she- if that person reads and
10		doesn't understand something, she can give up and not continue, then
11	Researcher:	But the student lets you know and asks if there is anything?
12	Steinar:	Yes
13	Tore:	Probably not every time. But- so, I think: when you are giving
14		instructions to students, both those who are born in Norway and not,
15		it's very important that the instructions are short and concrete and
16		without any difficult terms, so that everybody can understand, because
17		if they can't understand a term in a question, you get hung up on that
18		term and not on the question, then. Um…so, I think short messages
19		are smart, then. Both for- really, for everybody, but at least for those
20		who don't have Norwegian as their mother tongue, then

In this extract, Tore reasoned that one should adapt one's instructions to support students who possess limited proficiency in the language of instruction (lines 13–20). Steinar and Tore reported that they did not receive specific instruction in supporting multilingual students, which was echoed in five of seven focus groups. Through his comment (lines 13–20), Tore displayed his linguistic awareness and flexibility in adapting his instruction to his students' Norwegian proficiency. However, Steinar and Tore never reported to have capitalised on their students' linguistic repertoires beyond Norwegian. The lessons I observed reflected the same pattern, as is demonstrated in the following example:

Extract 3. Fieldnote, 20 November 2018: Olivia and Tiril's natural science lesson

21	[…] both pre-service teachers move around the classroom and repeat the
22	instructions for students who do not seem to have understood the task. After
23	some time, Tiril says, 'When you have read for a while, you can make your mind
24	map here', pointing to the mind map on the whiteboard. After a few minutes,
25	the pre-service teachers get the students' attention and ask them to fill in
26	keywords from the text on the mind map. The students write words like:
27	'greenhouse effect', 'consequences', 'global warming', 'measures'

In Extract 3, Olivia and Tiril repeated and rephrased instructions for students whom they suspected had not initially understood them (lines 21–22). The teachers encouraged the students to identify keywords within the text (lines 22–27), which they later discussed with the class. By comparing the natural science lesson with other lessons observed throughout the week, I identified how similar Tiril's and Olivia's strategies were to the approach applied by their supervising teacher in previous lessons, wherein students whose proficiency was limited were supported *through* Norwegian.

Translanguaging with visual support

The second translanguaging practice the PSTs applied was the use of visual support to attain and reinforce communication between the teacher and her/his students. García and Wei (2014, 28–29) argue that translanguaging encompasses all meaning-making modes, including gestures, objects, and visual cues. The classroom observations revealed that

visual support was commonly employed during instruction, while three of seven focus groups explicitly mentioned such practices. In one focus group (Extract 4), Jenny reflected on how illustrations can potentially support students who possess limited Norwegian proficiency:

Extract 4. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

28	Jenny:	As a teacher, you need to consider the situation. Maybe you need, while
29		you speak, maybe you need a PowerPoint in the background, then, that
30		the students can look at and understand from that.

Extract 4 demonstrates that Jenny perceived visual support with PowerPoint as an effective method for supporting communications with students whose proficiency was limited. Later in the focus group, Jenny recounted that she had worn a t-shirt illustrated with a comma while teaching a lesson on punctuation. Furthermore, PSTs mentioned illustrated lesson plans and body language as alternative approaches that facilitate students' comprehension. I frequently witnessed various types of visual support during classroom observations; for example, in nearly every lesson, the PSTs had information about what the students needed for the lesson, the lesson's overall goals, and smartboard images illustrating the PSTs' main points and ideas. Nevertheless, the PST group I observed did not mention these practices as approaches that particularly support multilingual students; rather, they seemed to mirror the practices I observed from their supervising teachers.

Some PSTs indicated the use of nonverbal communication (e.g. body language) as superior to the use of English. Hence, English was positioned as a language subordinate to Norwegian in the language hierarchy, as illustrated by Extract 5:

Extract 5. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

31	Nelly:	I had a few students in the school kitchen who didn't understand. And
32		then, to make sure that they understood, a rolling pin [imitating that she
33		uses a rolling pin], there. Then, I showed them a rolling pin and showed
34		them how to use it instead of just to say it in English. And then it was
35		like, 'Oh yes!' You could sort of see it
36	Jenny:	It is a very practical subject where it's easy to learn Norwegian. You can
37		show at the same time as you say—
38	Sofie:	A fork is a fork, sort of

In Extract 5, Nelly described how she experienced body language as effective support for her instruction. This approach illustrates how the PSTs were able to make moment-by-moment decisions in response to situations in which Norwegian was not sufficient (lines 31–33). However, Nelly seemed to devalue the 'just to say it in English' approach as an 'easy way out' (line 34); she conversely preferred to use the Norwegian vocabulary in combination with body language. Jenny and Sofie provided a pedagogical rationale for this practice, speaking from their experience that visual cues were useful in the school kitchen (lines 36–38). Based on their pedagogical rationale, these practices are more reminiscent of a more coherent translanguaging pedagogy.

Translanguaging through translation

The third translanguaging practice in which the PSTs engaged was the use of translation devices as part of their instruction, which included both digital software and printed

dictionaries. García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer (2017) state that translation can help students make meaning, develop multilingual voices, and deepen their understanding of 'how all their language practices work together' (p. 15). Although I did not encounter any translation practices during my observations, one focus group described how they applied translation during their lessons. Jenny described a practice in which she would write one word on the blackboard and then ask her multilingual students to translate the word into their home languages:

Extract 6. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

39	Jenny:	[...] then one of the students had a computer with a translation software
40		where, if it said 'photosynthesis' on the board, then he could plot that in
41		Norwegian and get it translated to his [language]. Then, maybe he had
42		learned it at home, then, about photosynthesis in his language. And then
43		it's like, oh yes, I know a lot about that. And then, in a way, he could
44		practice translating what he knew about it in his language to Norwegian

In Extract 6, Jenny described how translation tools may be ideally applied to support students in making meaning even before they become highly proficient in the language of instruction. Jenny reasoned that it would be possible for teachers to draw on the knowledge their students bring with them from previous schooling abroad (lines 41–42). Moreover, she argued that translation may foster higher proficiency in Norwegian (lines 43–44), wherein Jenny exposed a pedagogical understanding of why this particular strategy was useful.

Some PSTs experienced that their students' English proficiency was limited. Hence, they reasoned that applying translation software would prove useful:

Extract 7. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

45	Jenny:	[...] But, right, somebody in sixth grade doesn't have a great vocabulary in
46		English either. So he's got- they- this period he is allowed to use his phone
47		to translate, so he uses Google Translate to translate, so the teacher can
48		write in Norwegian and then translate to his language. And then he can
49		reply in English, right? But then it can also be difficult sometimes, and then
50		he has to write back. So it's like a dialogue through Google Translate

Extract 7 illustrates how Jenny reached for resources beyond Norwegian in situations wherein communication would otherwise break down. In this example, Jenny drew on her own and her student's linguistic repertoires through translation to sustain communication. Such translation practices also contribute towards including students' home languages and consequently disrupting hierarchies in the classroom.

Translanguaging through peer support

The fourth translanguaging practice was PSTs' acceptance of students supporting each other by drawing upon a wide spectrum of their linguistic repertoires. Researchers frequently describe the practice of allowing students to support one another through languages they have in common as a useful translanguaging practice in classrooms wherein the teacher is not proficient in her/his students' home languages (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017; Ollerhead 2018; Rosiers, Willaert, Slembrouck, and Van Avermaet 2016). All focus

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groups reported to have observed this translanguaging practice, but the PSTs reacted differently when it actually occurred.

For instance, Leah explained how she would encourage students who were proficient in English to work with students who possessed limited knowledge of Norwegian. Thereby, the students were enabled to cooperate through English. Moreover, Jenny stated that she allowed students of the same home language to support one another via that language:

Extract 8. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

51	Jenny:	Yeah, because there is a Polish one who has just started to learn
52		Norwegian, but he doesn't really feel safe yet […]. I saw that the new one
53		went over and sort of poked him on the back and probably asked what it
54		meant and so on, and then he helped him
55	Researcher:	What do you think about that?
56	Jenny:	Well, I think it's completely okay. Not just to think about the subjects the
57		whole time. But he was actually reaching out and was—he felt safe to ask
58		him. And maybe that does something to the other student, too, to become
59		confident that 'wow, I managed to help him'. Because he might have been
60		in the same position himself, and then it will make you feel good

In the extract above, Jenny explained why she allowed her students to support one another in Polish (lines 51–54), but she did not report to have encouraged or facilitated such practices; rather, she merely allowed the practice to take place. During my classroom observations, I noticed how two Arabic-speaking students would talk together in Arabic during lessons. The PSTs never intervened to encourage or prevent this practice, but instead chose to ignore it:

Extract 9. Fieldnote, 23 November 2018: Olivia's English lesson

61	Olivia moved around the classroom and helped students who raised their hands. Two
62	students spoke in Arabic together, and Oliva walked past them. After the lesson, she
63	admitted to have noticed that they did not speak together in Norwegian, but had no
64	further comments about their language use

Participants in the focus groups gave the same reaction as that observed in Extract 9. Some PSTs expressed that they would 'let them talk', while others expressed that they believed allowing students to do so was 'right as long as it did not affect others' or as long as it was 'challenging not to understand' what the students said. Others found this communication 'interesting', as 'nice support', or 'not a problem'. These conflicting answers suggest that the PSTs were uncertain about how to react when students employed a wider spectrum of their linguistic repertoires whilst communicating in the classroom.

Translanguaging through several named languages

The fifth example was the PSTs' translanguaging through several named languages whilst communicating with students to achieve or secure comprehension. Extensive research describes a teacher's ability to draw on one's complete linguistic repertoire to support students' learning as a beneficial practice (Duarte 2019; García and Sylvan 2011). The languages the PSTs tended to draw on in these situations were usually those associated with power

and prestige within the Norwegian education system. Four of seven focus groups provided examples of how they resorted to using English in situations wherein communication via Norwegian was impossible, as is illustrated in Extract 10:

Extract 10. Focus group, 23 November 2017: Jenny, Lars, Nelly, and Sofie

65	Lars:	We have tried to explain a little like: do you understand
66		what I meant, or what? And if they say no, then we take it in English
67	Researcher:	So you have tried in English?
68	Lars:	Yes, you can try first in Norwegian because that's the
69		language we teach, so…

According to this exchange, Lars seemed to exclusively resorted to English under circumstances in which Norwegian could not sustain communication in the classroom (line 66). However, in such situations, English seemed to come naturally to him, which was likely because English was the only language other than Norwegian with which he felt confident using and because he reported to have observed other teachers use the language. Another group explained how they drew upon their Spanish-speaking students' linguistic repertoires whilst teaching units of measurement. In this case, the PSTs included a different language of power and prestige within Norwegian education to support their students' learning.

