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Developing Language-aware Immersion Teacher Education: Identifying Characteristics through a Study of Immersion Teacher Socialisation

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Language aware schools need to be supported by language aware teacher education. In this study we analysed teacher socialisation among class teachers in Swedish immersion in Finland by qualitative content analysis of immersion teacher group discussions. We found that immersion teacher socialisation occurred mainly after entering the profession, as the participants had not participated in immersion themselves and had not attended a teacher education programme specifically designed for immersion. Based on the findings related to immersion socialisation we argue how the teacher education needs to be developed in order to better support teacher socialisation for language aware schools.

Keywords: immersion education, language immersion, teacher education, language awareness, teacher education, immersion teacher socialisation

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to develop language-aware immersion teacher education by analysing immersion teacher socialisation in Finland. The research is about teachers' experiences of teacher socialisation in schools aware of the relation between language and content. By language-aware schools we refer to a professional 'community that discusses attitudes towards languages and linguistic communities and understands the key importance of

language for learning, interaction and cooperation and for the building of identities and socialisation' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016, p. 29, see also European Commission, 2018).

Language immersion is one of the earliest and best-researched models for additive bilingual education (Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2013). There is a growing interest in issues regarding immersion teacher education (Cammarata & Ó Ceallaigh, 2018). Finland is one of the pioneers in providing immersion teacher education, and *Swedish immersion* is an educational programme starting in preschool and continuing until the end of basic education. During the programme, half of the instruction is delivered through the medium of Finnish (majority language) and half through the medium of Swedish (minority language). The pupils do not speak the immersion language (Swedish) at home and teachers in Swedish immersion give instruction either in Swedish or in Finnish (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen, 2011). In this study, the focus is on the experiences of the immersion teachers teaching in Swedish in otherwise Finnish-medium schools. These teachers have a double role, as they teach both the (second) language and the content at the same time. We expect this double role to have an impact on teacher socialisation, and we analyse three group discussions to identify what kinds of experiences influence teacher socialisation prior and after qualification and how these experiences relate to immersion education specifically. We then proceed to discuss how insights from these experiences can be used to further develop language-aware immersion teacher education.

2. Immersion teacher socialisation

In this section we examine the study's key concept immersion teacher socialisation and unpack its' vital components. We start by discussing a more general orientation to teacher

socialisation and continue by examining the more specialised immersion teacher socialisation after.

Socialisation is an ongoing process, which has an impact on each individual. It refers to the process when one learns to live in society, including the acquisition of behaviours, habits, attitudes and values in school, through family, friends and the mass media (White, 1977). *Teacher socialisation* includes acquiring the teacher culture, with its norms, values, language and symbols related to the teacher profession, but also helping to shape and transform these things (Aspfors, Bendtsen, & Hansén, 2017). *Teacher socialisation* is closely intertwined with *teacher agency* and *teacher identity.* Socialisation is about internalizing the norms of the society and agency is the capacity to act on the norms (Ahearn, 2001); identity, on the other hand, refers to one's self-image, the categorization of oneself as an immersion teacher (cf. Pappa, 2018). Becoming a teacher is a holistic process where societal norms, agency and identity continuously inform each other. We thus situate the study socioculturally and conceptualise socialisation as a two-way road: teachers are not passive objects being socialised by external structures; rather, teachers are active agents who have the power to appropriate policies and co-construct external structures (Block, 2015; Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). We use the concept *socialisation* in an attempt to lift focus from the individual towards professional teams/whole school approach to teacher development. Teacher socialisation is present throughout the teacher's whole career, and occurs both through formal means, such as interactions with teacher educators and mentor teachers, and through informal means, such as interactions with educational stakeholders (e.g., students, parents) or through exposure to education artefacts (e.g., textbooks, newspaper articles) (Maloney, 2013).

