

Countering Monolingual Ideologies: Pre-Service Teachers' Perspectives on Multilingualism in Edmonton, Alberta

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UNESCO's 2024 report recognizes multilingualism as a global norm, transforming classrooms into complex and dynamic teaching and learning environments. This study explores pre-service teachers' (PSTs) beliefs and attitudes toward multilingualism in education in Alberta. Specifically, it examines how PSTs' personal and professional identities shape their understanding of multilingualism and influence their teaching approaches to culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students. Data were collected from 78 PSTs through an anonymous online survey that included both closed- and open-ended questions, providing both quantitative and qualitative insights. The findings underscore the importance of PSTs embracing multilingualism in their professional identities and addressing students' linguistic backgrounds. The study also suggests how teacher education programs can better prepare PSTs to foster inclusive, linguistically responsive classrooms that value linguistic diversity.

Keywords: identity, language ideology, multilingualism, pre-service teachers (PSTs), teacher education

During a mandatory pre-service teacher education course in Western Canada on teaching language arts, students were introduced to the unique needs of multilingual learners in the classroom, including opportunities to use their home languages as learning resources, culturally responsive teaching practices, and assessments that reflect their developing language proficiency. Reflecting on lectures and activities, they asked: *How do I ensure that all students' languages are represented in the classroom? What if I do not have students who speak multiple languages in the classroom, —do I still need to teach it? How does the curriculum reflect the realities of linguistically diverse student populations?* Although the questions posed by pre-service teachers (PSTs) do not explicitly reflect asset-oriented perspectives, they point to the complexities that PSTs anticipate in multilingual classrooms and signal the importance of supporting them in developing pedagogical approaches that move beyond viewing linguistic diversity as a challenge.

Across the globe, “multilingual contexts are the norm rather than the exception” (UNESCO, 2024). The UNESCO World Atlas of Languages reports around 7,000 spoken or signed languages globally, with roughly half of the world's population being bilingual and navigating daily life in two or more languages or dialects. Given the increasing prevalence of multilingual communication worldwide, educators are working within environments where linguistic diversity is becoming the norm rather than the exception. In this context, it is important for teachers to reflect on their own professional and linguistic identities, particularly how their beliefs, language practices, and experiences influence their interactions with multilingual students. Aligning teachers' identities with the linguistic, cultural, and academic needs of

multilingual learners does not imply that teachers must share or mirror students' backgrounds. Instead, it involves developing an awareness of how one's linguistic, cultural, and professional identities influence pedagogy and using that awareness to adopt intentional, inclusive, asset-oriented approaches to multilingual learners' development. Additionally, teacher education programs need to equip PSTs with the skills necessary to effectively respond to diverse classroom contexts. To guide this perspective, we draw on the European Commission's (2007) definition of multilingualism as "the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (p. 6).

Teachers' beliefs shape classroom practices, especially regarding their perspectives on multilingualism. While much research exists on PSTs' beliefs in the United States and Europe (e.g., Fischer & Lahmann, 2020; Hutchison, 2021; Kardel et al., 2024), Canadian studies are fewer (e.g., Dagenais, 2008; Marshall & Moore, 2013), and recent reviews focus more on program evaluation (e.g., Leung et al., 2024; McNeilly et al., 2022; Wernicke, 2021) than on teachers' evolving beliefs, which are crucial for understanding how these beliefs develop in practice. This gap is especially important in Western Canada, where Alberta's K–12 curriculum emphasizes global competencies such as critical thinking, communication, and citizenship (Alberta Education, 2022, 2023, 2024), and fostering multilingualism aligns with these goals. While the European Commission's (2007) definition of multiculturalism reflects a more structuralist view of culture as bounded and group-based, we draw on a post-structuralist lens to analyze how these institutional definitions operate in practice. This approach enables us to critique how fixed policy categories shape PSTs' identities and language ideologies, while still acknowledging how such structuralist framings circulate within educational contexts and influence teacher preparation. Accordingly, this study addresses this gap in research by examining how PSTs are prepared to support the multilingual needs of their future students, in alignment with Alberta's educational priorities considering both the province's large and diverse multilingual population and the complexities introduced by recent curriculum changes. It examines how PSTs' personal and professional identities, along with their attitudes and beliefs about culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students, shape their understandings of multilingualism.

Background Information

Multiculturalism, Multilingualism, and Superdiversity: Evolving Demographics in Canada

Canada continues to embrace multiculturalism as a foundational principle for living in a diverse society. In 1988, Canada became the first country in the world to officially enshrine its multiculturalism policy into law when the Parliament of Canada passed the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. This legislation established a framework for promoting diversity, equality, and inclusion, recognizing multiculturalism as a defining characteristic of Canadian identity. It is premised on the understanding that culture, language, and identity are legitimate interests for ethnic and immigrant minorities and that public institutions must reasonably accommodate these interests (Kymlicka, 2017). Kymlicka (2017) argues that successfully integrating multicultural groups into Canadian society requires placing their cultural interests within the broader context of state–minority relations and issues of distributive justice. Building on this argument, James (as cited in Kymlicka, 2013), considers that multiculturalism was birthed as a "tool of civic voice for historically excluded and oppressed people," and "equality-seeking movements invoked the official commitment to multiculturalism to buttress their claims for inclusion and respect" (p. 103). However, critics (e.g., Barry, 2001; Lentin & Titley, 2011; Miah et al., 2020; Phillips & Saharso, 2008; Schnapper, 1994) contend that framing multiculturalism solely as the inclusion of cultural interests within liberal egalitarian justice fails to accurately address the true claims of minorities. There are also perspectives that multiculturalism

perpetuates neoliberal atomization, undermining collective social cohesion and shared identities through the intensification of ethnic revival and differentiation, leading to insecurity (Kymlicka, 2013; Lane, 2017).