Apart from these examples, the students' use of their home languages during the PSTs' instruction seemed limited to occasional greetings and simple words that primarily served a socioemotional purpose:

Extract 11. Focus group, 22 November 2018: Olivia, Steinar, Tiril, and Tore

70	Tore:	Well, I know some basic expressions in Arabic, like حبيبي
71		[sweetie] and السلام عليكم [greeting] and things like that. And
72		that- I use that when I meet them because I think it's fun. I think
73		languages are cool, and I think people who have different
74		languages and backgrounds- well, I can learn from that. So, I sort
75		of try to use their language if I can, to the degree that I can- a little
76		bit because I think it's fun and a little bit to show respect, in a way
77	Researcher:	How have you done that? Have you done that in this school?
78	Tore:	Yes, yes
79	Researcher:	What have you done, and how has the response been?
80	Tore:	I say, like, 'thank you, حبيبي [sweetie]' or something like that.
81		It's been- they get- they answer in the same way, then.
82		It's- nobody has considered it as anything negative. They think
83		it's funny. They might feel more seen, I hope

Tore's comments about his use of Arabic indicate some intentionality behind this strategy (lines 75–76 and 82–83). Nevertheless, when I inquired about the students' responses, he hesitated (lines 80–81) before stressing that this approach had never resulted in negative responses (lines 81–82).

Tore's use of Arabic illustrates an awareness among some PSTs regarding the possible emotional effect associated with including students' home languages in the classroom. However, in accordance with Lars's comments above, the PSTs shared a common understanding that one should always initially attempt Norwegian before reaching for other linguistic resources within one's own or the students' linguistic repertoires.

Discussion and concluding remarks

The current article investigates how PSTs capitalise on their own and their students' linguistic repertoires during field placement in multilingual, mainstream schools. The findings indicate that, despite their hesitance to capitalise on the linguistic resources their students brought with them into the classroom, the PSTs were willing and able to draw on more of their own and their students' linguistic repertoires when the circumstances required in order to support multilingual students (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017). These linguistic practices occurred although they reported that they had neither prepared translanguaging lesson designs that capitalised on students' complete linguistic repertoires nor received instruction on how to do so.

These practices are vulnerable unless they are encouraged and supported by teacher educators and field placement schools. Despite the translanguaging examples described herein, the PSTs limited their engagement with their classrooms' linguistic diversity and primarily chose to support multilingual students with the Norwegian language. These findings align with prior research that suggests PSTs tend to adapt to the ideals and traditions of their respective field placement schools (Edwards and Protheroe 2003; Fosse 2011; Haugan 2014; Sundli 2007).

This study determines the possibilities and potentialities for a coherent translanguaging pedagogy that can be identified in PSTs' translanguaging practices during field placement in multilingual classrooms. Although spontaneous translanguaging opens avenues for communication that would otherwise be impossible, not all translanguaging is 'good' translanguaging (Zavala 2018), and transforming PSTs' spontaneous translanguaging into a more coherent translanguaging pedagogy is imperative. Through structured and pedagogically founded practices, the positive outcomes of translanguaging may be strengthened to offer multilingual students an increasing number of opportunities to succeed in school (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017). Nevertheless, research thus far indicates that Norwegian teacher education programmes are struggling to prepare PSTs for the cultural and linguistic diversity that awaits them in Norwegian classrooms (Iversen 2019; Randen, Danbolt, and Palm 2015; Skrefsrud and Østberg 2015; Thomassen 2016).

Thus, for PSTs to engage in pedagogical translanguaging during field placement, teacher education should provide them with rigorous theoretical arguments for translanguaging as well as explicit instruction on how to draw upon students' complete linguistic repertoires. Moreover, teacher educators should engage in closer collaboration with PSTs' supervising teachers in field placement and recognise the importance of field placement as an integral element of teacher education. By providing PSTs with the necessary knowledge and ensuring that they encounter teachers and schools that are open to including all students' complete linguistic repertoires, expanding the currently spontaneous and unstructured acts into a planned and structured pedagogical practice will be made possible.

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Appendix: Transcription system

-	Sudden stop
–	Interruption
…	Pause
[]	Information inserted by the researcher for clarification
[…]	Part of the extract removed

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7. Discussion, contributions, and concluding remarks

In the introduction to this dissertation, I stated that I chose to investigate teacher education because researchers have called for more research on teacher education for promoting multilingual approaches to education (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011; Mazak & Carroll, 2017; Paulsrud et al., 2017). Moreover, I am convinced that greater educational equity for all students can be achieved through teacher education (e.g. Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Mikander et al., 2018). This dissertation has therefore explored the following research question:

> What characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education?

This dissertation's overarching research question relates to the experiences of PSTs when they encounter multilingualism in field placement. The investigation into this experience was approached from three different perspectives in the three sub-questions and respective articles: A biographical perspective (First article in Chapter 6), an ideological perspective (Second article in Chapter 6), and a practical perspective (Third article in Chapter 6). As illustrated in the figure below, the different perspectives enabled thick descriptions of the characteristics of the PSTs' encounter with multilingualism, hence, providing a more nuanced and complex understanding of this experience:
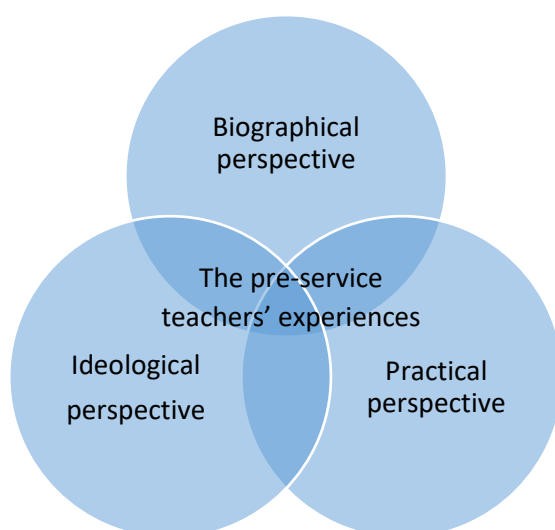

Figure 3: Three perspectives on PSTs' encounter with multilingualism

Since the three articles described three distinct perspectives on the overarching research question, they also drew on different theories and methods, which in turn provided discrete findings. Nonetheless, all of them contributed to describing the same phenomenon within a sociolinguistic framework. In the next section, I discuss the overarching research question in light of the three perspectives presented in the articles (7.1.). Following this discussion, I present important empirical (7.2.), theoretical (7.3.), and methodological contributions (7.4.). In the final section, I elaborate on implications for teacher education, and provide some concluding remarks regarding language policy, teacher education, and future research (7.5.).

7.1. Discussion

Field placement is a crucial part of Norwegian teacher education, and previous research has shown that PSTs experience field placement as highly relevant for their future work (Dahl et al., 2016; The Evaluation Group, 2015). The norms governing the particular field placement school and the teaching methods of the supervising teachers are of great importance for how PSTs approach teaching (Haugan, 2014; Heggen & Thorsen, 2015; Pacheco et al., 2019). Although teacher educators on campus are important resources in connecting theory to PSTs' experiences from field placement (Daniel, 2016; Lejonberg, Elstad, & Hunskaar, 2017), it seems to be difficult to challenge the powerful experiences that PSTs have acquired during field placement (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015). When the theoretical perspectives presented at campus are not supported in field placement, this conflict can be disruptive for the PSTs' learning. Thus, field placement has an influential role in the PSTs' professional development. Nonetheless, this is a context that has received limited attention from researchers on translanguaging (for an exception, consider Pacheco et al., 2019). Furthermore, the current dissertation is the first of its kind to specifically investigate PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in a field placement setting in Norway.

This research project was set in the participants' first field placement in their first year of teacher education. This context for data collection had significant consequences for the findings (e.g. Marková, Linell, Grossen, & Orvig, 2007). As reflected across the three articles, the PSTs were yet to develop a clear teacher identity, or consistent and coherent ideologies about the role of multilingualism in education. Hence, the PSTs

reported ambiguous lived experiences of language in the focus groups and in the six linguistic autobiographies; they presented contradictory language ideologies in the focus groups, and were hesitant in their language practices during classroom observation. In accordance with my poststructuralist position, these heteroglossic findings were presented in all their complexity in this dissertation. Throughout the data collection and analyses, the most consistent finding was the multivoicedness in the data, both between data sources and participants, and within the individual participant. Yet, the heteroglossic nature of the findings also suggested that PSTs were open to consider new knowledge, and prepared to change their particular ideologies and practices. Moreover, the heteroglossic nature of the findings demonstrated the potential in what PSTs already bring with them to teacher education.

The multivoicedness of the empirical data also reflected the complexity of the PSTs' experiences with multilingualism in field placement. There were extensive examples of how the PSTs' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices influenced their encounter with multilingualism in field placements. As illustrated in Figure 3, these factors were interacting and mutually influencing each other. By comparing the empirical findings from the three articles, one can identify how the different factors interacted in the PSTs' encounters with multilingualism.

First, there was a link between the six focal PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language and the language ideologies expressed in the focus group discussions. Since the six PSTs with few exceptions positioned themselves as monolingual in contrast to 'the multilingual' across focus groups and linguistic autobiographies, it is unsurprising that the focus groups were dominated by language-as-problem ideologies (e.g. Ruiz, 1984). What was identified as a lack of identification with multilinguals and understanding of multilingualism among the six PSTs consequently influenced their perspectives on the role of multilingualism in education in the focus groups. Thus, the focal PSTs' self-perceived monolingualism was expressed through their language ideologies, where Norwegian was repeatedly awarded a hegemonic position. Previous research also seems to suggest that teachers' reported lack of linguistic confidence and

limited language learning experience lead them to hold deficit views of multilingualism, rather than valuing multilingualism as an asset (Bailey & Marsden, 2017).

