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BEING A NEWCOMER IN A MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

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A mi Pradi por estar siempre ahí, por apoyarme, quererme y por ser como sólo tú eres

A mis gemelitas, que han sido y son mi mayor motivación en esta vida

A Celia, por todos los momentos y el cariño que no te podré dar, siempre estarás en mi corazón

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis aims at understanding the process of becoming a member in a diverse and multilingual primary school in Luxembourg. It is a case study about one child belonging to one of the ethnic and linguistic communities most affected by school failure. ‘Romanophones’ or romance-language speaking students in Luxembourg are touched by low achievement rates of school success. Also newcomers find themselves in challenging situations and are also affected by this problem. Some scholars (e.g., Horner & Weber, 2005, p. 246) propose “parallel systems” or “two-track” literacy system where romance-language speakers (either newcomers or children born in Luxembourg with a romance language family background) could follow a literacy program in French instead of German. They state that this system could eventually give these children a better chance of school success as well as improve their social mobility in the Luxembourgish society.

By following this child during one academic year an epistemological conflict between ‘agentivity’ and ‘structure’ is proposed. The seven-year old child, Nuno, had to follow lessons in German and Luxembourgish when he had no knowledge of these languages at all at his arrival in November from another primary school in Brazil. A close look at his interactions and identity processes with his peers and teachers revealed a re-evaluation of Nuno’s capital and resources which affected his academic progress as well as his identity during the year. This re-evaluation resulted in a “decapitalization” (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) of some of Nuno’s pre-existing resources (e.g., Portuguese language), which could otherwise be used as a positive resource in his progression towards “full membership”, and the eventual formation of a “community of practice”.

Nuno's initial agentivity resisted categorizations and also what could be classified as gatekeeping practices towards him. Along the academic year some major changes took place (a change of teacher and teaching philosophies, the arrival of another Brazilian newcomer) which affected Nuno's behaviour, learning and identity. The interview data and the audio-visual recordings provide insights into the difficulties a 'romanophone' newcomer must confront as well as the fact that a community of practice is in constant construction. Some of the implications of the present thesis involve the raise of awareness concerning these children and the difficulties they must face in this new environment.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The transcription symbols used in this thesis have their origin in different transcription conventions (i.e., GAT). I use an eclectic and simplified version, which is also partially explained in Chapter Three (3.10.1). The following symbols apply for the audiovisual transcriptions for one part (more detailed due to the visual factor), and the interviews for the other.

- Audiovisual recordings

/	Short pause (0,5 seconds)
//	Longer pause (between 0,5 and 1,5 seconds)
[Overlapping in the beginning
]	Overlapping in the end
[...]	Previous interaction not relevant
(inaudible)	Inaudible segment
(between brackets)	Approximate transcription of inaudible segment
CAPITAL LETTERS	Emphasis
((gestures))	Description of physical movements (i.e., gaze)
<<low tone>>	Description of mode of speaking
<<language>>	Description of language use
:	Lengthening of vowel or syllable
<i>translation</i>	Translation in italics
?	Rising entonation
ALL	All children intervene
OTH	Other children intervene, not identified
TEA	Any teacher (<i>Claire, Simone, Izabel, Julie</i>). See corresponding background information

- Interviews

<i>italics</i>	Interview transcription
<i>bold and italics</i>	Translation
<i>(approximate transcrip.)</i>	Approximate transcription of segment
<i>((laughs))</i>	Relevant mode of talking
<i>(inaudible)</i>	Inaudible segment
<i>[context]</i>	Context information
<i>[e]</i>	Missing vowel or consonant (in translation)
<i>[...]</i>	Previous interaction not relevant

TE	Any ‘main’ teacher (<i>Claire, Simone</i>). See corresponding background information
TF	Teacher Foyer (Julie)
TP	Teacher Portuguese (Izabel)
FA	Father (Nuno’s stepfather: Rui)
RE	Researcher (Roberto Gómez)

The interviews were conducted in several languages, depending on the speaker and the context: English, French, Spanish, and a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese. In most cases, one of these languages was used as a ‘lingua franca’ for the interviewer and the interviewee. This being so, the interviews contain numerous grammatical mistakes which I have decided to leave uncorrected. My intention, here, is to offer the reader the original form of the interviews without any further intervention on my part.

- List of pseudonyms used

Claire	First main teacher (November & December)
Simone	Second main teacher (January onwards)
Izabel	Portuguese teacher (Introduction to Sciences in Portuguese)
Julie	Teacher at the daycare centre
Rui	Nuno’s stepfather
Nuno	Newcomer and child ‘case’
Tiago	Child and new ‘newcomer’
Maria, Afonso, Sergio, Sunita, Stephan, Fabio, Max, Cathy, Jose, Sara, Miguel, Celia	Other children in the classroom

INTRODUCTION

The experience of a newcomer from one of the most unsuccessful groups in multilingual schools in Luxembourg

The main topic of this thesis, the experience of being a newcomer in a multilingual school, originates from research that took place during the years 2008 and 2009 in a Luxembourgish primary school. In the initial stages of this research one of the main objectives was to document the process through which a random newcomer (of Portuguese or Brazilian origin¹) became just one more pupil in the classroom community. Taking into account that this research focused on a conventional classroom (as opposed to a bridge or special needs classroom) and that one of the main issues in this process of becoming just another pupil involves the different languages taught and spoken (Luxembourgish, German, Continental Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese), the reader may begin to appreciate the difficulty of such a process for a seven-year-old child.