Criticisms of multiculturalism in Canada have also arisen from the challenges between ethnocultural and linguistic diversity, and the realities of superdiversity,¹ through continuous international migration. International students, refugees, and migrant workers from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds across the world have made Canada their home. Statistics Canada (2023) confirms that “close to 98% of the growth in the Canadian population from July 1, 2022, to July 1, 2023, came from net international migration” (para. 2), and immigration now accounts for almost 100% of Canada’s labor force growth (IRCC, 2023). Some critics have raised concerns that the increasing number of non-English speakers in Canada contributes to linguistic insecurity. In this context, these scholars argue that Canada is better understood as a “multinational” state rather than a “multicultural” one, suggesting that multiculturalism functions more as a symbolic or rhetorical framework than as an accurate reflection of the country’s historical, social, and political realities (Lei & Guo, 2022; Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). This discourse over national identity and linguistic belonging underscores deeper challenges rooted in Canada’s official language policies. The promotion of English and French as Canada’s official languages, while central to the country’s national identity, simultaneously reinforces institutionalized systemic racism by marginalizing Indigenous and non-official languages. These dynamics are further exacerbated by policies (e.g., the *Canadian Multicultural Act*), while promoting multiculturalism on the surface, that “tacitly perpetuate cultural categorization and a linguistic hierarchy that has served to subjugate languages other than French and English” (Krasny & Sachar, 2017, p. 39). Therefore, when coupled with social exclusion, systemic racism helps sustain oppressive structures that hinder racialized minorities from fully integrating into society (Bonilla-Silva, 2022).

The institutional practice of monolingualism creates a systematic devaluation of minority languages while sustaining linguistic dominance in educational environments (Flores & Rosa, 2022). These mechanisms of power operate to uphold racial and linguistic hierarchies that consistently harm marginalized communities (Alim et al., 2023). Taylor and Wright (1989), in consideration of the oppressive power of language, note that “language is a resource that can be used to entrench the power of one group over another. For example, if one language is always used at important meetings, that language gains prestige and status over other available languages” (p. 87). Kymlicka (2013) notes that the form of multiculturalism that emerged in Canada was fundamentally an instrument of control, a comprehensive technology of state control of difference, and a “tool of domestication” to bring everyone into a shared national narrative (pp. 102–103). Building on Kymlicka’s analysis of multiculturalism as a means of state control, various scholars highlight how Canada’s increasingly complex immigration landscape challenges and transforms this traditional framework.

Numerous scholars have argued that Canada is becoming a paradigm of superdiversity because of its heterogeneous and multi-layered immigration framework. This phenomenon creates a number of critical variables that fundamentally reshape the construction of multiculturalism as a social and political paradigm (Gogolin, 2011; S. Guo & Wong, 2023; Kymlicka, 2010; Vertovec, 2007). Nearly half of Canada’s population will likely be immigrants or children of immigrants by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017); this is expected to contribute to growing patterns of segmentation within Canada’s superdiverse society. For example, Li et al. (2021) explain that superdiversity comes with a “new phenomenon that supersedes traditional conceptions of diversity” (p. 2). They argue that superdiversity provides a transformative

¹ The concept of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; Vertovec et al., 2022) captures the complex, multidimensional nature of contemporary diversity, especially within migrant populations. It challenges a narrow focus on ethnicity alone and instead highlights the interplay of multiple factors, such as legal status, language, and socioeconomic background, that shape migrants’ experiences of settlement, integration, and mobility. Despite critiques (Creese & Blackledge, 2018; Vertovec, 2019), scholars continue to find the concept useful for understanding these nuanced and evolving patterns.

framework that fundamentally reconfigures traditional notions of diversity. The concept of superdiversity differs from previous models because it shows how demographic, sociocultural, and transactional variables interact dynamically (Vertovec, 2007; Vertovec et al., 2022). In fact, Blommaert and Rampton (2011) explain that superdiversity better captures the categories of migrants in Canada “not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration” (p. 1). The new social formation suggests that the ethnocultural social condition necessitating the multicultural policy is either obsolete or outpaced and a new public perception is increasingly visible (Bannerji, 2020; Environics Institute, 2022; S. Guo & Wong, 2018; Jedwab, 2020; Reitz, 2022; Thobani, 2007; Vertovec, 2019). As a result, the implementation of multicultural policies remains a contested and critically debated issue (Hiebert, 2016; Li et al., 2021; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Spoonley, 2015).

The issues around multicultural policy remain because it was reductively formulated with the gaze of ethnic geographies without consideration for the substructures of equitable social justice, mainly as it concerns recognizing Indigenous land and sovereignty (Paine, 1999; St. Denis, 2011). Superdiversity theorists suggest a bricolage of methodologies that advance a multi-dimensional analysis of multiculturalism to identify more subtle patterns that underlie societies; this may need to include, but is not limited to, “migrants” (documented and undocumented), housing demographics, black and minority ethnic working-class people, as well as broader social conditions that reproduce inequality (Blommaert, 2013; Creese et al., 2018; Crul et al., 2012; King & Bigelow, 2018; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Therefore, for multiculturalism to be far-reaching, an intersectional analysis of society is necessary to fully engage with and address the multiple layers of difference and oppression that shape individuals’ experiences. When viewed through this intersectional lens, linguistic diversity becomes one of the key dimensions through which inequities are reproduced or challenged. Accordingly, recognizing the role of multilingualism in education becomes essential, as schools serve as critical spaces where intersecting cultural and linguistic identities must be supported and affirmed.

Globalization, Demographic Shifts, and Multilingualism in Edmonton: Implications for Education

Western Canada, a region where unique educational and cultural dynamics may shape teacher beliefs in ways distinct from other parts of the country, is increasingly reflective of the broader trends of globalization. Globalization, within the framework of multilingualism, refers to the global spread and interaction of languages driven by increased cross-border communication, trade, migration, and digital connectivity. This phenomenon underscores the mechanism through which languages evolve, compete, and influence each other in a globally interconnected world (Blommaert, 2010; Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 2006). It also significantly impacts education by shaping pedagogical approaches, curriculum development, and classroom dynamics (Spring, 2015; Zhao, 2018). Globalization has rendered Canadian K–12 classrooms linguistically, culturally, and racially diverse, and it is expected that through this process, classroom demographics will be even richer in these diversities over the next decade. These national trends are also reflected in provincial and municipal contexts, where patterns of migration are reshaping local demographics.