Secondly, there was a connection between the 24 participants' language ideologies in focus groups and the four focal participants' language practices observed during field placement. The inclination to hold language-as-problem ideologies was reflected in the four PSTs' hesitance to engage with the multilingualism present in the classroom. Conteh and Meier (2014) illustrate the relationship between teaching practices and attitudes: 'If children have limited command of the language of instruction, and of literacy, and no efforts are made to welcome them on their own terms, social stigma can be constructed' (p. 4). Thus, if teachers do not provide multilingual students with differentiated instruction, social stigma associated with multilingualism will develop. Based on the findings in this dissertation, it is evident that social stigma associated with multilingualism had developed as several PSTs associated multilingualism with a disadvantaged immigrant background, limited command of Norwegian, and even undesired classroom behaviour. This stigma is likely to be reinforced if their language practices are similar to those I observed during field placement.

Thirdly, in the six linguistic autobiographies, a division was frequently drawn between the authentic Norwegian as a 'monolingual' and the migrant as 'multilingual'. This perceived contrast was reflected in classroom observations, which demonstrated how linguistically minoritised students' linguistic repertoires were usually ignored by the four PSTs. This connection between the PSTs' lived experience of language and observed language practices supports prior research that have found indications of links between primary school teachers' experience with language and their depicted pedagogical practices (Gilham & Fürstenau, 2020). Nonetheless, Gilham and Fürstenau (2020) argue that having an experience with multilingualism is not sufficient. Drawing on Busch (2012a), they suggest that the meaning teachers attach to their experiences with language shapes their linguistic practices. In the linguistic autobiographies, the PSTs described diverse experiences with language. However, they rarely attached the necessary meaning to their experiences in order for them to engage with the multilingualism they encountered (for an exception, see Appendix 5).

The PSTs' narratives of their lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices indicated semiotic processes of what Irvine and Gal (2000) describe as iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure. In both focus groups and classroom observations, Norwegian language was iconisised as the unmarked language of schooling. Furthermore, in the narratives of their lived experience of language and in the focus groups, the PSTs established a dichotomy between themselves and 'the multilingual' through fractal recursively. Finally, in focus groups and through the language practices of the four focal PSTs, the needs of multilingual students were to a great extent erased. These semiotic processes did not seem to have been significantly challenged in field placement. Rather, from the research on field placement presented above, one can assume that the iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure found across data sources were confirmed by their encounter with multilingualism in field placement.

With these semiotic processes in play, it became demanding for the PSTs to engage in multilingual language practices. From the focus group discussions and classroom observations, it seemed that the PSTs needed to be confronted with students who obviously struggled to understand the content of the lesson, such as newly arrived students, in order to capitalise on a wider repertoire of their language resources. In these situations, the erasure of students' linguistic background was no longer possible to sustain, and the PSTs seemed to feel compelled to act. In the focus groups, the PSTs frequently referred to how their supervising teachers handled such situations as models for their own practices, hence confirming the prominent position of the supervising teacher during field placement (e.g. Fosse, 2011; Haugan, 2014; Sundli, 2007).

The PSTs' iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure are the result of larger discourses in Norwegian society, where 'multilingualism' is perceived to index immigration and limited Norwegian language skills by both students (Sickinghe, 2016) and in policy documents (Bubikova-Moan, 2017; Sickinghe, 2013). When multilingualism is associated with immigration, it becomes part of the polarising discourse against 'immigrants' in Norway (e.g. Connor, 2019; Eriksen, 2017; Gullestad, 2002). Similar findings have also been reported from other Scandinavian countries (Daugaard & Laursen, 2012). Hence, it is unsurprising that PSTs index such conceptualisations of 'the

multilingual' in focus group discussions and linguistic autobiographies. Thus, it is important for teacher educators on campus to challenge the semiotic processes in field placement and society at large, and present an alternative approach to multilingualism in education to enable PSTs to take a stance in support of linguistically minoritised students (e.g. García et al., 2017; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). Without this stance or awareness, it is unlikely that they will be able to implement a pedagogy that taps into the potential of all students' linguistic repertoire once they transition into teaching. Hence, teacher education is running the risk of reproducing the linguistic marginalisation currently taking place in Norwegian education, as indicated by recent research (Randen et al., 2015; Skrefsrud & Østberg, 2015; Thomassen, 2016).

Despite the general tendency for teacher education to reproduce hegemonic language ideologies and teaching practices, the articles presented in the previous chapter also point out a number of potentialities in PSTs' diverse lived experience of language, hetereoglossic language ideologies, and various translanguaging practices. First, the six PSTs revealed diverse and complex experiences with language through their linguistic autobiographies, which provide rich opportunities for teacher educators to tap into when discussing multilingualism in education (Athanases, Banes, Wong, & Martinez, 2018). Secondly, in the focus groups, the PSTs were able to negotiate a space for multilingualism within mainstream education due to heteroglossic language ideologies. Finally, when the situation required that the PSTs drew on a wider repertoire of their own and their students' language resources, I observed how the PSTs were both willing and able to engage in translanguaging practices.

Thus, from the focus groups and classroom observations, it is evident that the PSTs had indeed acquired much knowledge about multilingualism from their experiences in field placement. They had learned how to adapt their instructions so that everyone in the classroom could understand, and they had developed a range of strategies to make sure that all students were able to follow classroom activities, including translanguaging strategies. Furthermore, they were able to point out several opportunities to include students' multilingualism in ways that compromised neither teachers' authority nor collaboration between students. This might suggest that when language ideologies

encounter real students in actual classrooms, the implementation might not be as strict as one might first assume. This confirms findings in previous research that have shown how teachers allow students to draw on their multilingual resources in mainstream education, despite strict language policies and ideologies (Jaspers & Rosiers, 2019). Hence, there is no doubt that field placement had been a significant experience for the participants' professional development, and that there is substantial potential in the PSTs' ideologies and language practices.

Although these points constitute a potential, they are not sufficient in their current form. PSTs' lived experience cannot be capitalised upon unless teacher educators draw attention to this potential. Neither will limiting students' opportunities to capitalise on their multilingualism to brief individual exercises, without recognition and support from their teacher, contribute sufficiently to students' socioemotional and academic development. Nor will the PSTs' spontaneous translanguaging practices manage to create a linguistically inclusive classroom. Thus, it is up to teacher educators – both on campus and in field placement – to take the opportunity to tap into the potential described in this dissertation, in order to better prepare PSTs to engage with multilingualism in their future teaching. Hence, in the following sections, I present the dissertation's main contributions, before I discuss their implications for teacher education.

7.2. Empirical contributions

The reconceptualisation of 'the multilingual' and a dynamic understanding of language ideologies and language practices have framed my analyses of the PSTs' encounters with multilingualism in field placement. This reconceptualisation brought forth several empirical contributions.

In the first article, I provided extensive examples from focus group discussions and linguistic autobiographies of how six PSTs position themselves in relation to speakers of other varieties of Norwegian and in relation to 'the multilingual'. This analysis demonstrated the six PSTs' problematic understanding of multilingualism as a concept, and of speakers defined as multilingual. This aligned well with previous studies from Scandinavia (Daugaard & Laursen, 2012; Kulbrandstad, 2015), yet it is interesting to

note that such views were also present in young peoples' discourse as they entered teacher education. However, the article also demonstrated the rich and varied lived experiences of language that the PSTs brought with them as they entered teacher education.

The second article provided empirical data from focus groups to demonstrate that many PSTs produced a normative pattern of language use where Norwegian was the unmarked language and where multilingualism was considered marked. Ruiz (1984) has described this as a language-as-problem orientation, yet the second article provided extensive empirical data on how this orientation or ideology was developed locally through the dialogue between the PSTs in the respective focus groups. Nonetheless, the focus groups also demonstrated how other PSTs contested a language-as-problem ideology, and engaged in negotiations with the other PSTs in order to reach a common understanding of the limits of a multilingual approach to education. This led to the development of heteroglossic ideologies, which reflected the multivoicedness of the PSTs' discussions.

Furthermore, the third article combined classroom observation of four focal PSTs and focus groups with all 24 participants to demonstrate how PSTs spontaneously drew and reported to draw on a wide spectrum of their linguistic repertoire in the classroom. The article demonstrated how spontaneous translanguaging is not limited to 'naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting' (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Rather, spontaneous translanguaging can also describe the interactions taking place between self-perceived monolinguals and multilinguals in regulated and institutionalised settings. Thus, the classroom observation provided empirical data on what PSTs' 'shifts' or moment-to-moment decisions in multilingual classrooms, as described by García et al. (2017), could look like when they are isolated from a translanguaging stance and a coherent translanguaging pedagogy. In the translanguaging pedagogy presented by García et al. (2017), the concept of 'shift' is one of three key strands. In this dissertation, such shifts were identified as the PSTs' ability and willingness to respond to students' language needs in the classroom. These shifts were useful although they did not form part of a coherent pedagogy at this stage.

From the three articles, one can see that the multilingualism of the students in the classrooms was rarely a prominent concern for PSTs. The focus groups and classroom observations suggested that if the students seemed to speak Norwegian adequately, students' language backgrounds were easily ignored by the PSTs. Furthermore, for most of the PSTs in this dissertation, multilingualism was something they considered a rather foreign phenomenon. Across the focus groups and the linguistic autobiographies, 'multilingual students' were associated with migration, limited proficiency in Norwegian, and in some cases even undesired classroom behaviour. Hence, the PSTs' discussions during the focus groups usually concluded that multilingual practices should mostly be limited to private activities, such as searching for information, taking personal notes, and translations for comprehension.

7.3. Theoretical contributions

In this dissertation, I have applied theoretical concepts developed in diverse contexts to investigate a phenomenon taking place in Norwegian teacher education. Hence, this dissertation contributes to a recontextualisation of current debates in sociolinguistics within a Norwegian teacher education context.