However, as soon as the research was narrowed down, it seemed logical to focus on the resources and the capital brought and used by this newcomer on his way to membership. Along this path to membership there were many conflicts regarding capital and resources. Some agents also treated the newcomer differently. This dissertation focuses on a process, on key moments during the academic year, either during interviews or in classroom interaction, and it analyses this data according to the research questions and the selected theoretical framework. This thesis claims to address a lacuna regarding current understanding of newcomers, especially within the

¹ The “romanophones” constitute one of the main groups of foreign students in Luxembourgish schools (see table 1.4.). They are also one of the main groups with regard to educational failure in Luxembourg (see table 1.8.). The main sub-group of “romanophones” are the Portuguese, and by extension, the Portuguese speakers (Brazilian, Cape-verdian).

context of primary schooling in Luxembourg. At the same time, it puts forward ways of understanding these newcomers. Once the scientific community acknowledges the relevance of the matter, more measures can be taken into consideration and hence these newcomers will have “an extra hand” on their difficult path in their new school and country.

Dissertation overview

The present dissertation is divided into three main parts. The first part consists of three chapters and deals with:

- i) the contextual information and the motivation which drives the research (chapter one)
- ii) the theoretical framework selected to respond to the research questions (chapter two)
- iii) the methodological tools employed (chapter three)

In the first chapter I take a look at the challenging situation regarding the Luxembourgish educational system. I explore some of the main concerns regarding migration and languages in addition to raising possible solutions for educational failure. I then take a look at an increasingly common situation in this context: the newcomers. I try to understand their context and the way they are received in classrooms. Finally, taking all these points into consideration, I turn to the research questions, before introducing the justification, rationale and analytical framework for the current study.

In the second chapter I explain the integrated approach to the questions and the data. I then describe the broad frame of a social view on learning and supplement it with both an interactional approach and an ethnographic perspective. I then take a look at some child development theories, as the current research takes place in a primary school, thus focuses, either directly or indirectly, on identity formation and learning processes. Later, I introduce the ideas of “communities of practice”, together with legitimate peripherality and access, which are of particular relevance for the first moments of the newcomer at school. I then continue to explore the concepts pertinent to the correlation between membership, socialization and learning, which is significant for the middle phase of the newcomer at school. Finally, the concepts of continuity and change are introduced as both relate to the newcomer, community identity and evolution. This chapter concludes with a summary (or review) of other major related case studies and an appraisal of their relevance, strengths and potential weaknesses.

In the third chapter I deal with all the relevant methodological aspects. The main points in this chapter are:

- i) the research objectives
- ii) the selection of the case
- iii) the research design
- iv) the types and methods of data collection
- v) the main characters or agents surrounding the child case
- vi) data organization, treatment (e.g., transcription issues) and analytical processes (e.g., clip selection)

The second main part of the dissertation comprises three chapters of analysis, each of which covers a different period of the academic year of the newcomer. Hence the first chapter on analysis (Chapter Four), which involves the initiation of the newcomer into his new school, focuses on the first weeks of the child case. Throughout this chapter I explore the main moments regarding the welcoming of the new “member”, but also the first so-called conflicts. Other points of focus are the newcomer’s different potential resources at that stage and the possible gatekeeping practices on the part of a number of agents in the classroom.

Chapter Five comprises the middle period in the newcomer’s academic year. The main issues addressed here are:

- i) the arrival of another newcomer and the relationship between the two newcomers
- ii) the arrival of another teacher with concomitant changes to classroom rules and routines
- iii) the inevitable reorganization of resources for the newcomer
- iv) the potential gatekeeping practices of some agents in the classroom

The final analytical chapter (Chapter Six) addresses the last period in the academic year. In this chapter the devices employed in order to “categorize” others play an important role in understanding other issues such as membership and learning processes. We explore once again the different configuration of resources for the child case as well as their interconnection with the categorizations displayed in the classroom. To these categorizations may be included the positioning displayed by the child case as well as the way the teacher behaves regarding issues such as diversity. A further concern is also the potential end of the gatekeeping practices.

Finally, the last and third part of the dissertation, Chapter Seven, summarizes the different previous sections and challenges their validity with the aim of proposing future studies in the field. This chapter also covers the possible implications of the current study with regard to theory, practice and research itself. The chapter ends with a summary, followed by bibliographic references and appendices.

Table 0.1. Explanation of the different contents of the present dissertation.

Section	Chapter	Main contents	Data	Main theory
	Introduction	Motivation behind the research and structure of the thesis		
I	Ch. 1.	Educational and legislative context regarding romanophone children in primary schools with special attention to newcomers. Research questions and unit of analysis	Legislative and administrative documents Research studies	Davis (1994), García (2006), Horner (2008), Horner & Weber (2005; 2008), Martín Rojo (2004; 2007; 2008), Noesen <i>et al.</i> (2008), Skilbeck (1982), Weber (2008)
I	Ch. 2.	Social, interactional and ethnographic approaches. Previous case studies	Research studies	Barnard (2009), Berger & Luckmann (1966), Corona <i>et al.</i> (2008), Corsaro (1993; 1997), Goffman (1959, 1974, 1981, 1982), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), Heller (2004), Hellermann (2006), Lave (1990; 1996), Lave & Wenger (1991), Maurer-Hetto (2009), Wenger (1998), Young (2004)
I	Ch. 3.	Methodological approach. Description of the different steps of the research	Pictures and tables	Duranti (1997), Mason (2002), Merriam (1998), Pallotti (1996), Yin (2009)
II	Ch. 4.	First period of the newcomer in the school. Welcoming stage	Transcriptions of classroom interaction and interviews	Bourdieu (1977, 1982, 1984), Bourdieu & Passeron (1977), Erickson (1987, 2001), Goffman (1959, 1974, 1981, 1982), Heller (2001a; 2001b), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), Lave & Wenger (1991), Martín Rojo (2008, 2009, 2010), Mehan (1998)
II	Ch. 5.	Second period of the newcomer in the school. Stage of changes regarding the teacher and the arrival of another Brazilian newcomer	Transcriptions of classroom interaction and interviews	Fuller <i>et al.</i> (2005), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), Lave & Wenger (1991), Martín Rojo (2003, 2008, 2009, 2010), Wenger (1998), Wortham (2004a, 2004b)