In 2023, Alberta experienced the most significant net gain in interprovincial migration to Western Canada, with an increase of 55,107 people compared to previous years (Statistics Canada, 2024). Specifically, the population of the city of Edmonton continues to rise, with approximately 12,000 immigrants having settled there over the past ten years, resulting in a shift in the city’s demography with over 300,000 immigrants. The City of Edmonton’s Annual Report (2021) revealed a population of 330,035 visible minorities living in Edmonton who are initially from South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Middle Eastern, Korean, and Japanese backgrounds. According to the 2021 Statistics

Canada census, 42.8% of Edmonton's residents were racialized, 5.8% as Indigenous (including 27,845 First Nations, 27,565 Métis, and 820 Inuit) (Government of Alberta, 2025). Moreover, the report projects that by 2050, 50% of Edmonton's population will consist of immigrants. With this growing diversity comes a significant increase in the variety of languages spoken in the city. Edmonton is home to many linguistic groups, with the "top ten languages being Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin), South Asian (Punjabi, Hindi, and Urdu), Tagalog, Spanish, German, Vietnamese, Polish, and Somali" (City of Edmonton, 2021, p. 5). Although recent statistics reflect a variety of languages spoken and known by Canadians, Canadian classrooms remain overwhelmingly English monolingual instructional environments where standardized English maintains hegemonic status. Supported by Dyson (2016) and Flores and Rosa (2015), Shank Lauwo et al. (2022) argue, "such standardized language practices tend to privilege White middle-class cultural and linguistic norms" (p. 114). These realities further perpetuate linguistic, cultural, and racial inequities in classrooms where students are unable to invest in their linguistic identities, perpetuating historic and systematic inequalities that continue to shape students' learning experiences. In fact, Y. Guo (2012) further states there are "increasing numbers of multilingual, multicultural, and multireligious learners in Canadian classrooms" (p. 4); however, classrooms are not equipped for these learners, and teacher preparation programs have not "caught up to these demographic changes" (p. 5). This argument reinforces Schecter and Cummins's (2003) assertion, "Today, when increasing numbers of school populations in North American metropolitan centers come from non-English-speaking home backgrounds, the implications of this reality for policy and pedagogy are as unclear as they were in 1988," and numerous schools are "ill-equipped to provide educational services" in response to these changing patterns (pp. 2–3). These long-standing observations highlight a persistent gap between demographic realities and educational preparation, underscoring the need for a paradigm shift, one that repositions linguistic diversity not as a barrier to be managed but as a foundational resource for equitable and effective education.

As early as 1953, a UNESCO draft resolution underscored that the development of human capital is a fundamental objective of education (UNESCO, 1953). To support this aim, the resolution emphasized the importance of grounding education in a multilingual framework. UNESCO (2001, 2019, 2024) advocates for using multilingual approaches at all educational levels, acknowledging their importance in linguistically diverse societies. Incorporating learners' home languages not only improves learning quality but also builds on the existing knowledge and experiences of students and teachers. This approach aligns with the Alberta Education Teaching Quality Standard (TQS), particularly Standard 1: Fostering Effective Relationships, which underscores the importance of building "positive and productive relationships with students, parents/guardians, peers, and others in the school and local community to support student learning" (Alberta Education, 2023, p. 3). This standard also emphasizes the development of culturally relevant pedagogies, as reflected in Section C, which advocates for "providing culturally appropriate and meaningful opportunities for students and for parents/guardians, as partners in education, to support students' learning," and Section F, which highlights the need for "honouring cultural diversity and promoting intercultural understanding" (p. 3).

In Edmonton, the concept of superdiversity plays a vital role in shaping an ideological framework that supports a multilingual approach in local schools and districts. For example, Edmonton, recognized as one of the world's top public-school systems, has seized the opportunity to embrace linguistic ambition (Speck, 2008). Apart from being the first city in Canada to implement a multilingual framework in its public schools, the Edmonton Public School Board (EPSB) was also the first educational jurisdiction in North America to adopt the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and the European Language Portfolio. This self-assessment tool helps language learners focus on their strengths in language and cultural proficiency, rather than their deficiencies (Speck, 2008). Furthermore, as d'Anglejan (1985) notes, "in 1971, due to pressure from the Ukrainian community, Alberta became the first province to legalize language instruction other than French or English in the public school system" (p. 120); a remarkable move that led to the offering of five heritage languages (German, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Chinese, and Arabic) in

Edmonton public schools. Since then, growing linguistic diversity has made it essential for educational institutions, especially in emerging multilingual hubs like Edmonton (Wakefield, 2017), to develop multilingual policy initiatives. Prioritizing multilingualism in education is imperative because it enables educators to move beyond restrictive English-only instructional models and instead leverage the rich linguistic repertoires of students and their families (Cummins et al., 2015; Krasny & Sachar, 2017; Sachar, 2017; Sachar & Krasny, 2024). Teacher education plays a crucial role in this process, as it shapes how PSTs develop beliefs, attitudes, and strategies for supporting multilingual learners.

Constructing Pre-Service Teachers' Beliefs

We leverage Fives and Buehl's (2012) work to articulate and gain an understanding of teachers' beliefs regarding embracing multilingualism in Alberta's classrooms. In their work, Fives and Buehl delineate two continua representing the spectrum of beliefs, with one end characterized by implicit beliefs and the other by explicit beliefs. Implicit beliefs, operating outside conscious control, unknowingly shape a teacher's actions and understanding of their teaching experiences. Because these beliefs are beyond a teacher's ability to influence, self-reflection cannot change them. Conversely, the explicit beliefs held by teachers, as highlighted by Fives and Buehl, possess a conscious and readily expressible nature, enabling teachers to articulate them clearly through oral and written communication. They reveal the intricate nature of teachers' belief systems, demonstrating that they are not singular but rather encompass a complex interplay of factors such as the teacher's self-perception, the school's context and environment, the curriculum and knowledge base of the subject being taught, the chosen teaching strategies, and the individual characteristics and needs of the students in their classrooms. Fives and Buehl note that these interconnected beliefs serve many purposes, such as offering a lens through which to interpret situations, establishing a framework for identifying classroom issues, and providing a guide for making decisions and taking action. However, they offer a caveat: Teachers' beliefs are not fixed and may change over time based on knowledge, experiences, and professional development opportunities. Similarly, Kunter et al. (2013) and Voss and Kunter (2019) suggest that the beliefs held by teachers are fluid entities; they are subject to change and evolve in response to new knowledge, personal experiences, and engagement in professional development initiatives.