In the first article, I introduced recent reconceptualisations of multilingualism and 'the multilingual' to a Norwegian teacher education context, and described new approaches for teacher educators to conceive of PSTs' linguistic repertoire in more dynamic ways. By exploring the linguistic repertoires of self-perceived monolingual PSTs, it was possible to challenge widespread dichotomies within Norwegian education between 'majority' and 'minority' students (cf. Jortveit, 2018; Westheim & Hagatun, 2015). Rather than classifying PSTs based on their perceived Norwegian-ness, teacher educators can consider all speakers as possessing a wide repertoire of linguistic and semiotic resources that can contribute to their professional development.

In the second article, I applied a language ideology framework to analyse Norwegian PSTs' beliefs and attitudes about language in education. Language ideologies have received widespread attention from sociolinguists over the past two decades (Jaffe, 2009; Kroskrity, 2000; Palmer, 2011). Still, there has been a tendency to consider language ideologies as rather monolithic and fixed. In this dissertation, I have shown

how language ideologies can be considered socially constructed and developing, and how language ideologies can be constantly negotiated and re-negotiated within the individual. Although the PSTs' language ideologies indeed reflected discourses in Norwegian society at large, they did not articulate coherent, overarching language ideologies, and were open to change their position if necessary. Thus, this dissertation illustrates how language ideologies are contextually developed through social interaction. Therefore, teacher educators should not consider it a futile task to challenge and alter PSTs' language ideologies.

Finally, in the third article, I analysed PSTs' language practices during field placement through a translanguaging lens (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; García & Li Wei, 2014). This conceptualisation of PSTs' language practices identified translanguaging practices within a school system operating according to monoglossic ideologies. One of these language practices was described as 'translanguaging within one named language'. Many of the PSTs participating in this research project chose to support students through the medium of Norwegian only. Whether this was due to their language ideologies or because of the limitations of their linguistic repertoire is difficult to determine. Still, the description of 'translanguaging within one named language' illustrated how self-perceived monolinguals could capitalise on their own linguistic repertoire in order to support students' understanding. Nonetheless, the third article pointed out how such responses to multilingual students' needs are insufficient without a coherent translanguaging pedagogy, including a translanguaging stance and translanguaging lesson designs (García et al., 2017).

7.4. Methodological contributions

Throughout this research project, I have applied research methods relevant for teacher education research, as well as for the education of teachers. In the following, I describe how linguistic autobiographies and the discussion of vignettes in focus groups are useful methods for exploring PSTs' lived experience of language and language ideologies, in addition to being valuable strategies in the preparation of PSTs for multilingual classrooms.

Linguistic autobiographies have been used as a research method to investigate language learning (Busch, 2017b), connections between particular language varieties and identity (e.g. Marcato, 2007), and to explore the identities of multicultural and multilingual individuals (Canagarajah, 2020; Haller, 2014). Recently, autobiographical texts have gained increasing interest among teacher educators aiming at developing PSTs' self-reflection in relation to language (Athanases et al., 2018; Gaines et al., 2018). As this dissertation demonstrates, PSTs might be able to articulate diverse lived experiences with language and at the same time be unable to reflect upon how their lived experiences relate to their students or their teaching. Thus, teacher educators can support PSTs in connecting their lived experiences of language with the experiences of linguistically minoritised students.

Linguistic autobiographies might also contribute to a better understanding of the perceived 'Other'. Rymes (2014) states that 'understanding "the other" is not a matter of labelling and demarcating that person's differences in potentially essentializing or stereotypical ways, but of raising awareness of multiple repertoires and expanding any potential points of communicative overlap' (p. 6). Nonetheless, in the six PSTs' narratives about their lived experience of language, an essentialising and stereotypical demarcation between themselves and 'the multilingual' potentially prevents communicative overlap. Therefore, it becomes the responsibility of teacher educators to challenge such demarcations and point out the potential of communicative overlap between the linguistic repertoires of PSTs and multilingual students. A repertoire perspective allows PSTs to also notice overlap between their own repertoires and the repertoires of their students (Rymes, 2014). The linguistic autobiographies revealed the six PSTs' complex experiences with language and their wide linguistic repertoires. Thus, linguistic autobiographies as a teacher education pedagogy can serve as a point of departure to explore how people label and categorise the 'Other', and, as part of the PSTs' critical self-reflection, how teachers run the risk of reinforcing such stereotypical and essentialising demarcations (e.g. Zilliacus, Paulsrud, & Holm, 2017).

This dissertation provides valuable insights into how focus groups, and particularly how the use of vignettes in focus groups, can add to our understanding of language ideologies

in teacher education. The use of vignettes accentuated the numerous dilemmas of multilingualism in education as part of focus groups, and contributed to nuanced debates about the role of multilingualism in education among the PSTs. This dissertation shows how the use of vignettes in focus groups supported the PSTs in exploring the complexities of regulating language use in multilingual classrooms, and highlighted the competing considerations teachers need to take. Hence, the vignettes both raised the PSTs' awareness about multilingualism in education, and supported the PSTs to envision spaces (however limited) for multilingual practices within mainstream education.

Consequently, using focus groups is an appropriate method for teacher education, as a pedagogical tool to raise PSTs' awareness of their own and their peers' language ideologies. Much research on language ideologies/beliefs/attitudes consist of survey studies (Bailey & Marsden, 2017; Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014; Heyder & Schädlich, 2014; Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2017). Using focus groups, the social dimension of language ideologies becomes salient. This is supported by researchers on focus groups, who argue that 'the dynamics of a group discussion enables the participants to trade on others' understandings, to come up with more ideas and associations than possible in, for example, individual interviews' (Marková et al., 2007, p. 131). Therefore, since teaching is often planned and conducted in collaboration with other teachers, such a dialogic approach to investigating language ideologies also provides a context closer to the reality of teachers' work. Moreover, the use of vignettes accentuates the complexity of classroom realities for the participants, and it becomes necessary to consider various dimensions simultaneously.

As I have demonstrated through this dissertation, I have applied research methods that have relevance for the education of PSTs. While linguistic autobiographies enable PSTs to reflect on their own linguistic repertoire and connect this with the experiences of linguistically minoritised students, using vignettes in focus groups is a suitable method to increase PSTs' awareness of language ideologies, and to discuss practical issues concerning multilingualism in education. However, there is need for more research on the application of these methodologies in teacher education, and the potential they can

have over time. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct longitudinal studies of PSTs, to explore whether such methodologies have the potential to affect PSTs' language ideologies over time, and whether they influence teaching practice as PSTs transfer to field placement schools. To strengthen the potential influence of linguistic autobiographies and vignettes in focus groups, the use of linguistic autobiographies can potentially be applied in combination with language portraits (Busch, 2010, 2012b). Moreover, the discussion of vignettes can be combined with roleplaying (Hult, 2018). Through such means, the effect of linguistic autobiographies and focus groups can potentially be further enhanced.

7.5. Implications and concluding remarks

In order for the potentiality described in this dissertation to be capitalised upon, teacher education should consider how PSTs could be prepared to engage with multilingualism in the classroom. The current framework plans for teacher education hold the potential to prepare PSTs to capitalise on students' multilingualism (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016). However, to engage with multilingualism can indeed be challenging, especially for teacher educators who are specialised in mathematics education, science education, religious education or other subjects that are not mainly concerned with language (Carlson, 2009; Randen et al., 2015). Nonetheless, it is vital that the work to prepare PSTs to include multilingualism reaches beyond the traditional language subjects of teacher education (García & Kleyn, 2013; Kleyn & Valle, 2014), as I described in section 4.4. I will argue that teacher educators can take the potentialities described in this dissertation as a point of departure when preparing PSTs to work in multilingual schools. These potentialities include PSTs' diverse lived experience of language, heteroglossic language ideologies, and spontaneous translanguaging.

PSTs' diverse lived experience of language can be given greater attention as part of teacher education (Athanases et al., 2018; Gaines et al., 2018; Pérez-Peitx et al., 2019). As this dissertation has shown, many PSTs enter teacher education with complex lived experiences of language that can function as a point of departure for discussing multilingualism in education. Teacher education is a process of self-discovery and increasing self-insight for PSTs (Athanases et al., 2018; Gaines et al., 2018). An essential part of this process is to become aware of their own linguistic repertoire,

experiences with language, and language ideologies. Pérez-Peitx et al. (2019) argue that the analysis of lived experience should have a prominent position in teacher education for PSTs to 'provoke a profound change […] both in cognitive processes and in language teaching practices in the classroom' (p. 237). For this to happen, teacher educators should also take time to get to know their PSTs. One way for teacher educators to become acquainted with their PSTs is through linguistic autobiographies.

Similarly, PSTs' heteroglossic language ideologies should be an area of study in teacher education. As I have shown in this dissertation, for PSTs to identify and problematise their own language ideologies can potentially lead them to challenge traditional language hierarchies (Deroo et al., forthcoming). Since language ideologies are socially constructed, teacher educators should focus on PSTs' language ideologies. As extensive research has shown, language ideologies influence teaching practices (Jaffe, 2009; Jaspers & Rosiers, 2019; Palmer, et al., 2014). Nonetheless, as demonstrated in this dissertation, language ideologies are also flexible and receptive to influence over time. In order for PSTs not to accommodate to the hegemonic ideologies in society and adapt to the traditions and practices of the particular field placement school, they need rigorous arguments for including all students' full linguistic repertoire and explicit knowledge of how to enact such a pedagogy (García et al., 2017). Teacher educators should not miss the opportunity to provide PSTs with these arguments and knowledge. Furthermore, PSTs should develop an understanding of how their language ideologies influence their students, and how they can capitalise on their own linguistic repertoire in the encounter with multilingual classrooms (García et al., 2017). This will provide PSTs with more confidence when venturing into the field placement classroom, that will, in many cases, be influenced by dominating discourses about Norwegian classrooms as Norwegian-only zones (e.g. Dewilde, 2013).