II	Ch. 6.	Third period of the newcomer in the school. Final categorization stage	Transcriptions of classroom interaction and interviews	Erickson (1987, 2001), Heller (2001a; 2001b), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), Holland & Lave (2001), Martin Rojo (2007, 2008, 2010), Wenger (1998), Wortham (2004a, 2004b)
III	Ch. 7.	Conclusions and implications of this thesis in the current state of the art		
	Appendices		Pictures, transcriptions, legislative documents...	

PART I. Looking for a place in a complex community

CHAPTER 1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

- 1.1. Luxembourg and its language profile
- 1.2. An overview of the Luxembourgish educational system
 - 1.2.1. Key subjects (and languages) in the Luxembourgish primary school
 - 1.2.2. The so-called model of “separation”?
 - 1.2.3. A parallel “track” for romanophone children?
- 1.3. Another challenge: The newcomers
 - 1.3.1. The main challenges for non-Luxembourgish children in the Luxembourgish primary school
 - 1.3.2. Guidelines for newcomers’ integration in the Luxembourgish primary school
- 1.4. The research questions
- 1.5. Justification, rationale and analytical framework for the study
- 1.6. The unit of analysis
- 1.7. Summary
- 1.8. Dissertation overview

1.1. Luxembourg and its language profile

“Wann net an der Schoul, wa se net do
integréiert gin, wou dann?”²

The rather small country of Luxembourg, with 2586 square kilometres, is located at the heart of Europe. It has a population of 502,066 residents, of which 42,9 % (215,386 people) have a nationality other than Luxembourgish on 1st January 2010³. This percentage is without doubt the highest in the whole of the European Union. The largest group among the foreign residents comprises citizens of Portuguese origin; they constitute 37 % of the total foreign residents in Luxembourg, the French being the second largest group with 14 % (Horner & Weber, 2008; Thill-Ditsch / STATEC [Central Service for Statistics and Studies in Economics], 2010). Furthermore, not only is there a high number of incoming migrants who live in Luxembourg on a permanent basis, there are also the “frontaliers” or border-crossing commuters who live in one of their neighbouring countries but work in Luxembourg. Latest figures show that these *frontaliers* total 135,400 people (STATEC, 2009), the French being the most important group (72,900), followed by the Belgians (37,300) and the Germans (35,400)⁴. The *frontaliers* (around 120,000 people) coming from France and Belgium are, in their majority, French-speaking, and those coming from Germany are primarily German-speaking (Horner & Weber, 2008).

The migratory flux continues in Luxembourg and it brings more diversity to the “meeting-point of the Romance and Germanic worlds” (Weber, 2008b, p. 65). The main two migratory fluxes to remain positive hereafter are the Portuguese and French speaking communities respectively. The Portuguese have a differential of 32.1 % and

² Source : Noesen et al. (2008, p. 280). My translation : “If they don’t integrate in the school, where then ?” or in French “S’il ne sont pas intégrés à l’école, où le seront-ils?”.

³ Source : See table 1.3 on the resident population in Luxembourg from 1981-2010 by nationality.

⁴ On the role of foreigners in Luxembourg : “La croissance de l’emploi au Luxembourg n’a été possible que grâce à l’apport considérable des étrangers. Déjà en 1913, les étrangers représentaient 15% de la population. L’augmentation de la part des étrangers dans la population active a été foudroyante depuis les années 1990. Elle comporte aujourd’hui à la fois les résidents étrangers et les frontaliers. D’après le STATEC, 291.500 personnes ont travaillé au Luxembourg en 2003, dont 106.900 frontaliers (36,6%). Les Français forment le groupe le plus important dans l’ensemble des frontaliers avec 55.900 personnes, suivis des Belges avec 29.200 personnes et enfin les Allemands avec 21.700 personnes.” (Berg & Weis / MENFP, 2005, p. 17)

the French of 21.3 %. The next table (1.1) summarizes the main nationalities and their arrivals and departures for the year 2009:

Table 1.1. The main nationalities regarding international migration to Luxembourg in 2009. Source: Thill-Ditsch / STATEC (2010, p. 7). *Régards sur l'évolution démographique*⁵.

**Migrations internationales en 2009
(principales nationalités)**

Nationalités	Arrivées	Départs	Solde migratoire	Part du solde total
Portugais	3 844	1 730	2 114	32.1%
Français	2 730	1 330	1 400	21.3%
Allemands	1 008	571	437	6.6%
Belges	1 020	706	314	4.8%
Italiens	659	373	286	4.3%
Luxembourgeois	1 116	1 848	-732	-11.1%

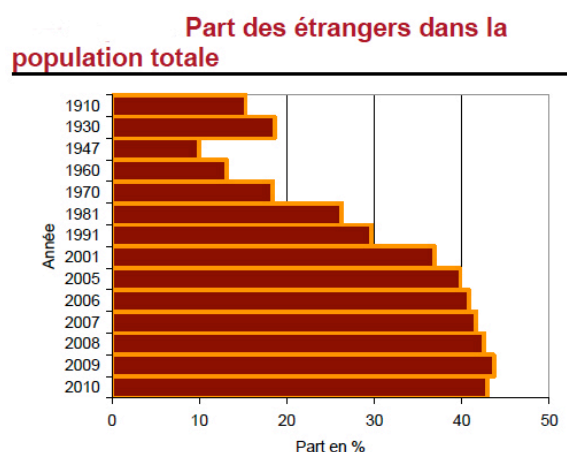
Source: STATEC - CTIE

The following figure not only confirms the percentage of foreign residents in Luxembourg in January 2010, but also documents the migration patterns in Luxembourg for the last one hundred years. It is also important to remark that this flux has decreased for the first time in 2010 since the Second World War. This is one of the consequences of the application of the dual nationality law of 23rd October 2008⁶ (Thill-Ditsch / STATEC, 2010). See figure 1.1.