Pre-Service Teachers' Beliefs about Multilingualism

While there is a growing body of research demonstrating the promise of multilingual and plurilingual instruction, there are continuous challenges that PSTs face teaching to these theoretical concepts based on their own language ideologies and teacher identities (Barros et al., 2021; Fischer & Lahmann, 2020; Goltsev et al., 2022; Iversen, 2021; Shank Lauwo et al., 2022). For example, Iversen's (2022) narrative analysis of the experiences with multilingualism of six PSTs in Norway found that participants did not have an adequate understanding of vocabulary to discuss multilingualism in education. As a result, this led participants to present "the multilingual" as someone radically different from themselves (p. 140). In the United States, Doorn and Schumm (2013) found that PSTs held positive attitudes toward teaching linguistically diverse students and promoting multilingualism but also viewed it as a challenge. These perceptions grew stronger as they advanced through their program. For example, many felt that teachers must be able to fully understand the linguistic demands of the classroom and they must be familiar with the methods of instruction to fully support the diversity of learners in the classroom. Scholars have also noted that teachers' beliefs about language strongly influence their classroom practices, underscoring the continued need for research in this area, particularly in Canada (e.g., Bouchard, 2024; Maatouk & Payant, 2022; Rajendram et al., 2022). Additionally, despite theoretical and empirical advances, a persistent gap remains between

research and classroom practice in language education. Meier (2016), for example, highlights two major challenges slowing pedagogical change: enduring monolingual norms among teachers and insufficient guidance on how to implement multilingual approaches (as cited in Burner & Carlsen, 2023). Recent Canadian studies reinforce these concerns. An evaluation of pre-service teacher education programs in Quebec found that many institutions still offer limited or no coursework focused on linguistic diversity or multilingual learners, leaving teacher candidates underprepared for multilingual classrooms (Leung et al., 2024). Collectively, this body of work points to the need for strategies that disrupt monolingual ideologies and practices while addressing the inequities that persist in educational spaces. Building on this, the present study asks: How do pre-service teachers in Edmonton, perceive multilingualism, and in what ways can they be supported to foster inclusive practices in multilingual classrooms?

Theoretical Frameworks

Post-Structuralism: Language Ideologies and Teacher Identity

The study adopts a post-structuralist perspective on identity, informed by the work of Canagarajah (2000, 2017a, 2017b), Hall and Du Gay (1996), and Norton (2013). Guided by this theoretical framework, we aim to explore how PSTs navigate their social positions, linguistic resources, and perceptions of language, especially as they envision their roles in linguistically diverse schools and classroom settings. Our primary focus is on unravelling the intricate connections between identity construction and power dynamics crucial to the development of teacher identity. This understanding informs the dynamic process of becoming, shaping how individuals engage in their professional practice. This perspective resonates with Hall and Du Gay's notion that "identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being" (p. 4).

Extending this process-oriented view of identity to the realm of language policy, Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech (2015; see also Irvine, 2012) emphasize that ideology and attitudes are integral to language planning, shaping the potential for multilingualism as an education policy. Irvine (1989) defines language ideologies as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p. 255). To examine PSTs' language ideologies, we also draw on Richard Ruíz's (1984) seminal orientations to language planning: language as a problem, as a right, and as a resource. Ruíz argued that these orientations represent the underlying ideological stances that shape policy decisions, educational practices, and societal attitudes toward multilingualism:

Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues, they determine the basic questions we ask, the conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves. Orientations are related to language attitudes in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society. (p. 16)

While the "language as a resource" orientation has guided many contemporary, asset-based approaches to multilingual education, it is equally as important to acknowledge how deficit-oriented assumptions persist though the "language as a problem" stance. The language-as-problem orientation positions linguistic diversity as something that impedes academic success, social integration, or effective instruction. Ruíz underscores that minority languages, "non-English language groups," have often been construed as having a "handicap to be overcome," leading to language policies that prioritize assimilation to English. Historically, this stance has underpinned approaches to bilingual education that emphasize "teaching

English, even at the expense of the first language” in order to remediate presumed deficiencies linked to language diversity (p. 19). Such deficit framings not only position minoritized students’ linguistic repertoires as liabilities but also limit what schools and teachers view as possible, desirable, or legitimate in multilingual learning environments. These dimensions enable us to analyze how societies perceive and handle languages, influencing policies, educational practices, and social interactions.

In our study, Ruíz’s (1984) framework specifically informs our analysis by illuminating the complex dynamics of language ideologies among PSTs and their implications for these individuals, their teaching communities, and broader shifts away from viewing schooling and language education as exclusively monolingual. This theoretical grounding also strengthens the rationale for advocating a shift toward resource-oriented perspectives that recognize multilingualism as an asset in content-area instruction. By situating PSTs’ attitudes within Ruíz’s orientations, we can more clearly trace how their discourses align with or resist dominant sociolinguistic ideologies. This analytical lens is essential for understanding how power and ideology intersect with challenges faced by linguistically diverse students. For example, although institutional discourses on multiculturalism and multilingual and multicultural education often rely on fixed, structuralist categorizations that privilege certain languages, the languages promoted in schools inevitably shape pedagogical approaches, policies, and the validation of particular ideas and perspectives. This underscores the intricate relationship between power dynamics and linguistic ideologies within educational contexts. At the same time, our post-structuralist lens highlights how PSTs’ identities and beliefs are discursively shaped by these power structures, which in turn inform their language ideologies.

Legitimate Language

This study examines language as a site of power struggles, utilizing Pierre Bourdieu’s (1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) framework, which explains how languages are legitimized through the linguistic market, a hierarchized social space that rewards dominant varieties (e.g., “academic English”) while delegitimizing others. Bourdieu’s model diverges from structuralist approaches to language by presenting a socially constructed framework that explores three essential elements: the linguistic market, linguistic habitus, and symbolic capital as a form of power.