Finally, the PSTs' spontaneous translanguaging reported in the focus groups and observed during field placement constitute a potential for a more coherent translanguaging pedagogy (e.g. García et al., 2017). However, for this to be realised, PSTs need to develop a translanguaging stance and design, in addition to the already present shift (García et al., 2017). Research has demonstrated how coursework on

translanguaging, combined with field placement, can support PSTs in developing a translanguaging stance (Deroo et al., forthcoming). Nonetheless, it is crucial that PSTs are provided with opportunities to connect and reflect on experiences from field placement, in light of the literature on translanguaging (Daniel, 2016). Deroo et al. (forthcoming) argue that '[second language] teacher preparation and education programs can go further to leverage the dialectical relationship between course learning and field experience' (p. 27). Their recommendation should be extended to include any teacher education programme beyond specialised language teacher programmes. This responsibility extends beyond the traditional language subjects in teacher education, such as Norwegian and English. There is a need for a conviction and a stance across faculties that students' linguistic repertoires constitute resources that can benefit students' learning and socioemotional development (Deroo et al., forthcoming; García & Kleyn, 2013). Once this shared understanding of multilingualism as a resource has been developed, it is possible to introduce concrete methodologies of including students' multilingualism into classroom activities.

Nonetheless, it is not the sole responsibility of teacher educators to change the current situation. The current challenges are also related to systemic obstacles that can only be addressed through political initiatives (Kirsch, Duarte, & Palviainen, 2020). Thus, for change to happen there is need for a political acknowledgement of multilingualism as a natural and enriching part of education in Norway (Zilliacus et al., 2017). Although there are tendencies of increased attention to multilingualism (Ministry of Education and Research, 2016), there does not seem to be a coordinated ambition to enhance the focus on multilingualism in teacher education in the imminent future (Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Thus, attempts to promote multilingual approaches to education remain rare, although they are a few signs of a more explicit inclusion of multilingualism in parts of the latest curriculum reform (Iversen, 2019).

Furthermore, policy documents regulating Norwegian teacher education should encourage closer collaboration between teacher education institutions and field placement schools. Fortunately, there are currently positive initiatives towards this aim (Lilljord & Børte, 2016; Ministry of Education and Research, 2017). Through the

involvement of regular school teachers in campus activities, and teacher educators in field placement schools, it might be possible to develop greater coherence and a shared vision for teacher education across contexts (Lejonberg et al., 2017).

Field placement is an essential part of teacher education, and PSTs value it as a crucial opportunity for learning (Dahl et al., 2016; The Evaluation Group, 2015). However, the role of field placement in preparing PSTs to teach in multilingual schools is still an under-researched field of study, where much work remains to be conducted. Therefore, there is a need to continue to explore the complex context of field placement from different perspectives. In the future, the current dissertation's concern with PSTs' encounter with multilingualism should be supplemented with research into linguistically minoritised PSTs' perspectives, the supervising teachers' perspectives, students' perspectives, as well as the perspectives of teacher educators on campus. Such studies could contribute to investigate teacher education across campus and field placement. Furthermore, they hold the potential to develop closer collaboration between field placement schools and teacher education institutions, so that PSTs will experience that both contexts support their professional developments to teach in multilingual schools in a manner that provides all students with equal opportunities – regardless of the composition of their linguistic repertoire.

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Appendix 1: Teacher education programmes

Below is an overview of the four main teacher education programmes in Norway, presented according to the grade level they are aiming at preparing PSTs for:

Programme	Purpose	Structure	Field placement
Early childhood teacher education programme Barnehagelærerutdanning (BLU)	Educating teachers for pre-school (age 0-6) with a focus on pedagogy, didactics, and content relevant for pre-school.	Integrated bachelor's degree (3 years)	100 days
General teacher education programme 1-7 Grunnskolelærerutdanning 1-7 (GLU 1-7)	Educating teachers for elementary school (grades 1-7, age 6-13) with a focus on the early years of schooling, particularly early literacy and mathematics instruction.	Integrated master's degree (5 years)	110 days
General teacher education programme 5-10 Grunnskolelærerutdanning 5-10 (GLU 5-10)	Educating teachers for upper elementary and lower secondary school (grades 5-10, age 10-16) with a focus on pedagogy, didactics and selected school subjects.	Integrated master's degree (5 years)	110 days
Integrated secondary teacher education 8-13 Integrert lektorutdanning 8-13	Educating teachers for secondary school (grades 8-13, age 13-19) with a focus on preparing professional teachers within a selected academic discipline.	Integrated master's degree (5 years)	100 days

In addition, three-year bachelor's programmes are also offered to train teachers for particular subjects, e.g. music, sports (including 70 days of field placement), and for vocational education (including 130 days of field placement). Furthermore, there exists a one-year course for students with a master's degree in a school subject to qualify for a teaching position (including 60 days of field placement).

Source: Ministry of Education and Research (2016)

Appendix 2: Participants

The table below present the participants in the research project with pseudonyms, gender (M, F), information about which of the two teacher education institutions they attended (University A or University B), which languages they reported to speak, and their involvement in the project. Most participants only took part in focus groups, while a selection were also observed, or wrote a linguistic autobiography. The participants chose their own pseudonyms.

Pseudonym	Institution	Reported linguistic background	Involvement
Bjarte (M)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Elise (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, and some German	Focus group
Emilie (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Håkon (M)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Jenny (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Johan (M)	B	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Josefine (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Lars (M)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Leah (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, and some Spanish	Focus group
Madeleine (F)	A	Norwegian and Swedish as home languages, English, and some German	Focus group
Marthe (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, and some Spanish	Focus group
Martine (F)	A	Norwegian and Norwegian sign language as home languages, English, and some Spanish	Focus group
Nelly (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group and linguistic autobiography
Nora (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, and some German	Focus group
Olivia (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, and some German.	Focus group, observation, and linguistic autobiography.
Pernille (F)	B	Norwegian (Nynorsk) as home and school language, Norwegian (Bokmål) and English	Focus group and linguistic autobiography
Sofie (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English	Focus group
Steinar (M)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, and Spanish.	Focus group, observation, and linguistic autobiography.
Stine (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, German, and Spanish.	Focus group and linguistic autobiography

Thea (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, and some Spanish	Focus group
Thora (F)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, and some Spanish	Focus group
Tiril (F)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, and some German.	Focus group, observation, and linguistic autobiography.
Tore (M)	A	Norwegian as home language, English, Swedish, and some French.	Focus group and observation
William (M)	B	Norwegian as home language, English, and some Spanish	Focus group

Appendix 3: Interview guide

English translation below.

1. Åpning
   a. Presentere meg selv og prosjektet.
   b. Informere om anonymitet, rett til å trekke seg, osv.
   c. Understreke at jeg er ute etter deres synspunkter og opplevelser, ikke hva som er «rett» eller «galt».

2. Flerspråklighet
   a. Hva tenker dere på når dere hører «flerspråklighet»?
   b. Hvordan vil dere definere flerspråklighet? Hvor god må man være i et språk for å kunne kalles flerspråklig?
   c. Hva er deres språkbakgrunn? Definerer de seg selv som flerspråklige?
   d. Er flerspråklighet noe positivt eller negativt?
   e. I skolesammenheng: er flerspråklighet en ressurs eller hindring for elevenes læring?

3. Praksisskolen
   a. Kan dere fortelle meg om hvordan det språklige mangfoldet ved praksisskolen og i deres klasse(r) er?
   b. Kan dere fortelle meg om hvilke regler ang. språkbruk de har på denne skolen?
   c. Kan dere beskrive hvilke språk elevene bruker seg imellom i klassen?
   d. Kan dere beskrive hvordan det har vært å være lærer i disse klassene?
   e. Kan dere fortelle om noe som har vært særlig utfordrende?
   f. Kan dere fortelle om noe som har vært særlig interessant?
   g. Kan dere beskrive hvordan praksislæreren deres hjulpet dere?
   h. I hvilken grad har dere diskutert elevenes språkbakgrunn med praksislærer?
   i. Kan dere beskrive noe som har vært annerledes enn hva de hadde tenkt?
   j. Kan dere fortelle om hva dere har lært av å ha praksis i en klasse hvor elevene har ulik språkbakgrunn?

4. Vignett 1: «I Klasserommet»
   a. Hva synes dere om elevenes språkbruk? Er det til hinder for læringen? Er det en ressurs? Er det til hinder for det sosiale samspillet i klassen?
   b. Hva synes dere om regelen som læreren har satt for språkbruk? Støtter det elevenes læring eller er det et hinder for elevenes læring?
   c. Hvordan ville du reagert mot disse elevenes språkbruk? Finnes det alternativer til å forby visse typer språkbruk?
   d. Har dere hatt noen lignende erfaringer som det dere leser om i denne vignetten?

5. Vignett 2: «I skolegården»

a. Hva synes dere om elevenes språkbruk i denne sammenhengen? Utgjør språkbruken et hinder for noen? Utgjør språkbruken en støtte for noen?
b. Hva synes dere om regelen som lærerne har satt om språkbruk i friminuttene? Gjør den det lettere for alle barn å leke sammen?
c. Hvordan ville du reagert mot disse elevenes språkbruk? Finnes det alternativer til den regelen som lærerne i denne vignetten hadde bestemt?
d. Har dere hatt noen lignende erfaringer som det dere leser om i denne vignetten?

6. Vignett 3a: «Hjemme»

a. Hva synes dere om at elevene stort sett bare snakker engelsk og polsk hjemme? Hva kan være positivt? Hva kan være negativt?
b. Hva synes dere om at en lærer velger å henvende seg til familien kun på norsk, men den andre prøver å bruke en del polsk?
c. Hvilke råd om språkbruk ville dere gitt foreldrene til Kim og Weronika?
d. Har dere hatt noen lignende erfaringer som det dere leser om i dette caset?

Vignett 3b: «I klasserommet»
e. Hva synes dere om at Lemet får flere timer med samiskundervisning i løpet av en skoleuke?
f. Hva synes dere om at Aisha ikke får somaliundervisning på skolen?
g. Hvorfor tror dere det er sånn at Lemet har rett på morsmålsopplæring, mens Aisha ikke har det? Hva synes dere om det?
h. Har dere hatt noen lignende erfaringer som det dere leser om i denne vignetten?