⁵ Having confirmed that all members of the jury understand French, I have decided not to translate French texts (tables, footnotes, transcripts, etc) into English.

⁶ "Ce sont les effets de la loi du 23 octobre 2008 sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise qui ont conduit à une véritable « explosion » du nombre de naturalisations/options. Cette loi permet aux étrangers voulant acquérir la nationalité luxembourgeoise de conserver leur nationalité d'origine." (Thill-Ditsch / STATEC, 2010, p. 3). *Régards sur l'évolution démographique*.

Figure 1.1. Foreign residents in Luxembourg in the last 100 years. Source: Thill-Ditsch / STATEC (2010, p. 4). *Régards sur l'évolution démographique.*



Source: STATEC

Demographic development in Luxembourg over the past 30 years and in relation to nationalities is summarized in Table 1.2. This table confirms the general increase in the population as in the number of migrants, of which the two major groups are the Portuguese and the French:

Table 1.2. Resident population in Luxembourg from 1981-2010 by nationality.
Source: STATEC (2010)⁷.

B1000 État de la population (x1000) 1981 , 1991 , 2001 - 2010

Année	1981	1991	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Population												
Population totale (x1000)	364,6	384,4	439,5	444,1	448,3	455,0	461,2	469,1	476,2	483,8	493,5	502,1
dont: Femmes	186,7	196,1	223,0	225,2	227,3	230,3	233,1	237,0	240,4	244,2	248,7	252,7
Luxembourgeois	268,8	271,4	277,2	277,3	277,6	277,2	277,5	277,8	277,9	277,9	278,0	-
Étrangers (x1000)	95,8	113,0	162,3	166,7	170,7	177,8	183,7	191,3	198,3	205,9	215,5	-
dont: - Portugais	29,3	39,1	58,7	59,8	61,4	64,9	67,8	70,8	73,7	76,6	80,0	-
- Italiens	22,3	19,5	19,0	19,1	19,0	19,0	19,0	19,1	19,1	19,1	19,4	-
- Français	11,9	13,0	20,0	20,9	21,6	22,2	23,1	24,1	25,2	26,6	28,5	-
- Belges	7,9	10,1	14,8	15,4	15,9	16,2	16,3	16,5	16,5	16,5	16,7	-
- Allemands	8,9	8,8	10,1	10,1	10,2	10,5	10,8	10,9	11,3	11,6	12,0	-
- Britanniques	2,0	3,2	4,3	4,5	4,7	4,7	4,7	4,8	4,9	5,0	5,3	-
- Néerlandais	2,9	3,5	3,7	3,6	3,6	3,6	3,7	3,7	3,8	3,8	3,9	-
- Autres UE	10,6	6,6	9,2	9,7	9,7	10,3	12,4	14,5	16,5	17,9	19,5	-
- Autres	...	9,2	22,5	23,5	24,6	26,4	25,9	26,9	27,3	28,8	30,2	-
Étrangers en %	26,3	29,4	36,9	37,5	38,1	39,1	39,8	40,8	41,6	42,6	43,7	-

Statec

⁷ Retrieved on the 18.08.10:

http://www.statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=463&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=1

This diverse population contributes to the richness of the linguistic make-up of Luxembourg today. In 1984, a new law recognizes three official languages within Luxembourg: Luxembourgish, German, and French, of which one is the national language (Luxembourgish (*Lëtzebuergesch*))⁸. This linguistic situation is frequently referred as triglossic. Luxembourgish is preeminently an oral language whose written functions are covered either by French and / or German (Horner & Weber, 2008). A number of factors currently bear upon this oral-written relationship between Luxembourgish, French and German. The case of French is most curious. Originally a prestige language used for administrative purposes and by the upper class, nowadays French has become a kind of “lingua franca between Luxembourgers, immigrants and cross-border commuters.” (Weber, 2008a, p. 159). There is also a rise in the use of Luxembourgish as a written language (Horner & Weber, 2008).

Language use in Luxembourg, however, is not only affected by nationality and origin, but by age and social class. As Davis (1994) noticed, young people seem to be the primary users of Luxembourgish in diverse contexts and support its use with a sense of nationalism:

[...] However, young people do not always follow the language preferences of older relatives, but will often use their native language. In several of the listening, reading, and writing areas within social life, youth have proven more affected by the rise in status of *Lëtzebuergesch* than any other age group (e.g. radio programs, correspondence with friends, *Lëtzebuergesch* literature). A strong

⁸ “**Loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues.**

Vu la décision de la Chambre des Députés du 25 janvier 1984 et celle du Conseil d’Etat du 7 février 1984 portant qu’il n’y a pas lieu à second vote; Avons ordonné et ordonnons:

Art. 1er . Langue nationale

La langue nationale des Luxembourgeois est le luxembourgeois.

Art. 2. Langue de la législation

Les actes législatifs et leurs règlements d’exécution sont rédigés en français. Lorsque les actes législatifs et réglementaires sont accompagnés d’une traduction, seul le texte français fait foi.