Despite Canada’s increasingly multilingual demographics that extend beyond the English–French binary, standardized languages continue to uphold symbolic power. Multilingual individuals are situated within complex power dynamics, especially in contexts like Canada, where they must navigate between dominant official languages and their home languages. Slakov (2020) states, “the presence of immigrants seems to disturb what was otherwise perceived as a good, stable social order with clearly defined dominant national language(s)” (p. 7), even though multilingualism has always been integral to language evolution (Clyne, 2003). In this context, Sachar (2017), drawing on Bourdieu (1977), García (2009a, 2009b), and Walsh (1991), highlights that standardized language carries symbolic power. This power reinforces systems of domination and keeps deficit stereotypes alive. As a result, this normalization creates monoglossic ideologies, beliefs that prioritize one language variety, which obscure students’ diverse linguistic practices and identities.

Following Bourdieu (1991, 1992), Canada’s multilingual ecology operates through competing regimes of linguistic legitimacy. Bourdieu (1991) argues that symbolic power does not reside in “symbolic systems” but is “defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it, i.e. in the very structure of the field in which belief is produced and reproduced” (p. 170). The educational system perpetuates this phenomenon, as teacher preparation programs contend with symbolic violence of linguistic domination, which Bourdieu (1991) describes as the institutional enforcement of “legitimate” language norms (e.g., standard academic dialects) that systematically marginalize the

vernacular repertoires students bring to classrooms. As such, teacher educators should be encouraged to critically reflect on dominant language ideologies, including their own, to better affirm and support the linguistic and cultural identities of their future students.

Methodology

This study used a mixed-format online survey comprising both closed-ended and open-ended questions to explore PSTs' beliefs and attitudes toward multilingualism. Closed-ended items (e.g., Likert-scale and multiple-choice questions) captured quantifiable trends across participants, while open-ended items invited participants to elaborate on their personal and professional experiences, offering richer, qualitative insights.

The survey instrument was developed based on existing literature on multilingual education, teacher identity, and culturally responsive pedagogy. To ensure content validity, the survey was reviewed by a panel of faculty experts in education and multilingualism, who provided feedback on the clarity, appropriateness, and coverage of the questions. In addition, pilot testing with a small group of participants ($n = 10$) provided further confirmation that the instrument was understood as intended and adequately captured the key constructs.

The open-ended questions also provided an opportunity for participants to share richer, qualitative insights, which helped triangulate the findings from the closed-ended items. This mixed-methods approach allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of PSTs' beliefs and attitudes, complementing the limitations of relying solely on closed-ended questions.

The study focused on answering the following research questions:

1. What are the language attitudes and ideologies toward multilingualism of pre-service teachers in Edmonton?
 - a) How do these attitudes and ideologies shape their professional identities?
 - b) How do these attitudes and ideologies influence their classroom practices and learning for multilingual students?
2. How can pre-service teachers be supported in developing inclusive practices for multilingual classrooms in Edmonton?

Positionality

Our positionalities are shaped by our critical work and personal lived experiences, one of us as a first-generation immigrant, the other as a second-generation immigrant, and as educators navigating diverse cultural and linguistic contexts. Sonya, a South Asian woman and second-generation immigrant, has over a decade of experience teaching with the Toronto District School Board, as well as years working in Bachelor of Education and pre-service teacher programs. Her lived experience as a member of a linguistically diverse diaspora community informs her commitment to understanding how language, identity, and power intersect in schools. Omoregie, a Black PhD candidate and first-generation immigrant to Canada, began his teaching career in elementary and secondary education before pursuing doctoral studies focused on decolonizing citizenship and citizenship education. His journey shapes his attention to how race, culture, and citizenship influence teaching and learning. Together, our intersecting identities and experiences enrich our work in teacher education, shaping how we engage with and support educators working alongside linguistically and culturally diverse students and communities.

Participants

A total of 120 pre-service teachers who were enrolled in various program streams within one teacher education program in Edmonton during the 2023–2024 academic year were recruited to participate in this study. These streams included the After Degree Program, Five-Year Combined Degree Program, Four-Year Secondary Program, Aboriginal Teacher Education Program, and Internationally Educated Teachers program. Between September and December 2023, program coordinators shared study information and an anonymous survey link with students and instructors. Instructors then posted the survey link on their course websites to ensure participation across diverse cohorts, regardless of year of study, course placement, or language background, in order to understand the breadth of the institution. Participation was voluntary, with no exclusion criteria. Of the 120 who were recruited, 78 PSTs completed the anonymous online survey. Participants were informed that completion of the survey constituted their consent to participate in the study. The study complied with institutional guidelines.

The majority of the participants were enrolled in the elementary and secondary four-year undergraduate program and were in their third year of the program. About 92% of the participants were born and raised in Canada and were largely from the Edmonton region or Western Canada (e.g., Manitoba, Vancouver, Saskatchewan), and 62% of participants had no teaching experience prior to entering the program. Of those, 87% had fewer than five years of teaching experience. The participants' experiences ranged from athletic coaching (e.g., swimming, skiing, dance) to daycare support and teaching at religious weekend schools (e.g., Sunday school, Catholic summer school).

Data Collection and Analysis

Online surveys were distributed to multiple undergraduate courses and sections. Participants completed a survey consisting of 30 questions. The survey gathered demographic information, such as age, languages the PSTs can speak, read, and write, country of birth, institution, and program. The remainder of the survey consisted of four parts: understandings of multilingualism; beliefs about multilingualism in Alberta; beliefs regarding culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) classrooms; multilingualism and professional identities and future practices. In each of these parts, participants completed five-point Likert scale questions about their understanding and beliefs, and they responded to closed-ended and short-answer questions. For the analysis of closed-ended questions and Likert-scale responses, we solely used descriptive statistics, focusing primarily on percentages. For open-ended questions, qualitative content analysis was conducted through emergent coding, a process developed and verified by the research team. Thematic analysis involves noting the relationships, similarities, and differences in the data. According to Miles et al. (2019), data analysis can be generalized as reducing data, developing a data display, and drawing up conclusions about the data.