Research about teacher socialisation comprises the functionalist, the critical and the interpretive paradigm (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). We aim to interpret and understand the subjective experiences of the informants and thus the study is primarily placed within the

interpretive paradigm. These subjective experiences have traditionally been divided into experiences *prior to* the teacher education, experiences *during* pre-service teacher education and experiences *after* pre-service teacher education (Maloney, 2013; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). The experiences *prior to* teacher education consist of the teachers' own experiences of learning and teaching from their schooldays, experiences which either consciously or unconsciously affect one's work as a teacher (Lortie, 1975; Maloney, 2013; Uzum, 2017). However, the pupil's understanding of the teacher profession can be simplistic and may not recognise all the competences required of a teacher. Other experiences – such as human relationships in childhood, prior work experiences and/or experiences as a parent – also affect teacher socialisation (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Teacher socialisation deepens *during* teacher education with both theoretical studies and field-based experiences. Surprisingly, teacher education may have lower impact on teacher socialisation, compared to the experiences before and after teacher education. Certainly, the impact of teacher education on teacher socialisation varies depending on how the teacher education programme is designed (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Teachers' first years teaching *after* teacher education, especially in terms of the school context and the relations with pupils and other teachers, are of great importance for the teachers' views of the profession (Maloney, 2013; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). For example, the importance of a teacher-mentor has been pointed out as the newly qualified teachers generally have the same duties as more experienced teachers (Maloney, 2013).

Specialising as an immersion teacher includes socialising into the specific linguistic situation that high quality additive bilingual education entails (on language socialisation in general, see Ochs, 2000, on multilingual socialisation in education, see Meier, 2018). The need to build up literacy through the medium of two languages and through content and language integration are some of these specific features (Bergroth, 2015). As the pupils acquire the immersion language mainly through natural communication, the teacher has to plan classroom

activities that support the language acquisition by drawing pupils' attention to certain linguistic aspects (Lyster, 2007). Prior research on immersion teacher development has therefore largely focused on classroom interaction, e.g. on how to enhance negotiations of meaning in communicative activities between pupils and/or between teacher and pupil(s) (Cammarata & Haley, 2017; Nikula, Dafouz, Moore, & Smit, 2016). Morton (2017) proposed the concept of 'language knowledge for content teaching' – consisting of both common and specialised language knowledge – as a systematic framework for understanding the teacher's language knowledge needs in language and content integration. However, the additive bilingual nature of the immersion education highlights also the central role of cooperation outside classrooms. In the Finnish context it involves supporting the learning of both languages in cooperation with the guardians. According to the national core curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016) providing immersion instruction needs to be reflected in the entire school culture as the teachers providing instruction in different subjects and in different languages need to cooperate about the planning and implementation of the instruction..

Teacher education is essential in developing both immersion instruction and teacher socialisation; however, insufficient attention has been given to immersion didactics, immersion school development, and the role of the immersion teacher and/or the development of the immersion teacher educator's identity (Cammarata & Ó Ceallaigh, 2018). In their study of immersion teachers' instructional experiences, Cammarata and Tedick (2012) found that language awareness is an easily overlooked requirement for the immersion teacher profession. They argued for a general change in popular immersion related discourses and beliefs, as second language learning will not happen without a clear focus on the language (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). Leavy, Hourigan and Ó Ceallaigh (2018) concluded that it is essential even for novice immersion *teacher educators* to become language-aware and develop their own immersion-related identity to prepare future immersion teachers for their profession. They argued that

supporting immersion-specific professional development requires visionary leadership, appropriate resources and sustained administrative support, alongside active engagement in enquiry-based professional development projects (Leavy, Hourigan & Ó Ceallaigh, 2018).

3. The study

3.1 Context of the study

To work as a Swedish immersion class teacher in Finland requires a Master of Education degree, C2-level in Finnish and C1-level in Swedish (Finnish National Board of Education, 2016). While Finnish teachers are highly trained in general, the mainstream teacher education does not necessarily prepare future teachers for plurilingualism (Alisaari, Heikkola, Commins, & Acquah, 2019) and despite the strong national policy support for immersion (Prime Minister's Office, 2012; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017), the provision of immersion programmes in the municipalities has not increased as expected. One reason for this is the insufficient supply of immersion teachers (Peltoniemi, Skinnari, Sjöberg, & Mård-Miettinen, 2018).