Art. 3. Langues administratives et judiciaires

En matière administrative, contentieuse ou non contentieuse, et en matière judiciaire, il peut être fait usage des langues française, allemande ou luxembourgeoise, sans préjudice des dispositions spéciales concernant certaines matières.

Art. 4. Requêtes administratives

Lorsqu’une requête est rédigée en luxembourgeois, en français ou en allemand, l’administration doit se servir, dans la mesure du possible, pour sa réponse de la langue choisie par le requérant.” (JOGDL, 27/02/1984)(bold letters in original) (Retrieved on the 18.08.10:

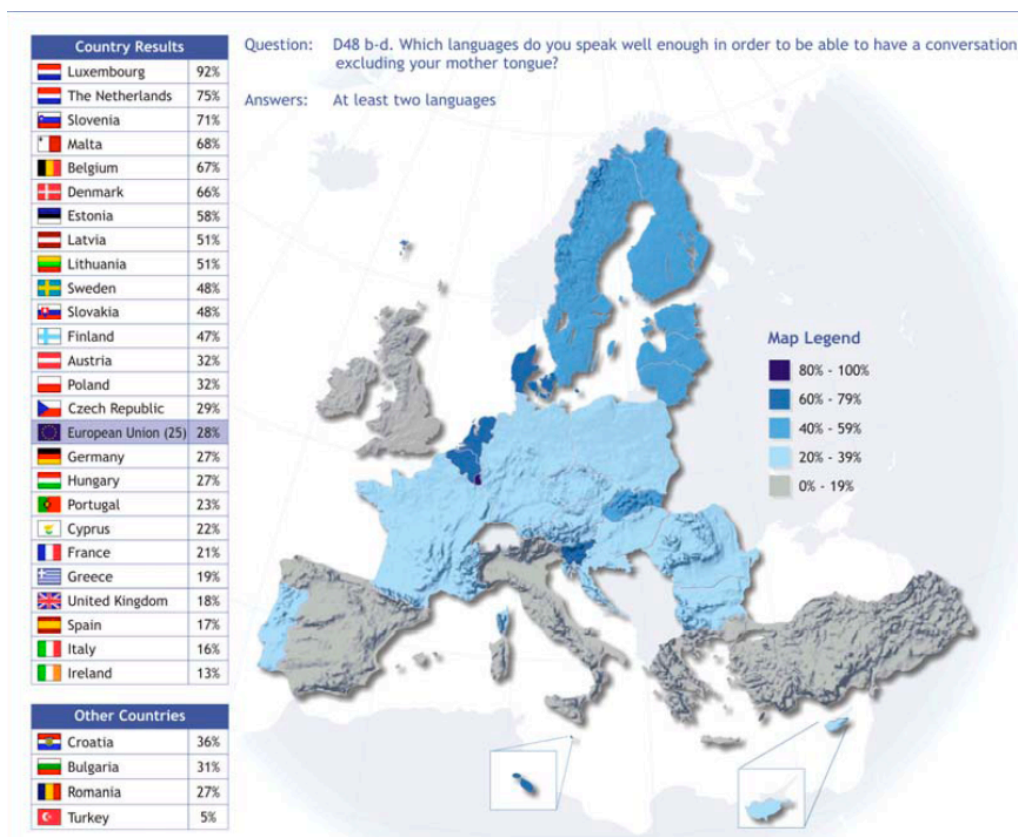
<http://www.legilux.public.lu/leg/a/archives/1984/0016/1984A01961.html>)

sense of nationalism through native language use was apparent in interviews and the student language use questionnaire [...] (p. 80).

This kind of linguistic nationalism or defence of Luxembourgish has attracted the attention of the media and these media have also positioned themselves. The editor of one of the main newspapers in Luxembourg (*La Voix du Luxembourg*), for example, voicing his support for the multilingualism in Luxembourg, states that to leave behind one of the three official languages would not only make the country poorer but also constitute an old-fashioned nationalism⁹: “Mettre en retrait l’un ou l’autre de ces trois volets linguistiques consisterait à appauvrir le pays et à faire preuve d’un nationalisme borné.” (2007, p.1). Figure 1.2. summarizes multilingualism in Luxembourg and beyond:

⁹ Moyse Laurent. *La Voix du Luxembourg*. 22, 23 et 24 June 2007.

Figure 1.2. Multilingualism in Luxembourg and beyond. Source: Eurobarometer / European Commission (2006, p. 10). *Europeans and their Languages*¹⁰.



Social and economic class are also other elements to take into account when talking about language use in Luxembourg. These different social classes possess different economic, cultural and language capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Davis (1994)¹¹, who divides the classes into i) the elite, ii) upper-middle class, iii) lower-middle class and iv) lower class, goes on to explain the different language uses of each class. In brief, the elite class is characterized by its inclination to travel to different countries as well as its linguistic versatility and love of foreign languages. The upper-middle class tends to imitate the elite class despite the

¹⁰ Special Report/Eurobarometer 243: "Europeans and their Languages". Fieldwork: November – December 2005. Publication: February 2006. Retrieved on the 10.08.10: ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/doc631_en.pdf

¹¹ The Davis study (1994) is, in my judgement, one of the most thorough studies among the sparse academic research on social classes and education in Luxembourg.

lower economic capital of the former. The lower-middle class seems to interact much more in Luxembourgish and German than the other two classes mentioned above. This group seems to be more traditional and spends more time (e.g. holidays) in Luxembourg or in Germanic countries. Finally, the working or lower class typically has a lower educational background and speaks mainly Luxembourgish in addition to reading in, or using German media. This group is usually isolated from foreign language experiences with the exception of some low-skilled workers from other countries. The Luxembourgish working class seems to criticize these foreign low-skilled workers for not learning Luxembourgish¹².