Findings and Analysis

The themes below highlight key insights and observations drawn from the research, shedding light on the language attitudes and ideologies of PSTs toward multilingualism. Participant quotes are included to illustrate these key themes, reflecting broader patterns in the data and providing concrete examples of participants' perspectives. These insights are essential for understanding how their perspectives may become integral to their professional identities and classroom practices, offering a foundation for addressing the research questions.

Conceptualizations of Multilingualism

Examining the application of multilingualism in education exposes epistemological challenges, specifically the problematic essentialization of the concept, which contributes to a non-descript understanding of its nuances. There is a need to understand how the principles of multilingualism can be successfully applied in different contexts, particularly in education and classroom pedagogies, and a comprehensive analysis of its dynamic landscape is required. Broadly speaking, what multilingualism means is the use of more than one language socially or in everyday life by individuals or groups or in institutions (Franceschini, 2009, pp. 33–34). This approach to defining multilingualism is distinctive in its emphasis on quantifying the number of languages spoken, assigning numerical values to both individual and societal language repertoires. Our study reveals that PSTs have embraced this linguistic metric, which originates from the field of applied linguistics.

As part of the study, participants were asked to share their understanding of multilingualism. The responses revealed a clear pattern, which can be grouped into distinct themes:

1. The ability to read, write, and speak in two or more languages
2. Speaking more than one language
3. The ability to speak more than three languages
4. The ability to use two or more languages, through speech or writing
5. The ability to speak, write, read, and understand more than one language
6. Learning about others' culture, experience, and views
7. Incorporating and protecting the rights of multiple languages

The data revealed a significant trend: 71% of the observed thematic patterns focused on assessing multilingualism in quantitative terms, primarily considering the number of languages spoken. In contrast, 29% of the respondents gave a qualitative and descriptive interpretation of what it means to be a multilingual educator, focusing on its potential to foster relationships, cultural understanding, and student confidence. For example, one respondent stated,

I would define multilingualism as a quality or a skill that someone has in which they can speak, understand, listen, or read in more than 1 language, or more than just the language they were born into/with. After more thought, I would also say that in the sense of teaching, it's not just about understanding other languages, but it is also about being able to connect with people—especially students—in ways that they can understand what you are saying and that will help make them understand what you are teaching in a productive way towards their learning.

For this question, another PST elaborated on this point and stated, “Multilingualism is the ability and fluency to read, write, and speak in more than one language. You must also be able to engage with a society or culture that revolves around that particular language on a regular basis.” Although a significant number of the participants expressed a strong understanding of the terminology related to multilingualism, and a subset of the participants highlighted nuances in how multilingualism can impact communication and cultural exchange, there is still a lack of comprehensive understanding of the social aspects of multilingualism. Applying sociolinguistics to the conceptualizations of multilingual education present significant epistemological challenges for pre-service teachers, often leading to apprehension and reluctance toward embracing multilingualism. A comprehensive understanding of specific educational contexts is essential for effective interdisciplinary knowledge transfer. To better prepare future educators, it is necessary to challenge and reassess how they view multilingualism in education, moving beyond

restrictive linguistic frameworks and metrics. Thus, a holistic approach that considers the diverse educational landscape is critical to fully realizing the potential of multilingual education and achieving its revitalized goals.

Building on the works of various scholars (Canagarajah, 2012; García, 2009a; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Heller, 2007; Lytra, 2016; Otheguy et al., 2015; Wei, 2018; Wei & Garica, 2022), we gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of multilingualism, particularly in relation to the social, cultural, and contextual factors that shape language use and educational practices. We argue that multilingualism is both a theory and a practice. It encompasses a set of ideas, conceptualizations, and discourses about language and culture within social groups, while also reflecting dynamic, multifaceted, and evolving practices shaped by historical forces. For instance, the rise of globalization, which began in the 1820s and accelerated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, marked a peak in international trade, migration, and the movement of financial capital. These factors dramatically increased global interconnectedness, facilitating the flow of languages across borders. The fluidity of this trend significantly impacts how linguistic interactions are processed and interpreted within education, creating both challenges and opportunities for educators. The complexities of multilingual education continue to present obstacles in defining the role of the multilingual educator. Moving beyond a purely quantitative perspective requires a new understanding of multilingual education, one that enables pre-service teachers to fully embrace and engage with it. Despite recognizing multilingualism's benefits, some PSTs expressed reservations bordering on indifference, viewing it as impractical for their teaching context.

Language Ideologies and Attitudes of Apathy toward Multilingualism

Having explored the participants' understanding of multilingualism, the survey questions aimed to delve deeper into their personal beliefs and personalizations regarding its significance and impact, further amplifying PSTs' perspectives on the topic. These personal beliefs, in turn, influence how PSTs perceive the integration of multilingualism in their future classrooms. The study revealed that participants clearly understand the positive impact of multilingualism and acknowledge its ability to facilitate better relationships and cultural understanding, contributing to cognitive development and boosting students' confidence in their identity. For example, one PST stated, "I believe it is important to support and promote multilingualism in our schools and classrooms, especially with the growing rates of immigration into Canada. Honouring each student's diverse languages, cultures, and experiences is important." Another participant reiterated similar views: "I believe every student should see themselves positively represented in the world and be able to use their home language. I think multilingualism is also an indicator of high intelligence, determination, and discipline." However, the data also highlighted several challenges that PSTs expected to face when incorporating multilingual pedagogy into their future teaching. These anticipated difficulties often overshadowed the potential benefits of adopting multilingual pedagogical strategies.