7. Se fremover:
a. Når dere er ferdige med første praksisperiode. Hva trenger dere mer kunnskap om når det gjelder flerspårklighet? Hva vil dere lære mer om når det gjelder flerspråklighet?

8. Oppsummering og avslutning

1. *Opening*
   a. *Introduce myself and the project*
   b. *Information about anonymity, right to withdraw, etc.*
   c. *Stress that I am interested in their views and experiences, not what is "right" or "wrong".*
2. *Multilingualism*
   a. *What do you think about when you hear "multilingualism"?*
   b. *How do you define "multilingualism"? How proficient do you have to be in a language to call yourselves multilingual?*
   c. *How are your language backgrounds? Do you define yourselves as multilinguals?*

d. *Is multilingualism something positive or negative?*

e. *In a school setting, is multilingualism a resource or an obstacle for students' learning?*

3. *Field placement school*

   a. *Can you tell me about the linguistic diversity at the field placement school and in your class(es)?*

   b. *Can you tell me about which rules regarding language use that are in place at this school?*

   c. *Can you describe which languages the students use among themselves?*

   d. *Can you describe how it has been to teach in these classes?*

   e. *Can you tell me about something that has been particularly challenging?*

   f. *Can you tell me about something that has been particularly interesting?*

   g. *Can you describe how your supervising teacher has supported you?*

   h. *To what extent have you discussed the students' language background with the supervising teacher?*

   i. *Can you describe something that has been different from what you expected?*

   j. *Can you tell me about what you have learned from participating in field placement in classes where the students have different language backgrounds?*

4. *Vignette 1: "In the classroom"*

   a. *What do you think about the students' language use? Is it an obstacle for learning? Is it a resource? Is it a hinder for the social interaction in the classroom?*

   b. *What do you think about the rule the teacher has set for language use? Does it support the students' learning or is it an obstacle to students' learning?*

   c. *How would you react to these students' language use? Are there alternatives to prohibiting particular forms of language use?*

   d. *Have you had any similar experiences to what you are reading about in this vignette?*

5. *Vignette 2: "In the school yard"*

   a. *What do you think about the students' language use in this setting? Is the language use an obstacle for anyone? Does the language use support anyone?*

   b. *What do you think about the rule the teacher has set about language use in the breaks? Does it make it easier for the children to play together?*

   c. *How would you have reacted to these students' language use? Are there alternatives to the rule the teacher has set in this vignette?*

   d. *Have you had any similar experiences to what you are reading about in this vignette?*

6. *Vignette 3a: "At home"*

a. *How do you feel about the students mostly speaking English and Polish at home? What can be positive about it? What can be negative about it?*
b. *How do you feel about the one teacher choosing to contact the family in Norwegian only, while the other teacher tries to use some Polish?*
c. *Which advice would you give to Kim and Weronika's parents?*
d. *Have you had any similar experiences to what you are reading about in this vignette?*

Vignette 3b: "In the classroom"
e. *How do you feel about Lemet receiving several lessons of Sámi instruction during a school week?*
f. *How do you feel about Aisha not receiving Somali instruction in school?*
g. *Why do you think Lemet has the right to mother tongue instruction, while Aisha does not? What do you think about that?*
h. *Have you had any similar experiences to what you are reading about in this vignette?*

7. *Look ahead*
    a. *You have now finished your first field placement period. What do you need more knowledge about regarding multilingualism? What would you like to learn more about regarding multilingualism?*

8. *Summary and conclusion*

Appendix 4: Vignettes

Vignette 1: «I Klasserommet»/"In the classroom"

6. klasse skal lære om Vikingtiden. De skal jobbe i grupper. Først skal de innhente informasjon, og deretter lage en Power Point-presentasjon om tematikken. Læreren har bestemt at alle elevene må snakke norsk, for at samarbeidet skal gå best mulig.

I klassen går Heja, med syrisk bakgrunn og usammenhengende skolebakgrunn. Hun kom som flyktning for to år siden og ble nylig ferdig med innføringstilbudet. På samme gruppe som Heja er det også en annen kurdisk elev. De samarbeider på kurdisk, slik at ikke de to andre elevene på gruppa forstår det som blir sagt.

I samme klasse går også Weronika. Hun har polsk bakgrunn og sammenhengende skolegang fra Polen frem til hun flyttet til Norge sammen med familien sin for fire år siden. Når eleven skal finne informasjon om vikingtiden leser hun på polsk Wikipedia og tar notater på polsk. Innimellom bruker hun Google Translate for å oversette ord til norsk, men stort sett bidrar hun med informasjon på norsk til de andre i gruppa.

6th grade is learning about the Viking Age. They are going to work in groups. First, they are supposed to collect information, and then make a Power Point presentation on the topic. The teacher has decided that all students have to speak Norwegian in order for the students to cooperate most efficiently.

Heja is in this class. She has a Kurdish background and an irregular educational background. She came as a refugee two years ago and finished the introductory programme recently. In the same group, there is also another Kurdish student. They work together in Kurdish, so the other students in the group cannot understand what is being said.

In the same class is Weronika. She has a Polish background and a coherent educational background from Poland until she moved to Norway together with her family four years ago. When she is collecting information about the Viking Age, she is reading on Polish Wikipedia and taking notes in Polish. Once in while she uses Google Translate to translate word into Norwegian, but most of the time she contributes with information in Norwegian to the rest of the group.

Vignette 2: «I skolegården»/"In the school yard"

I friminuttet har lærerne bestemt at man ikke får lov å snakke andre språk enn norsk. Det er for å passe på at alle barn kan leke sammen. Alex er født i Norge, men har filippinsk far, og snakker derfor både norsk og tagalog. Han leker sammen med Sara på tagalog, fordi Sara ikke forstår så mye norsk ennå. Alex inviterer andre med i leken, og oversetter mye for Sara.

Kim kommer fra USA, men har lært seg norsk på et innføringstilbud. Nå har han begynt i en ordinær klasse. Alle de andre elevene i klassen synes det er veldig spennende å snakke engelsk med Kim, så leken ute i friminuttene foregår mye på engelsk.

The teacher has decided that it is not allowed to speak other languages besides Norwegian during breaks. This is to make sure that all the children can play together. Alex is born in Norway, has a Filipino dad, and speaks both Norwegian and Tagalog. He plays with Sara in Tagalog, because Sara does not understand much Norwegian yet. Alex invites others to play and translates a lot for Sara.

Kim comes from the US, but has learned Norwegian in an introductory programme. Now, he has started in an ordinary class. All the other students think it is very exciting to speak English with Kim, so they are mostly playing in English during breaks.

Vignette 3a: «Hjemme»/"At home"

Kim snakker mye engelsk når han er hjemme. Moren hennes er flink i matematikk og hjelper henne med leksene på engelsk. Men foreldrene mener det er viktig at hun ikke glemmer engelsk, så de ser på engelsk TV sammen, kjøper engelske bøker til henne og reiser ofte på ferie til USA. Når Kim får med seg brev fra skolen til foreldrene, er det ofte hun som må oversette innholdet til foreldrene hennes, for foreldrene er ikke så flinke i norsk ennå.

Weronika snakker polsk hjemme. Læreren til Weronika mener at det er viktig at foreldrene forstår informasjonen skolen formidler til foreldrene. Derfor gjør hun ofte en ekstra innsats for å få oversatt viktige brev til polsk, før hun sender dem. Hun bruker også gjerne Google Translate når hun skal sende korte SMS-er til Weronikas foreldre.

Kim speaks a lot of English when he is at home. His mum is good at maths and helps him with his homework in English. Her parents believe that it is important that she does not forget English, so they watch TV in English together, buy books for her in English and travel frequently to the US on holiday. When Kim brings home letters to her parents from school, she often has to translate the content for her parents, since her parents are not very proficient in Norwegian yet.

Weronika speaks Polish at home. Weronika's teacher believes that it is important for her parents to understand the school's information for parents. Hence, she often puts in extra effort to translate important letters to Polish before she sends them. When sending short text messages to Weronika's parents, she is not afraid to use Google Translate.

Vignette 3b: «I klasserommet»/"In the classroom"

Lemet går i 6. klasse på en skole i Oslo, hvor han også er født og oppvokst. Hjemme snakker han nordsamisk. Han mottar undervisning i nordsamisk flere ganger i uken på skolen. Da kommer det en

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samisklærer til skolen og underviser ham i nordsamisk. Lemet har rett til å få opplæring i samisk, og foreldrene synes det er fint at Lemet får mulighet til å utvikle hjemmespråket videre på skolen.

Aisha går i samme klasse som Lemet, og er også født og oppvokst i Oslo. Hun snakker somali hjemme. Hun skulle ønske hun kunne lære å lese og skrive på somali, men foreldrene kan ikke hjelpe henne og hun får heller ingen opplæring i somali på skolen. Siden Aisha snakker flytende norsk, har hun heller ikke rett til opplæring i somali. Det synes Aisha og foreldrene hennes er trist.

Lemet is attending 6th grade in a school in Oslo, where he was born and raised. He speaks Northern Sami at home. He receives several lessons in Northern Sami every week at school. Then, a Sami teacher comes to school and teaches him Northern Sami. Lemet has the right to receive Sami instruction, and the parents think that it is nice that Lemet gets an opportunity to develop his home language further in school.

Aisha is attending the same class as Lemet, and was also born and raised in Oslo. She speaks Somali at home. She wishes that she could learn to read and write in Somali, but her parents cannot help her and she does not receive any instruction in Somali in school. Since Aisha speaks Norwegian fluently, she does not have a right to Somali instruction. Aisha and her parents think that is a shame.

Appendix 5: Linguistic autobiography

English translation below.

MI PERSONLEGE SPRÅKHISTORIE

Eg har vakse opp i ei lita Vestlandsbygd. Der har eg vakse opp i ein heim der Pappa har dysleksi og Mamma er grunnskulelærar. Eg har to eldre sysken, der det er fire år mellom eldste og meg. Underhaldninga i familien har ofte vore leik med ord og språk. Song, samtalar og ikkje minst ordspel har prega kvardagen. Spesielt bror min leverer ofte ordspel ved måltida. Han lyftar vassmuggen og fortel om «kor <u>vann</u>vittig morosamt» noko var, tek opp kniven og gaffelen og fortel oss at «det handlar om bestikkelsar», før han til slutt tek ein bit av knekkebrødet og beklagar den «tørre» humoren.