So far I have provided a general description of the “melting pot” of Luxembourg and its language diversity. Certain issues, for instance the role of French, are significant in relation to school. As Weber (2008a) points out, the Luxembourgish school still teaches a high variety of French despite the fact that the classrooms are filling up with “a large number of students speaking vernacular and contact varieties of French.” (p. 159), see also Horner & Weber, 2005; 2008). Concerns such as these still have to be adequately addressed within the Luxembourgish school system. Weber (2008a) signals that, regardless of the fact that the Luxembourgish society has changed dramatically in the last hundred years, as corroborated in the first pages of this section, “[...] the school system has failed to respond to this challenge and the basic structure has remained unchanged for almost a hundred years [...]” (p. 159).

1.2. An overview of the Luxembourgish educational system

The Luxembourgish educational system is unique in Europe. It is the only one confronted, on the one hand, with the global practice of bilingualism (or trilingualism

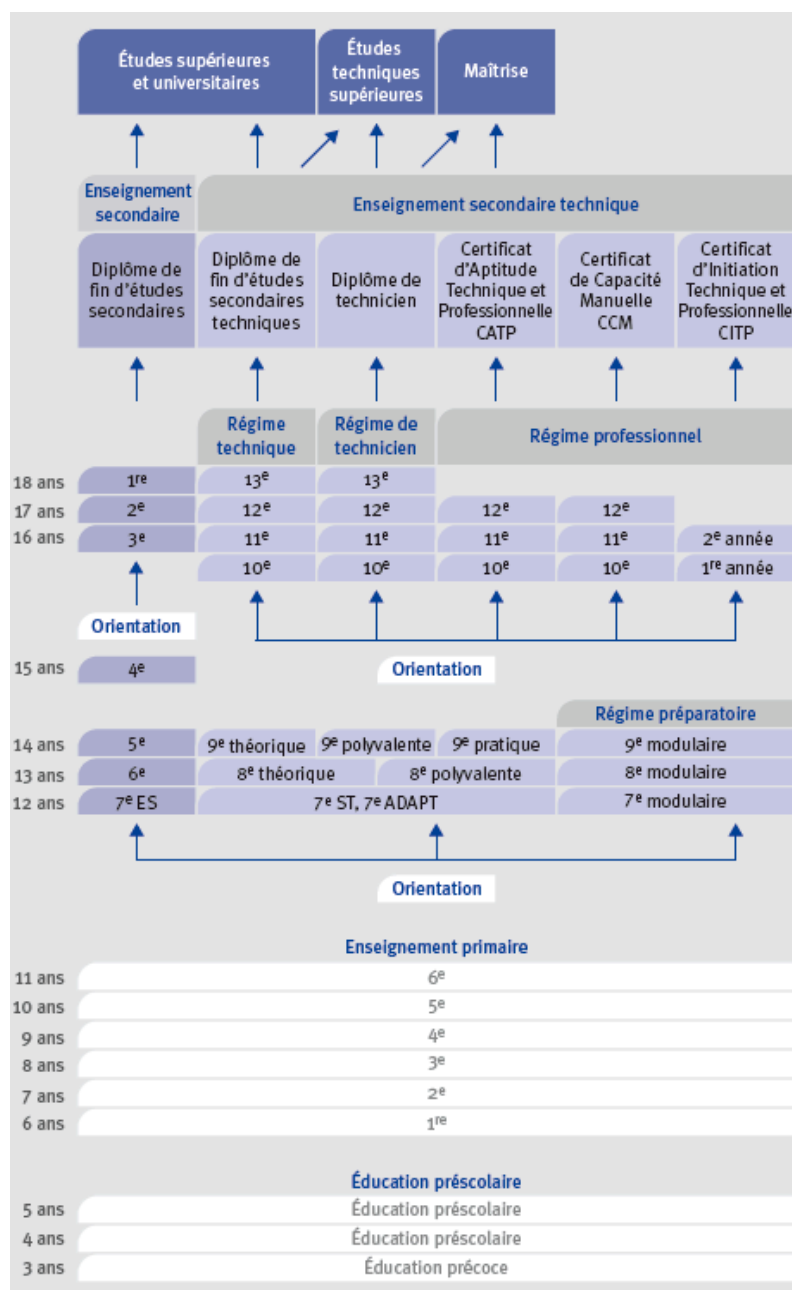
¹² For more details see Davis (1994).

if one takes into account Luxembourgish). On the other hand, the Luxembourgish classroom comprises an average of almost 40 % of foreigners, many of whom do not speak any of the three national languages (Von Kunitzki / Ministère de l'Éducation nationale et de la Formation professionnelle [MENFP], 1999¹³, MENFP, 2008). Trying to guarantee children's equal access to the three official languages is everything but an easy task. The high proportion of immigrants represents an extra challenge to the trilingual system, with some of them ending up in special reception classes where they are taught German or French (Hoffmann, 1998). Taking the challenge of this evolving situation into account, Luxembourgish schools endeavour to integrate all students into the system. The different stages of the school comprise kindergarten (spillschoul), preschool, primary, and secondary¹⁴. The different languages are introduced at different moments, even at the university level. The next table summarizes the different levels within the Luxembourgish school system (in French):

¹³ These numbers are similar to recent data which also confirms the average of 40 % of foreigners within Luxembourgish schools (MENFP, 2008). See figure 1.3. for more details and explained by age and type of school.

¹⁴ On the 21st January 2009 Education Act, kindergarten, preschool and primary education merged into "l'éducation fondamentale". See (Retrieved on the 11.11.10): <http://www.european-agency.org/country-information/luxembourg/national-overview/complete-national-overview>

Figure 1.3. Luxembourgish school system. Source: MEN & CASNA (Cellule d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants / reception desk for newly arrived pupils) (2008b, p. 1). *Bienvenue à l'école luxembourgeoise! Informations pour parents et élèves étrangers (Welcome to the Luxembourgish school ! Information for foreign parents and students)*¹⁵.