When considering their future classrooms, 63% of participants expressed reservations about using these practices. For example, one participant stated, "Teachers already have a lot on their plates, so adding multiple languages, language barriers, and the need to help children engage in a language you don't even speak can be problematic." Another participant echoed similar concerns: "Much more effort from teachers is needed to constantly accommodate different students and support their languages within the curriculum ... I feel like it can be stressful for a teacher to plan for multilingualism in the classroom." One participant, who plans on teaching math, expressed skepticism about the relevance of multilingual pedagogy in their future practice: "I plan on teaching math so I don't see how it would be relevant [sic]." This perspective highlights a common concern among PSTs, who may perceive multilingual approaches as more suited to language or social studies classes rather than subjects like math, which they feel may not require such

strategies. Various participants also expressed apprehensiveness toward multilingual pedagogy, with one stating, “seems like there are more important things to learn,” while another said, “would be good if it’s optional.” Therefore, despite acknowledging the importance of multilingual practices, participants suggested that these strategies should be optional rather than mandatory. Additionally, the challenges expressed by PSTs regarding their pursuit or embrace of multilingualism as future educators raise concerns about their willingness to integrate multilingual approaches in their classrooms and may foster passive attitudes toward incorporating multilingualism into their subject-area teaching. Specifically, these findings illustrate Ruíz’s (1984) language-as-problem orientation, showing how the deficit perspective on language planning and practice, often underdeveloped in PSTs’ understandings, positions non-English languages as obstacles rather than assets. For PSTs to fully embrace their identities as multilingual educators, it is essential for them to engage more deeply with these practices in their future teaching environments. Attitudes of apathy toward multilingualism are often influenced by prevailing language ideologies that prioritize monolingualism or deem multilingualism as unnecessary, thereby privileging a dominant language and undervaluing linguistic diversity. In considering PSTs’ language ideologies, it is also crucial to take into account their personal language experiences and abilities.

Pre-Service Programs Promoting Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD) and Multilingual Awareness

A crucial element of this research study centres on multilingual awareness within the context of post-secondary educational institutions. PSTs reported that higher education seldom addresses multilingualism, suggesting that awareness shapes their beliefs. The PSTs from our study mentioned that discussions around multilingualism occur alongside and often intertwine with conversations about diversity and inclusion initiatives. This evidence shows that the teacher education courses overlooked the specific needs of CLD classrooms and students.

Despite 83% of our respondents agreeing on incorporating students’ home languages into classrooms, the lack of adequate pre-service coursework addressing CLD students, as shown by 75% of respondents, creates an unachievable goal and may lead to teacher apathy because of a lack of awareness. This lack of focus can lead to multilingualism being perceived as a trendy social justice buzzword, acknowledging linguistic minority students superficially without genuinely addressing their linguistic needs. Such gaps create a clear mismatch between the curriculum and the realities of increasingly linguistically diverse student populations. As a result, the concept of multilingualism in education remains vague and poorly defined, leaving PSTs uncertain about how to implement multilingual pedagogies effectively. This ambiguity can generate frustration and a sense of disempowerment, for both pre-service teachers and the students they are preparing to teach.

Our analysis found that 79.2% of the respondents indicated that they are linguistically responsive in some ways, being passionate about understanding their students and doing what they could to respond to their needs. However, this responsiveness does not go hand in hand with the critical multilingual literacy that is needed to fully comprehend the duties that are expected of them as potential multilingual teachers and the responsibilities that they are expected to take in a classroom that is linguistically diverse. Students who are in the process of becoming teachers require support in effectively planning and managing lessons that cater to multilingual learning environments and diverse linguistic backgrounds. Despite the expressed concerns and uncertainties among PSTs, it appears that pre-service programs are not fully addressing these challenges, leaving many future educators feeling unprepared. Among survey participants, 64.8% voiced concerns about their ability to effectively teach multilingual students, citing insufficient training, limited resources, and a lack of knowledge. Additionally, many reported fears of making mistakes due to their limited language vocabulary, proficiency, and cultural awareness, which contributed to their uncertainty

about how to best support these students. This uncertainty is reflected in the 62.8% of participants who indicated a lack of confidence in their ability to serve multilingual students effectively. As a follow-up question, participants were asked whether multilingualism was addressed in their pre-service programs. While 62.3% responded that it was, the majority of these respondents shared that there were limited courses, typically only two courses offered in the first year of their program. Additionally, some participants expressed concern that multilingualism and cultural diversity were not adequately addressed throughout their program, noting that these topics were only “briefly touched on.” For example, one PST expressed, “It has been briefly touched on, but I do not feel that I truly understand how to best support multilingual students ... I am not sure how to approach that in a way that is best for the child.” Another respondent shared, “I do not feel the education program has prepared me to teach multilingual learners so far.”

Although many participants expressed concerns about their program’s preparation for teaching multilingual and CLD student populations, some still conveyed that these topics were not important, as they planned to teach other subject areas. As noted above, one respondent shared, “I plan on teaching math so I don’t see how it would be relevant [sic].” This perspective reflects the assumption that multilingualism is primarily relevant to liberal arts disciplines and not to other subject areas, with the belief that subjects like mathematics have their own universal language. However, a multilingual approach to learning aims to create a more inclusive and equitable environment for linguistically diverse classrooms. This is especially important in mathematics, as it has the potential to promote higher-level competence and abstraction. By incorporating students’ funds of knowledge in their home language(s), a multilingual approach can counteract cultural limitations that may otherwise hinder their learning (Gonzalez et al., 2005; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992).

In classrooms that employ multilingual pedagogies, diverse perspectives enhance the understanding of complex concepts across various subject areas, including mathematics, language arts, and sciences. It fosters an authentic, supportive learning environment that encourages active participation while building on students’ prior knowledge, skills, and abilities. This approach nurtures both creative and critical thinking, caters to different learning styles, and strengthens students’ transferable skills, helping them communicate their thinking clearly and coherently (Bairy, 2019). Nevertheless, it is crucial that pre-service programs emphasize language learning across the curriculum in all subject areas. This is vital for their training, ensuring that multilingualism is integrated into every aspect of learning. This focus is particularly important in the Canadian context, where linguistic diversity is increasingly prevalent and plays a significant role in shaping the educational experience.