Finland has been a pioneer among European countries in educating immersion teachers, (Peltoniemi, 2015), but there have been setbacks in attempting to systematically develop immersion teacher education over time in a rich immersion language – i.e. minority language – environment. During 1998–2016 two different joint teacher education programmes specialising in immersion were offered. Studies in these programmes were partially conducted in Swedish and partially in Finnish at different universities (Peltoniemi, 2017; Peltoniemi et al, 2018). However, the graduated teachers were often employed in mainstream education rather than in immersion. Due to struggles with the structural reforms and funding of the higher education

sector in Finland, these joint programmes suffered, resulting in last intake in 2016. Since autumn 2018, Swedish-medium Åbo Akademi University, located in a bilingual city, offers a new master's programme in immersion education. All studies are now delivered through the medium of Swedish. As the majority of the students in the programme are Finnish-speakers, it is expected that the studies in Swedish – in a Swedish-speaking environment – will prepare them better linguistically for working in Swedish immersion.

3.2 Data and analysis

In order to develop the above-mentioned new immersion teacher education programme, data was collected with audio-recorded immersion teacher group discussions (N = 8) in three different cities. All of the participants taught in Swedish in Swedish immersion Grades 1–6 and volunteered to participate in the study. The overall immersion teacher population is rather small in Finland and due to this, the results are not generalizable as such.

Table 1. Characteristics of the participants in the group discussions

Group	**(Nr) Gender**	**Age**	**Years in immersion**	**Mother tongue**	**Considered themselves as**	**Education** Degree (Language) Country of Education
1	(1) F	38	10	Swedish	Monolingual	M.Ed.[1] (Swedish) Finland
	(2) F	37	1.5	Swedish	Monolingual	M.Ed. (Swedish) Finland
	(3) F	31	2	Swedish	Bilingual	M.Ed. (Swedish) Finland
2	(4) F	57	20	Finnish	Bilingual	M.Ed. (Swedish) Sweden
	(5) F	49	14	Finnish	Bilingual	Kindergarten teacher's degree (Finnish) Finland
	(6) F	46	10	Finnish	Monolingual	M.A.[2] (Finnish) Finland
3	(7) F	42	9	Finnish	Bilingual	M.Ed. (Finnish) Finland
	(8) M	31	5	Finnish	Multilingual	M.Ed. (Swedish) Sweden, (Finnish) Finland

[1] Master of Education
[2] Master of Arts

The participants had different linguistic and educational backgrounds (table 1). They had completed their master's degrees in Finland or in Sweden. The degrees conducted in Finland were from both Swedish-medium and Finnish-medium universities. None of the participants had attended an immersion pre-service teacher education programme, but some of the informants had experience of in-service training designed for immersion teachers.

The teachers were given written instructions divided into four sections: (1) experiences obtained prior to pre-service teacher education, (2) experiences obtained during pre-service teacher education, (3) experiences obtained while working as an immersion teacher and (4) the future of the immersion teacher profession. In connection with each section, there were 2–4 open-ended questions/statements, such as 'Based on your experiences, share and discuss how your view of the immersion teacher profession has changed since your first years in the profession'. The teachers took turns to act as chair for one section each, and the researcher (first author) assumed the role of a listener. The discussions lasted for 77, 44 and 37 minutes, amounting to 158 minutes of audio-recorded data. The discussions were conducted in Swedish and transcribed verbatim.

The data was analysed qualitatively by identifying *codes* (marked in italic in the findings-section), which were grouped into **categories** (marked in bold in the findings-section) and then into the two themes 'experiences before working as immersion teachers' and 'experiences from working as immersion teachers' (see e.g. Saldaña, 2013). To increase the reliability of the study, the authors first analysed the transcripts independently and then the analyses were shared and the interpretations refined further.