Ferieturar med familien har stort sett vore bilturar i Noreg. Å sitte rett opp og ned, fem stykk i ein femsetar avgrensar moglegheitene for delta fysisk og å bruke mykje materiale. Difor har underhaldninga i bilen vore ulike munnlege aktivitetar. Ein stor slager har vore «halv-ape». Dette er ein leik der ein etter tur seier ein bokstav. Bokstaven skal ha samanheng med bokstaven før, og det må vere eit ord som består av desse bokstavane (i gitt rekkefølgje). Poenget med leiken er å ikkje vere den som fullfører ordet. Ein annan aktivitet i bilen har òg vore å etterlikne dialekter, ofte i dei områdene vi køyrer gjennom eller er på veg.

Som lita var eg utruleg glad i å skrive. Mamma har vore med meg x antal gongar å handla skrivebøker, og eg har seinare gjentatte gongar blitt fortalt om korleis det var å sei god natt til meg der eg låg i senga omringa av ark og skrivesaker. Eg elska å skape forteljingar, men favoritten var å skrive dikt, for der fekk eg lov å rime. Med andre ord: eg har vakse opp i ein heim der språk har vore ein viktig del. Pappa har brukt oss borna som ressurs for å lese over eller i skriving av meldingar og dokument. Pappa har ikkje skjult språkvanskane, men heller latt oss meistre språket ved å hjelpe han. Språket har òg vore underhaldning, leik og uttrykksmåte. Heime har det vore trygt for oss å utforske språket, sjå moglegheitene og bruke det. Når eg tenkjer over det, er det kanskje ikkje så rart at alle vi syskena har enda opp med å ta ei pedagogisk utdanning.

Då eg byrja på skulen var nynorsk hovudmål både for meg og dei andre elevane. Eg byrja på ein skule med 50 elevar, der alle var etnisk norske. Sommaren til då vi skulle starte i 4.klasse fekk vi vite at det skulle starte ein ny gut i klassen, og at han var frå Nederland. Den sommaren lærte eg meg at «sinaasappelsap» var nederlandsk for appelsinjuice og at «broek» var det same

som dialektordet heime for bukse. Den nederlandske guten kunne ikkje noko norsk, og allereie fyrste dag fekk eg lov til å briljere med mine nederlandskkunnskapar. Familien kalla meg etter dette «Frøken Sinaasappelsap» og det fylgde meg til vi avslutta i 10. klasse. Dei hadde opplevd at eg gjorde ein innsats for å ynskje han velkommen. Guten lærte seg fort norsk, og det tok ikkje lange stunda før vi nesten hadde gløymt at han ikkje hadde vore der heile tida og budd i Noreg heile sitt liv.

Det var då eg byrja på høgskulen at eg for fyrste gong opplevde at eg skil meg ut som nynorskbrukar. Brått var eg einaste nynorskbrukaren i klasserommet. Medstudentar kunne stille spørsmål som «korleis er det for deg å måtte skrive norsk?», som om det ikkje var noko eg gjorde kvar dag. Det dei meinte var bokmål, men formuleringa hjelp ikkje på ei vestlandsjente som allereie føler seg litt annleis. Det skal nemnast at haldninga til det nynorske skriftspråket har endra seg i klassen, og det er fleire som gler seg til å undervise i det.

Likevel er det noko med å vere einaste nynorskstudenten som eg endå opplev som utfordrande. På utdanninga er det ofte gruppeoppgåver, og desse skal samskrivast. Eg er avhengig av å kunne meistre bokmål for å kunne skrive saman med dei andre på gruppa. Heldigvis har eg aldri slite med bokmål. Eg har lese bokmålsbøker, sett filmar med tekst på bokmål og lese bruksanvisningar på bokmål sida eg var lita. Men det er noko med å alltid måtte vere den som tilpassar seg. Eg må skrive oppgåvene på ei målform som ikkje er mi. Eg meiner at språket er ein del av identiteten, og ofte kjennest det ut som at det ikkje er mine ord når eg skriv på bokmål. Det gjer at skriveprosessar tek lenger tid, ikkje på grunn av at språket i seg sjølv er vanskeleg, men fordi det ikkje er «eg» som skriv.

Ei anna utfordring er omgrepslære. Eg har opplevd å sitte i klasserommet og lære, og undervegs skjønt at eg kan dette frå før. Einaste er at det vi lærer om no er eit bokmålsomgrep, og eg har lært det nynorske ordet. Og andre vegen. Eg må forklare små ting som at sannsynsrekning er nett det same som «sannsynlighetsregning».

På bakgrunn av mi personlege språkhistorie har eg med meg mange verktøy som eg kan bruke som lærar. Gjennom å få utforske dei ulike sidene av språket gjennom ordspel og leik har eg sett underhaldningsverdien av språket. Leikane vi brukte under bilturane er konkrete aktivitetar eg kan bruke i undervisning. Dette er aktivitetar som kan opplevast som uformelle, der elevane slepp å prestere men får utforske. Eg har fått oppleve korleis ulike diskursar påverkar motivasjonen. Å føle seg trygg gjer at ein får større rom til å utforske og fleire moglegheiter. Men det å føle seg avgrensa, gjer at ein tapar moglegheitene.

Eg hadde ikkje sett på meg sjølv som fleirspråkleg før eg kom på høgskulen. Og den viktigaste lærdomen eg tek med meg frå dette er at språket er ein viktig del av identiteten. Det kan vere fint for elevar å få uttrykke seg på eit språk dei kan, og ikkje alltid måtte tilpasse seg dei andre. Det er mykje kreativt, smart og spennande som ligg hos enkeltelevar, og det er ikkje bra om avgrensa språkmoglegheiter skal øydelegge for formidling og utfoldelse. Det same med korleis eg er med elevane. Det å bruke det språket dei kan, slik som eg erfarte frå den nederlandske guten på barneskulen, gjennom å vise at eg er interessert i det dei kan frå før, kan gi elevane sjølvtillit og tryggleik på det dei allereie kan. Samstundes tenker eg at det er viktig å kunne fleire språk og meistre fleire språk, blant anna fordi det er nøkkelen til god kommunikasjon.

MY PERSONAL LANGUAGE HISTORY

Translated by Jonas Yassin Iversen

I grew up in a small village in Vestlandet. There, I grew up in a home where Dad had dyslexia and Mum was a schoolteacher. I have two older siblings; there are four years between the eldest and myself. The family was often entertained though games with words and language. Singing, conversations, and puns characterised our daily life. My brother especially would deliver puns over dinner. He would lift the water (Norwegian: vann) pitcher and say 'how incredibly (Norwegian: van(n)vittig) funny' something was, or take the knife and fork (Norwegian: bestikk) and explain how 'it is all about bribing' (Norwegian: bestikkelser), before he would take a piece of crispbread and apologise for his 'dry' humour (Norwegian: tørr humor).

Most of our holidays were road trips around Norway. To sit packed together, five people in a five-seat car, limited the opportunities for physical participation and to use much material. Hence, the car entertainment consisted of different oral activities. A big hit was the 'half-monkey'. This is a game where one person after the other says a letter. The letter has to have a connection to the preceding letter, and it has to end up as a word made up of these letters (in the given order). The point of the game is to avoid being the person who ends the word. Another car activity has also been to imitate dialects, usually in the regions we were driving though or were heading towards.

When I was little, I really enjoyed writing. Mum has come with me a trillion times to shop for notebooks, and I have later been told repeatedly how it was to tell me goodnight while I was in my bed, surrounded by paper and stationery. I loved to create stories, but my favourite was to

write poems, because then I was able to rhyme. In other words, I have grown up in a home where language has played an important part. Dad used us children as a resource to proofread or write messages and documents. Dad has not hidden his struggles with language, but rather allowed us, who had mastered the language, to help him. Language has also been entertainment, play, and expression. At home, it was safe to explore language, see opportunities and use it. When I think about it, it might not be very strange that all of us siblings ended up pursuing a pedagogical education.

When I started school, Nynorsk was the main written standard both for me and my peers. I started in a school with 50 pupils, where everyone was ethnically Norwegian. The summer I was going to start in 4th grade, we were informed that a new boy was starting in our class, and he came from the Netherlands. That summer, I learned that 'sinaasappelsap' was Dutch for orange juice and that 'broek' was the same as the dialect word we used at home for pants. The Dutch boy did not speak any Norwegian, so I got the opportunity to show off my Dutch skills already the first day. The family called me 'Ms. Sinaasappelsap' after that, and that followed me until I graduated in 10th grade. They had experienced that I had made an effort to welcome him. The boy learned Norwegian quickly, and it did not take long before we had almost forgotten that he had not lived in Norway all his life.

When I started at the university, that was the first time I experienced that I stood out as a writer of Nynorsk. All of a sudden, I was the only writer of Nynorsk in the classroom. Peers would ask me questions like 'How is it for you to write in Norwegian?' as if that was not something I did every day. What they meant was Bokmål, but the phrasing did not help a girl from Vestlandet, who already felt a little different. I should mention that the attitude towards the Nynorsk written standard has changed in the class, and several of them look forward to teaching it.

Nonetheless, there are some things about being the only Nynorsk student that I still experience as challenging. As part of the education, there are often group assignments, and we are expected to write them together. I am dependent on mastering Bokmål in order to write together with the others in the group. Luckily, I have never struggled with Bokmål. I have read books in Bokmål, watched films with Bokmål subtitles, and read instructions in Bokmål since I was little. There is just something about being the one who always has to adapt. I have to write assignments in a written standard that is not my own. I mean that language is a part of the identity, and often it feels like they are not my words when I write in Bokmål. It makes the writing process take

longer, not necessarily because of the language in itself, but because it is not 'me' who is writing.