¹⁵ Retrieved on the 10.08.10 :

http://www.men.public.lu/publications/enfants_etrangers/pub_francais/080908_casna_informations_parents/081015_casna_fr.pdf

The diversity of the Luxembourgish society is reflected in its schools. Foreign residents represent 42,9 % of the total population. It could be stated that at almost every educational level, foreigners represent more than 40 % of the total student population. The foreign population is particularly high at the preschool and primary levels, 49,1 % and 44,4 % respectively, but also in the technical branches of the secondary school (Enseignement secondaire technique), namely 43,0 %. The only level where foreigners are under-represented is at the secondary level or *lycée classique*, which is not the technical branch but the one that usually leads on to University (19, 2 %). A summary of the statistics regarding the last years is provided in the next table:

Table 1.3. Number and percentages of foreign students at different educational levels for the last 10 years. Année scolaire (school year) 2008-2009. Source: Service des Statistiques et Analyses, MENFP (2009, p. 2). *L'enseignement luxembourgeois en chiffres*¹⁶.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT LUXEMBOURGEOIS EN CHIFFRES									
ÉVOLUTION DU NOMBRE D'ÉLÈVES DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT PUBLIC ET LES ÉCOLES PRIVÉES QUI SUIVENT LES PROGRAMMES OFFICIELS									
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Éducation précoce	2377	2802	3093	3088	3410	3492	3671	3865	4036
Éducation préscolaire	10706	10850	10896	10412	10441	10411	10001	9824	9966
dont filles	48,6%	48,4%	48,9%	49,3%	48,2%	48,4%	48,8%	47,8%	47,7%
dont étrangers	40,4%	41,9%	41,7%	43,2%	43,5%	43,8%	44,9%	46,2%	49,1%
Enseignement primaire	31278	31963	32004	32456	32840	33138	33136	33020	32496
dont filles	48,7%	48,6%	48,7%	48,8%	49,1%	49,0%	48,8%	49,1%	49,1%
dont étrangers	36,5%	37,8%	37,8%	39,2%	40,2%	40,9%	41,6%	42,7%	44,4%
Éducation différenciée	700	746	694	718	706	681	707	671	663
Enseignement postprimaire	31218	31540	32056	32520	33031	33873	34970	35927	36792
dont filles	50,4%	50,4%	50,2%	50,2%	50,4%	50,1%	49,9%	49,7%	49,6%
dont étrangers	29,8%	30,6%	31,2%	31,1%	31,8%	32,4%	33,2%	34,4%	34,9%
Enseignement secondaire	9859	9942	9963	10316	10571	11114	11693	12122	12469
dont filles	55,8%	56,0%	56,3%	56,1%	56,4%	55,7%	55,3%	54,7%	54,7%
dont étrangers	13,7%	14,7%	15,6%	16,5%	16,9%	17,1%	17,8%	18,6%	19,2%
Enseignement secondaire technique	21359	21598	22093	22204	22460	22759	23277	23805	24323
dont filles	47,9%	47,8%	47,5%	47,5%	47,6%	47,3%	47,2%	47,2%	47,0%
dont étrangers	37,2%	37,9%	38,2%	37,9%	38,9%	39,8%	41,0%	42,5%	43,0%
Classes inférieures	10196	10294	10535	10835	11125	11206	11434	11762	12081
dont filles	47,1%	47,3%	47,3%	46,6%	46,7%	46,6%	46,7%	46,6%	46,6%
dont étrangers	41,7%	42,1%	41,3%	41,1%	42,3%	44,4%	46,4%	48,6%	49,6%
Régime technique	4291	4323	4336	4305	4265	4309	4626	4739	4840
dont filles	61,6%	61,2%	60,4%	60,2%	60,7%	60,5%	59,8%	59,6%	59,0%
dont étrangers	25,1%	25,5%	26,9%	27,4%	29,5%	30,2%	30,8%	31,8%	30,8%
Régime de la formation de technicien	2670	2732	2869	2792	2953	3072	3092	3162	3182
dont filles	43,5%	43,0%	40,8%	42,3%	41,8%	41,5%	42,0%	42,6%	43,5%
dont étrangers	32,4%	34,3%	35,3%	34,4%	34,8%	34,5%	36,4%	37,5%	38,5%
Régime professionnel	4202	4249	4353	4272	4117	4172	4125	4142	4220
dont filles	38,6%	38,6%	39,9%	40,6%	41,0%	40,0%	38,7%	38,0%	37,0%
dont étrangers	41,6%	42,8%	43,6%	42,5%	42,0%	41,3%	40,8%	40,9%	41,6%
Total	76279	77901	78743	79194	80428	81595	82485	83307	83953
chiffres fin d'année									
ÉVOLUTION DU NOMBRE D'ÉLÈVES DANS LES AUTRES ÉCOLES PRIVÉES ET INTERNATIONALES									
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Total	5106	5335	5539	5740	6040	6420	6748	7145	7524
dont filles	49,5%	48,9%	49,1%	49,1%	48,5%	48,6%	48,5%	47,8%	47,7%
dont étrangers	91,0%	91,0%	90,3%	89,9%	90,1%	90,3%	90,8%	91,1%	91,5%