4. Findings

4.1 Teachers' experiences before working as immersion teachers

All of the participants had **early experiences** which had affected their teacher socialisation. Many of the participants referred to *role models* and *own schooldays,* and most of them had only positive experiences. They had enjoyed school and had positive memories of their teachers, who served as role models. One of the informants also had several teachers in the family. However, participant 5 wanted to become a teacher because she felt she had been treated badly by her teacher. She said that *"if I ever had such a role and such power that the teacher has, then I would use it as fairly as possible towards all children"*. Other early experiences included *personal interests and conditions* such as considering another occupation, but choosing teaching instead, or hobbies, e.g. piano playing and cub scouts. One teacher had *working experience* from the time before teacher education, which inspired her to study to become a teacher and for a couple of the teachers, the decision was a result of *impact from others* in the teachers' environment. There were also *language* related early experiences – such as bilingual (Swedish-Finnish) background or early interest in languages – that may have affected the choice to become an immersion teacher, as expressed by participant 6: *"I knew already in secondary school that I wanted to become a teacher and a language teacher: I liked languages so much. And what can you do with languages? Usually, it is to be a teacher"*.

The next step in teacher socialisation took place **during pre-service teacher education**. The participants had a generally positive view of the Finnish research-based teacher education (see Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen, 2006), even those teachers who had undertaken their master's degree in Sweden. Although some of the teachers remembered their studies as rather theoretical, they agreed that it had given them a solid foundation to build on as teachers and a good general grasp of the different school subjects. Furthermore, the participants agreed that teacher practice periods were fruitful for realising how much actual planning was needed for a single lesson. In

a way, this significant trajectory in the socialisation was only started in teachers' pre-service teacher education and completed in their working life, as stated in the quote below:

> I have realised that there are those [= teacher educators] who have to have this 'write meticulously' because they [= some class teachers] tend to opt for this 'ad hoc pedagogy', and to practise it all the time, you have to have some background there. (Participant 7)

Although none of the participants had had immersion studies included in their pre-service teacher education, we identified a few experiences that had prepared participants for their immersion teacher roles. Due to the lack of immersion teacher education programmes, it was more or less up to the informant's *personal interests* to familiarise themselves with immersion. One of the participants had made a conscious choice to focus on immersion even if it was not officially offered within the study programmes within the university in question:

> I studied in Finnish, but I did all my teaching practice on the Swedish side – even the final practice I did at an immersion kindergarten – so I have always known the immersion system and been interested in it; I took all the studying from that point of view. (Participant 5)

This unprompted orientation towards immersion was not possible in all teacher educations, due to the *teacher educator.* In one case, the teacher educator was not particularly positive to immersion, which also affected students' initial impressions of immersion. When the teacher in question later started working in immersion, she/he realised how immersion really works and became convinced of its benefits. In another case, the university did not offer any possibilities

to acquaint with immersion because the university – in the words of the participant – did not see it as their responsibility.

When defining themselves as immersion teachers, the formal *competence and qualifications* gained through education seemed to play an important role. Although the teacher education, according to the informants, provided a broad general competence, it still did not seem to legitimise the use of the title ‘immersion teacher’. Participant 7 commented “*Do I dare to say it out loud: I am not an immersion teacher; I haven’t studied in an immersion teacher education programme”* and participant 4 conlucluded “*The in-service training, the courses we have had in Vaasa, it is there we have got the [immersion] training”.* The participants felt that only an immersion teacher education programme provided the correct qualification. The importance of *in-service training* and other professional development activities for establishing teachers’ expertise in bilingual education was discussed by the participants. However, in-service training happens during working life after the *decision to work in immersion* has been taken. For most of the participants this decision was a coincidence:

> I had in no way planned to become a class teacher in immersion but it was a coincidence. I started working as an immersion preschool teacher first, and it was simply because when I started looking for a job, that was what was available. (Participant 2)

The teachers were told about job opportunities by friends or relatives and obtained their positions quite easily (for similar findings, see Lengeling, Mora Pablo, & Barrios Gasca, 2017).

4.2 Teachers’ experiences from working as immersion teachers

Socialisation as an immersion teacher deepened after entering working life for all the participants. An important aspect within the **instructional practices** was *language awareness*. The participants recalled their very first experiences within the immersion teacher profession with slight amusement and referred to their naive thinking about immersion:

> I remember thinking [when I started as an immersion teacher] at Grade 3, 'What if no-one has their swimming suit? What if no-one understood that we are going to the swimming centre?' Now it feels hilarious, but I had no frame of reference at all, and it was actually a shock to realise just how much they understood. I was really like 'Wow!' (Participant 1)