Another challenge is terminology. I have had experiences sitting in the classroom and learning, and after a while I realise that I already know this. The only thing is that we are now learning about a Bokmål term, and I have learned the Nynorsk word. And the other way around. I have to explain little things, for example that 'sannsynsrekning' is exactly the same as 'sannsynlighetsregning' (English: propbability).

Based on my personal language history, I have many tools that I can use as a teacher. Through exploring the different sides of language through puns and games, I have seen the entertainment value of language. The games we played during our road trips are specific activities that I can use in my teaching. These are activities that might be experienced as informal, where the students do not have to present, but are allowed to explore. I have experienced how different discourses influence motivation. To feel safe provides more room for exploration and more opportunities. If you feel limited, you miss out on opportunities.

I had not seen myself as multilingual before I started university. The most important lesson I take with me from this is that language is an important part of identity. It can be nice for students to express themselves in a language they know, and not always have to adapt to the others. There is much creativity, smartness, and excitment within individual students, and it is not good if limited language possibilities should hinder expression and creativity. The same goes for the students. To use the languages they know, as my experience with the Dutch boy in primary school, by showing an interest in what they already know , can give students confidence and belief in what they know from before. At the same time, I think it is important to speak many languages and master many languages, because it is the key to good communication, among other things.

Appendix 6: Participants' consent form

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet

«Lærerstudenter i flerspråklige klasserom»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan lærerstudenter erfarer å ha praksis i flerspråklige klasserom. I dette skrivet gir vi deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk ved Høgskolen i Innlandet, hvor jeg arbeider med et treårig prosjekt om lærerstudenter i flerspråklige klasserom. Den overordnede målsetningen er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan lærerstudenter erfarer å ha praksis i flerspråklige klasserom. Formålet med studien er å finne ut:

- Hvordan forhandler lærerstudentene frem en forståelse av hvilke flerspråklige praksiser som er legitime og akseptable i flerspråklige klasser i Norge?
- Hvilke språklige praksiser bruker lærerstudentene i flerspråklige klasser i Norge?
- Hvordan bidrar lærerstudentenes erfaringer med språk og deres språklige repertoar til å forme deres læreridentitet?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Høgskolen i Innlandet er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
Du blir invitert til å delta i studien ettersom du er student ved grunnskolelærerutdanningen 1-7 og skal ha praksis ved en skole kjennetegnet av et språklig mangfold.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Deltakelse i prosjektet innebærer følgende: Prosjektet gjennomføres 2017-2018. Jeg ønsker å observere din praksisgruppe gjennom én uke av deres praksisperiode, for deretter å møte deg og din praksisgruppe for å gjennomføre et gruppeintervju om hvordan det har vært å gjennomføre praksis ved en skole med stort språklig mangfold. Dette intervjuet vil ikke vare lengre enn én time. Dersom dere samtykker, vil intervjuet bli tatt opp med en lydopptaker. I

etterkant av praksis kan det bli aktuelt med enkeltintervjuer og innsamling av skriftlige tekster.

Det er frivillig å delta
Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger
Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. All informasjon om deg vil bli anonymisert. Notatene jeg tar fra deres praksisperiode og lydopptaket fra intervjuet vil bli oppbevart slik at det kun vil være meg og mine veiledere som har tilgang til materialet.

Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med et pseudonym som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Det elektroniske datamaterialet lagres på en passordbeskyttet server, mens datamateriale i papir vil bli oppbevart innelåst på mitt kontor.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Når det gjelder personopplysninger og personvern, vil jeg gjøre oppmerksom på følgende: Jeg har taushetsplikt, og alle opplysninger jeg samler inn vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Prosjektets sluttdato er 31.07.2020. Ved prosjektslutt vil alle opplysninger bli anonymisert. Ditt navn og skolen du har hatt praksis på vil ikke bli nevnt av meg, verken i skriftlige eller muntlige sammenhenger. Jeg planlegger å skrive tre vitenskapelige artikler og en doktorgradsavhandling, og det vil da være aktuelt for meg å sitere deg anonymt. Som forsker plikter jeg å behandle deltakere i prosjektet og materiale med respekt og i samsvar med faglige og forskningsetiske standarder.

Dine rettigheter
Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:
- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?
Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Høgskolen i Innlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- Høgskolen i Innlandet, ved Jonas Iversen, på epost (jonas.iversen@inn.no) eller på telefon 90 93 59 58.
- Vårt personvernombud: Hans Petter Nyberg, på epost (hans.nyberg@inn.no) eller på telefon: 90 16 13 63.
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Jonas Iversen

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Lærerstudenter i flerspråklige klasserom», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- ☐ å bli observert.
- ☐ å delta i gruppeintervju
- ☐ å skrive en tekst om min personlige språkhistorie

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. juli 2020.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 7: Information letter to parents

Informasjon om forskningsprosjektet «Lærerstudenter i flerspråklige klasserom»

Jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat ved Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk ved Høgskolen i Innlandet, hvor jeg arbeider med et treårig prosjekt om lærerstudenter i flerspråklige klasserom. Den overordnede målsetningen til prosjektet er å skape ny kunnskap om hvordan lærerstudenter erfarer å ha praksis i flerspråklige klasserom. Formålet med studien er å finne ut:

- Hvordan forhandler lærerstudentene frem en forståelse av hvilke flerspråklige praksiser som er legitime og akseptable i flerspråklige klasser i Norge?
- Hvilke språklige praksiser bruker lærerstudentene i flerspråklige klasser i Norge?
- Hvordan bidrar lærerstudentenes erfaringer med språk og deres språklige repertoar til å forme deres læreridentitet?

I forbindelse med dette forskningsprosjektet vil jeg gjennomføre observasjon av lærerstudenter i løpet av deres praksisperiode. Dette vil inkludere observasjon av lærerstudentenes undervisning i klassen til ditt/deres barn. I denne observasjonen vil lærerstudentene være i fokus og informasjon om elevene vil ikke samles inn eller omtales i mine notater eller i senere publikasjoner. Også skolen, lærerne og lærerstudentene vil anonymiseres.

Dersom du/dere har noen spørsmål angående forskningsprosjektet kan jeg kontaktes på epost (jonas.iversen@inn.no) eller telefon (909 35 958).

Med vennlig hilsen

Jonas Iversen

Doktorgradsstipendiat

Høgskolen i Innlandet

Fakultet for lærerutdanning og pedagogikk

Institutt for pedagogikk og samfunnsfag

Appendix 8: Ethical clearance 2017

NSD

Jonas Iversen

2418 ELVERUM

Vår dato: 18.09.2017   Vår ref: 55369 / 3 / STM   Deres dato: Deres ref:

Tilbakemelding på melding om behandling av personopplysninger

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 17.08.2017.
Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

55369	Lærerstudenter og flerspråklige klasserommet
Behandlingsansvarlig	Høgskolen i Innlandet, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Jonas Iversen

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.07.2021, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dersom noe er uklart ta gjerne kontakt over telefon.

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.

Siri Tenden Myklebust

Kontaktperson: Siri Tenden Myklebust tlf: 55 58 22 68 / Siri.Myklebust@nsd.no
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar
_____

Utvalget informeres skriftlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Høgskolen i Innlandet sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 31.07.2021. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å:
- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)

Appendix 9: Ethical clearance 2018

NSD Personvern
25.09.2018 09:49

Det innsendte meldeskjemaet med referansekode 207412 er nå vurdert av NSD. Følgende vurdering er gitt: Behandlingen av personopplysninger ble opprinnelig meldt inn til NSD 17.08.2017 (NSD sin ref: 55369) og vurdert under personopplysningsloven som var gjeldende på det tidspunktet. 30.07.2018 meldte prosjektleder inn en endring som gjelder å observere lærerstudentene når de er i praksis. Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet 25.09.2018 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan starte.

MELD ENDRINGER

Dersom behandlingen av personopplysninger endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. På våre nettsider informerer vi om hvilke endringer som må meldes. Vent på svar før endringen gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 31.07.2021.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG

Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og art. 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake. Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen vil dermed være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 a), jf. art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

NSD finner at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen: - om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen - formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål - dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet - lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lenger enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

De registrerte vil ha følgende rettigheter i prosjektet: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20). Rettighetene etter art. 15–20 gjelder så lenge den registrerte er mulig å identifisere i datamaterialet. NSD vurderer at informasjonen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13. Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32) For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må du følge interne retningslinjer/rådføre deg med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.
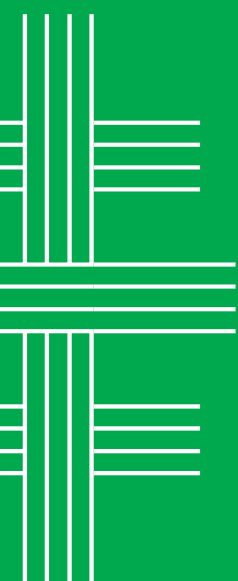
OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET

NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Lykke til med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Ida Jansen Jondahl

Tlf. Personverntjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

As classrooms are becoming increasingly multilingual, teacher education needs to educate pre-service teachers (PSTs) who can capitalise on students' multilingualism to support and promote learning. Field placement is often identified as a crucial component for teacher education to prepare PSTs for multilingual settings. Yet, little is known about how PSTs engage with the multilingualism they encounter during field placement. Hence, this dissertation reports on a qualitative research project that combines focus groups, classroom observation, and linguistic autobiographies to investigate the following research question: What characterises PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement in their first year of teacher education?

The combination of three sources of data provides a nuanced understanding of how the participants' lived experience of language, language ideologies, and language practices are closely related, and how they influence PSTs' encounter with multilingualism in field placement. The analyses suggest that the PSTs consider themselves monolingual speakers of Norwegian, operating within a school system where Norwegian has a privileged position. They describe 'the multilingual' as an Other, and are hesitant to engage with the multilingualism present in the classroom. Nonetheless, the analyses show that PSTs have diverse experiences with language that teacher education can capitalise on when preparing them for multilingual schools. Furthermore, the PSTs are willing to create spaces for multilingualism even within monoglossic school systems, and are able to draw on their own and their students' complex linguistic repertoires when the situation requires it. This willingness and ability constitute a potential for teacher education in the process of preparing PSTs for multilingual classrooms.

Inland Norway
University of
Applied Sciences