Discussion

Through an analysis of discursive patterns, our study reveals how teachers’ identity is shaped by cultural belief systems, personal experiences, and political-moral narratives. These dynamics unfold within specific knowledge frameworks, showcasing the complex interplay between ideology and lived contexts. Craig’s (2023) research significantly highlights the considerable influence a teacher’s values, emotions, and self-perception have within the educational environment and upon their students. It is crucial to understand how the interwoven functions of teachers’ beliefs and personal identities, coupled with language planning processes, impact multilingual practices, as these elements play an integral role in shaping the multilingual environment within educational settings (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2016). Investigating language orientation supports both the construction and the critical examination of linguistic identities and ideologies that may limit teachers’ openness to multilingualism. By revisiting our initial theoretical lenses—Canagarajah, Hall and du Gay, and Norton—we interpret our findings through a view of teacher identity, revealing that teachers’ identity is fluid, discursively constructed, and shaped by power, institutional

structures, and multilingual contexts. These perspectives illuminate how PSTs negotiate their professional identities and enact their ideologies within dynamic, multilingual classroom environments.

Inductively, the data reveal patterns of monolingual hegemony among PSTs, which can be understood as a consequence of Canada's official language policy recognizing the country as bilingual. In Alberta, English is the official language, with 96.8% of the population reporting English as their first language, 1.7% reporting French, and 6.1% identifying as bilingual (Government of Canada, 2024). It is important to note that the participants in this study were third-year undergraduate students enrolled in four-year elementary and secondary education programs. They had less than five years of prior teaching experience and were born and raised predominantly in the Edmonton region of Alberta. Previous research (Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016; Kubota & Bale, 2020) demonstrates that entrenched power structures within Canadian schools continue to promote English monolingualism, perpetuating a colonial legacy that "re-inscribes" and reinforces racialized linguistic hierarchies (Shin & Sterzuk, 2019, p. 151). These findings highlight the ongoing challenge of addressing linguistic diversity within teacher education programs in Alberta.

Although globalization has significantly impacted the social, cultural, and linguistic landscape of Alberta, as it has in other provinces across Canada (e.g., Ontario, British Columbia), the teacher training system has failed to adapt to these changes, consequently leaving the majority of PSTs as white, middle-class, female, and monolingual individuals (Hodgkinson, 2002; Shank Lauwo et al., 2022). As many teacher candidates are trained in monolingual settings, their developing teacher identities, professional development, and future practice are shaped by these environments. To effectively support learning in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms, it is essential for PSTs to critically reflect on their own identities and teaching approaches. Given the ongoing gap between theory and practice, future research could explore how PSTs' beliefs and attitudes evolve during practicum experiences in multilingual classroom settings.

Conclusion and Implications

Although applied linguistics provides valuable insights into multilingualism, effectively applying this knowledge requires careful consideration of the specific challenges and dynamics within each multilingual context. As our data reveal, many programs continue to deliver content that marginalizes multilingualism and cultural diversity, failing to equip future educators with the tools necessary to implement inclusive and culturally sustaining practices in their classrooms. We advocate for creating a multilingual "third space"² (Bhabha, 1994) designed to actively and effectively address the critical needs of today's linguistically diverse classrooms while simultaneously acknowledging and responding to the realities of existing teacher preparation programs. The implementation of a multilingual "third space" as structural reform helps overcome institutional barriers; however, we need to understand how these spaces protect fundamental ontological aspects of language. According to Azoulay (2018), language transcends mere communication and is fundamental to our humanity, embodying "our values, beliefs, and identities." One's epistemological condition is deeply shaped by one's mother tongue, which serves as the primary framework for knowledge. The diversity of languages reflects the richness of human experience and imagination, as language itself transmits our collective experiences, traditions, knowledge, and ways of knowing and often reflects the order of our thoughts. There are "border crossing" (Giroux, 2005) challenges

² The concept of the "third space," developed by Homi K. Bhabha (1994), refers to an ambivalent space where cultural meanings and identities are negotiated. It disrupts binary oppositions and enables the emergence of hybrid identities. We use this concept as a way forward for how pre-service teachers can navigate their own identities while reconciling the multilingual realities of their future classrooms.

when multilingualism is transferred from applied linguistics to teaching and learning because of differences in their epistemic affordances, making PSTs view its application with strangeness and apathy. A third-space pedagogical approach within teacher education, seeking to foster a dialogic interaction within the complex and contextual milieus in which multilingualism operates, would help bridge this gap rather than essentializing the way in which multilingualism is understood in applied linguistics.

The study also highlights how multilingual education serves as a decolonial praxis because it moves beyond deficit frameworks. A multilingual educator breaks colonial rules by placing students' language(s) and cultural knowledge as equally valid forms of knowledge, rather than simply allowing language diversity (García & Wei, 2014; wa Thiong'o, 1986). The approach requires more than speaking a student's language(s), as it demands the inclusion of their cultural artifacts, along with multilingual resources, into curriculum development, lesson creation, and assessment methods (Makalela, 2015). While such research over the last two decades has demonstrated the effectiveness of incorporating cultural contexts into teaching—in contexts such as South Africa through the use of isiZulu folktales (Mbatha, 2020), Indigenous early childhood education initiatives in Canada (Ball & Pence, 2006), and bilingual education programs in Quebec (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2008)—this growing body of evidence consistently shows that culturally responsive teaching fosters deeper connections between students and the material. These approaches enhance engagement, affirm learners' identities, and improve educational outcomes. However, despite these findings in Canada, significant challenges persist within pre-service teacher education.

As our data reveal, many programs continue to deliver content that marginalizes multilingualism and cultural diversity, failing to equip future educators with the tools and mindset needed to implement inclusive, culturally sustaining practices in their classrooms. More than this, there is often little space within these programs for teacher candidates to critically examine their own identities, beliefs, and assumptions, an essential step in preparing to work effectively in diverse, multilingual learning environments. While PSTs face significant barriers such as workload and limited time or resources, one potential approach for teacher educators is the development of a practice-centred curriculum. Although PSTs may not have direct control over curriculum design, such an approach can mitigate these challenges by providing actionable teaching skills grounded in equity and inclusion, creating structured opportunities for reflection and identity work, and offering concrete model lessons or activity examples. By integrating these elements, teacher educators can support PSTs in implementing multilingual pedagogies more confidently and effectively.

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