> When I started to work as an immersion teacher, I thought it would be to just to start teaching in Swedish. Well, it didn't take long before I had to take a step back and think that 'Okay, maybe I'll start teaching through the language instead.' (Participant 7)

These two examples showcase how the teachers were thrown into immersion without a clear picture of what to expect. In the first quotation, the participant discusses how her expectations of the pupils' linguistic skills were set too low and how she was worried about classroom management. The teacher quoted second had an opposite experience, as she recalled believing that she could keep on teaching as before. It did not take long, according to her, to realise that teaching in immersion required a reconceptualisation of the role of language(s) in literacy development. The participants in all group discussions confirmed that an important aspect of immersion teacher socialisation is the *pedagogical planning*, to learn to constantly and systematically be aware of language, plan for *language learning* and plan for learning through the second language:

> I have indeed noticed that it takes careful planning, and meaningful planning, when you work in immersion, so that you know what are the aims and this fills the criteria; you cannot just enter a classroom and . . . or it is not meaningful if you just enter a classroom and start to teach; you need to think some in advance and plan. (Participant 3)

The need for additional planning in immersion was seen, for example, in finding adequate teaching *materials* for immersion. The participants discussed in length the lack of sufficient commercial teaching materials for immersion. They concluded that there are materials in Finnish and in Swedish, but nothing in between. This finding applied to both traditional books and digital materials. However, the new *core curriculum* for basic education in Finland had made the planning easier, as the curriculum now requires multidisciplinary teaching modules similar to those used in Swedish immersion (see Halinen, Harmanen, & Mattila, 2015; Bergroth, 2016):

> It used to be that I was worried about how all the thematic stuff would fit together with the core curriculum we had back then, but now the new core curriculum requires the same things as we are already doing, so it has become much easier, that's for sure. (Participant 4)

The general move towards language-aware education policies has made the pedagogical planning easier in immersion. In fact, immersion teachers felt that they would be able to mentor the mainstream teachers in language-awareness, since it has always been a part of immersion and is now expected – more or less – of all teachers. Among the **relational practices** the general

importance of *mentors* for the teacher socialisation was reflected upon, as stated in the quotation below:

> I think it is actually important too, even in mainstream classrooms too, that one would have a little more experienced colleague who has worked for a longer period within the school who comes in and helps out and directs one to the right track and so, that I think was, she helped me to come in this. (Participant 8)

The participants often named a specific person who had played a significant role in their immersion teacher socialisation. Usually this person had extensive experience as an immersion teacher and had worked in developing the programme or had served as an in-service training educator. The mentoring was also required when entering a new school community – not only when entering the new profession. Immersion teachers expressed often feeling alone with their immersion-related questions, for it is common for the teacher to be the only one at a given time working with a specific age group of pupils in Swedish (see also Cammarata & Tedick, 2012 for similar findings). The participants also connected the need for cooperation to pedagogical planning and language learning. When participant 4 suggested that different age groups could work with similar multidisciplinary teaching modules (themes) participant 5 agreed: "*exactly that: to make language visible, that we could get so much better at, because then they [=pupils] would see that we all work with the same theme during certain periods and then the teachers would be required to plan together"*. The participants argued that choosing similar multidisciplinary modules for the whole school would open up for more *cooperation within the school* and it would enhance immersion pedagogy by increasing the visibility of theme-related language on the classroom walls (see also Pakarinen & Björklund, 2018). This desire to engage

in joint planning highlights also the two-way socialisation within the wider school operational culture (cf. Bonilla, 2017).

Relational practices included even references to *cooperation with the guardians*:

> I was a bit nervous about the parental contacts. I had good grades and I was good in Finnish verb forms, but not so used to talking in Finnish. But I just thought that I'll have to laugh at my own expense and I will learn. When we had parental meetings I had written precise notes of what I wanted to say, but when I wanted to joke a bit, it went as it went. Then I remember that parents sat there and nodded supportively and I tried to look at them and thought 'This will work just fine.' (Participant 1)

Although a lack of sufficient language skills has often been connected to potentially negative influences on the level of professional satisfaction in bilingual education (see, for example, Oattes, Oostdam, de Graaff, & Wilschut, 2018), the participant above described a different kind of experience. She described insecurity about meeting the Finnish-speaking parents and her own lack of fluency in spoken Finnish. She recalled how the parents' supportive attitudes helped her. This showcases how languages in immersion are seen as a joint enterprise between the school and guardians, and becoming an immersion teacher includes the need to socialise in bilingual interactions, irrespective of linguistic backgrounds.

Utterances coded to **advocacy** resemble the need for cooperation within and outside school but they also include the notion of *information* and *persuasion* directed towards wider *society*. Teacher advocacy seems to be an issue brought up in mainly minoritised contexts where the teachers feel a sense of responsibility to advocate for their community (see, for example, Babino & Stewart, 2018; Ortiz & Franquiz, 2017).

> The municipality should invest in the level of marketing and promote it. To put emphasis on the fact that this is an important thing. It has never, not even on the state level, been stated clearly. They only say that one should learn different languages earlier on and then they have forgotten altogether to tell, and then they talk about this obligatory Swedish; they talk only about the obligation: no-one says that there are thousands of families in Finland who voluntarily choose the language immersion route. (Participant 5)

Participants expressed frustration in the negative societal discourses about *Swedish in Finland*. In the quotation above, the teacher expressed the feeling of not being fully appreciated for doing the ground-breaking work for early language learning that is called for in Finnish society (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017). At the same time, the teachers saw advocacy as a source of joy and empowerment, as they could see concrete proof in their pupils' dual-language learning that their efforts for maintaining bilingual Finland had not been in vain.

Teachers discussed further the need to advocate for immersion education and correct misconceptions, such as the persistent belief that immersion is not suitable for all (see also Fortune & Menke, 2010; Genesee & Fortune, 2014):

> We talked earlier about the so-called weak pupils – weak regarding reading and writing mostly – so I remember a few pupils who had it really difficult with reading, writing and school generally, different kinds of problems, but they now speak fluent immersion language. I think, on a personal level, one gets so 'Yeah, you fix this and now you have an additional language.' So, maybe there is this discussion about immersion being some kind of elite-school or that only the talented pupils can manage it, but it is not it. I feel

often that it is the weaker pupils that can take this kind of teaching to their hearts: immersion pedagogy. (Participant 1)

In all the group discussions, the teachers reflected on the immersion pupil population and concluded that there are similarities with and differences from mainstream education. To understand these similarities and differences is an essential aspect of immersion teacher socialisation.

5. Discussion

In this article, we analysed experiences of teacher socialisation among eight immersion teachers. Regarding the concept itself, we conclude that immersion teacher socialisation bares similarities to a more general teacher socialisation. However, as pointed out by Meier (2018) multilingual socialisation in education has not been previously examined to any greater degree. We agree that it provides an alternative structure for reflecting plurilingual language use in language education. However, we argue that immersion teacher socialisation is not only about language use and language related practices and connected multilingual socialisation to teacher socialisation. For this purpose we identified what kind of experiences influence teacher socialisation prior and after qualification and how the experiences were related to immersion education specifically. Naturally, all of the participants had early experiences that had influenced the process of becoming a teacher in general, such as having earlier teachers and relatives as role models (see also Huhtala, 2015; Lortie, 1975; Uzum, 2017; Zeichner & Gore, 1990), but only a few of the informants reported such experiences that had affected immersion teacher socialisation specifically. During the pre-service teacher education, one of the participants had oriented towards immersion, while the others had gained their immersion

knowledge through in-service training (cf. Bergroth, 2015; Bonilla, 2017). We concluded that the general teacher education neither prepared student teachers for immersion instruction nor gave them an immersion teacher identity (see also Alisaari et al, 2019). It seemed to be a coincidence, rather than active choice, that the informants became immersion teachers after graduating. This haphazard nature of finding the right teachers for immersion may well be a reason for the experienced problems increasing the provision of immersion programmes in the municipalities (Peltoniemi et al, 2018) .

As in previous socialisation studies (cf Maloney, 2013; Zeichner & Gore, 1990) the working life had great importance for the socialisation process among the immersion teachers. In the experiences after qualification it was easier to identify immersion specific socialisation trajectories. Due to the lack of immersion teacher education or prior experiences in immersion instruction the teachers often entered the immersion teacher profession with somewhat misguided expectations. The socialisation in working life consisted of instructional and relational aspects, as well as advocacy. Instructional socialisation related to awareness of language(s) and to lack of materials (see also Bergroth, 2015; Peltoniemi et al, 2018). The need for additional pedagogical and linguistic planning started immediately when entering the profession and continued throughout their career. Relational practices and competences were important in immersion teacher socialisation, especially those involving a specific, more experienced person as a mentor, as well as the importance of cooperation with other teachers in general (see also Bendtsen, 2016; Huhtala, 2015; Pappa, 2018). Relations included bilingual interactions, such as when cooperating with guardians, regardless of the teachers' linguistic backgrounds. The wider sociocultural socialisation included the need to act as an advocate for both minority (Swedish) language and for immersion education in society. This role caused frustration among the participants regarding negative attitudes towards the national

bilingualism in Finland but also joy upon seeing the development of the pupils' dual-language learning.

Our second aim was to discuss how insights from immersion teacher-related socialisation experiences can be used to further develop immersion teacher education. The study had its limitations as it gave a voice to only eight immersion teachers with various experiences and pathways to the immersion teacher profession. An obvious limitation is that we were unable to recruit a teacher with experience in immersion pre-service teacher education. However, we are aware that this is also true for most teachers in additive bilingual educational programmes around the world (Peltoniemi, 2015; Cammarata & Ó Ceallaigh, 2018; McPake, McLeod, O'Hanlon, Fassetta, & Wilson 2016). Therefore, immersion teachers without immersion teacher education are – regrettably – representative of the profession. Despite the limitations, the principal implication of the study was that becoming an immersion teacher is a multifaceted process for which a traditional, monolingually oriented teacher education does not fully prepare the teacher (cf. Alisaari et al, 2019). Based on our findings, we argue that future immersion teacher education – and on a more general level, any language-aware teacher education – needs to recognise the holistic view of the variety of teacher competences required.

Our findings indicate that instructional skills, and especially language and content integration, should constitute the heart and soul of the immersion teacher profession and immersion teacher education. Furthermore, general teacher oriented studies in education and studies in individual and societal multilingualism and linguistics should continuously inform each other. Regarding the relational competences, we concluded that mainstream teacher education and immersion teacher education both benefit from close cooperation in the linguistically diverse societies we live in. To promote a fruitful cooperation between different educational strands in the future professional life, immersion teacher students need to have opportunities to train for this kind of cooperation within their studies. Any language-aware

teacher education needs to emphasise the development of the school operational culture across languages, the curriculum and even different grade levels. The bilingual needs of immersion pupils and teachers need to be catered for. Although immersion teacher students in Finland mainly represent the majority background and thus need excessive support for their second language (and culture) learning, development of the mainstream language is also needed. Immersion teachers will most likely use both languages in their future profession for communicating with different stakeholders, for seeking optimal educational materials, and for creating new materials, even though they use either Swedish or Finnish, not both, with their pupils.

Our findings highlighted the importance of sociocultural skills, and one of our main implications is that tools and competences to advocate for immersion education and the minority language need to be a part of the immersion teacher education, since immersion forms a part of changing society. Immersion teachers play a crucial role in supporting minority language maintenance and promoting positive attitudes towards language learning in society. This requirement for advocacy implies that language-aware education in general can be strengthened by adding knowledge about different kinds of minority language positions in society. As immersion teachers tend to be from the majority background, it is not self-evident that their prior experiences have prepared them for advocating for minority positions.

To conclude, as a result of our findings, we envisioned what a such language-aware teacher education could entail, including relational, instructional and more sociopolitical advocacy-related aspects. We argue that language-aware teacher education is needed to support all school communities, not solely schools with language immersion orientation, to become more language-aware in line with current European language-in-education policies (see European Commission, 2018). To meet the needs of diverse student population in the future working life, student teacher socialisation into language-awareness should be better

incorporated into the pre-service teachers' studies. Following up on the outcomes of the innovative pre-service immersion teacher education in Finland can be a solid starting point for developing the language-aware teacher education further.

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