¹⁶ Retrieved on the 11.08.10:

http://www.men.public.lu/publications/etudes_statistiques/chiffres_cles/

Upon closer analysis of the different nationalities, we may observe a number of disparities. Let us just compare the two largest nationalities in Luxembourgish schools: the Luxembourgish and the Portuguese (see table 1.4). If we look at the preschool and primary school figures (e.g. latest data corresponding to the school year 2007/2008), we observe that there are 26,239 Luxembourgish children in comparison to 10,972 Portuguese children, hence 56,2 % and 23,5 % of the total respectively. The numbers change between primary and secondary school. In the classical secondary school, or *lycée classique*, there are 9,865 Luxembourgish pupils (81,4 %) and only 766 Portuguese (6,3 %). This constitutes a radical change from the primary school. What is more, if we also look at technical secondary schools, or *lycée technique*, the numbers speak for themselves: 13,697 Luxembourgers in comparison to 6,074 Portuguese teenagers, 57,5 % and 25,5 % of the total respectively, a slightly higher percentage than for primary school. For an overview of the figures and percentages according to nationality (as opposed to merely ‘foreign’ and ‘Luxembourgish’), please see the following table (table 1.4):

Table 1.4. Students by nationality. Source: Service des Statistiques et Analyses, MENFP (2009b, p. 16). *Les chiffres clés de l'éducation nationale: statistiques et indicateurs. Année scolaire (school year) 2007-2008*¹⁷.

Nombre d'élèves absolu 2007-2008																			
	Préscolaire		Primaire					EDIFF	ES	EST									
Nat.	Précoce	Préscolaire	1 ^{re} - 6 ^e année	Accueil	Attente	Spécial	TOTAL Présc. Prim.	Éducation différenciée	TOTAL ES	Préparatoire modulaire	Classes accueil / insertion	Cycle Inférieur	Régime technique	Formation de technicien	Régime professionnel	TOTAL EST	TOTAL Postprimaire	TOTAL	
luxembg.	2041	5282	18861	1	9	45	26239	341	9855	822	16	5203	3233	1977	2446	13697	23562	50142	
portugais	931	2361	7572	73	6	29	10972	203	766	818	139	2628	842	691	956	6074	6840	18015	
ex-youg.	180	557	1768	3	1	2	2511	11	225	164	9	537	165	153	213	1241	1466	3988	
français	217	424	1130	2		2	1775	19	232	42	1	255	88	50	114	550	782	2576	
italiens	89	250	851	1		3	1194	25	213	62	1	263	162	110	109	707	920	2139	
belges	107	257	665	1	1		1031	11	220	10	1	107	39	21	38	216	436	1478	
allem.	60	135	378			1	574	7	179	13		60	46	21	96	236	415	996	
autres	240	558	1589	22	1	3	2413	54	422	128	50	433	164	139	170	1084	1506	3973	
Total Etr.	1824	4542	13953	102	9	40	20470	330	2257	1237	201	4283	1506	1185	1696	10108	12365	33165	
Total	3865	9824	32814	103	18	85	46709	671	12122	2059	217	9486	4739	3162	4142	23805	35927	83307	
autres																		15150	
Nombre d'élèves relatif 2007-2008																			
	Préscolaire		Primaire					EDIFF	ES	EST									
Nat.	Précoce	Préscolaire	1 ^{re} - 6 ^e année	Accueil	Attente	Spécial	TOTAL Présc. Prim.	Éducation différenciée	TOTAL ES	Préparatoire modulaire	Classes accueil / insertion	Cycle Inférieur	Régime technique	Formation de technicien	Régime professionnel	TOTAL EST	TOTAL Postprimaire	TOTAL	
luxembg.	52,8	53,8	57,5	1,0	50,0	52,9	56,2	50,8	81,4	39,9	7,4	54,8	68,2	62,5	59,1	57,5	65,6	60,2	
portugais	24,1	24,0	23,1	70,9	33,3	34,1	23,5	30,3	6,3	39,7	64,1	27,7	17,8	21,9	23,1	25,5	19,0	21,6	
ex-youg.	4,7	5,7	5,4	2,9	5,6	2,4	5,4	1,6	1,9	8,0	4,1	5,7	3,5	4,8	5,1	5,2	4,1	4,8	
français	5,6	4,3	3,4	1,9	0,0	2,4	3,8	2,8	1,9	2,0	0,5	2,7	1,9	1,6	2,8	2,3	2,2	3,1	
italiens	2,3	2,5	2,6	1,0	0,0	3,5	2,6	3,7	1,8	3,0	0,5	2,8	3,4	3,5	2,6	3,0	2,6	2,6	
belges	2,8	2,6	2,0	1,0	5,6	0,0	2,2	1,6	1,8	0,5	0,5	1,1	0,8	0,7	0,9	0,9	1,2	1,8	
allem.	1,6	1,4	1,2	0,0	0,0	1,2	1,2	1,0	1,5	0,6	0,0	0,6	1,0	0,7	2,3	1,0	1,2	1,2	
autres	6,2	5,7	4,8	21,4	5,6	3,5	5,2	8,0	3,5	6,2	23,0	4,6	3,5	4,4	4,1	4,6	4,2	4,8	
Total Etr.	47,2	46,2	42,5	99,0	50,0	47,1	43,8	49,2	18,6	60,1	92,6	45,2	31,8	37,5	40,9	42,5	34,4	39,8	

Recognizing such diversity at school, coupled with a trilingual educational system, we can begin to understand how difficult it is for any non-Luxembourger to grasp the full complexity of the situation. Regarding the use of languages at school, Luxembourgish

¹⁷ Retrived on the 19.08.10:

http://www.men.public.lu/publications/etudes_statistiques/chiffres_cles/chiffres_cles_2007/09_0519_2007_2008_chiffres_online.pdf

http://statistics.myschool.lu/cc200708/cc200708_chap2_p16.xls

is spoken in *spillschoul* or kindergarten and preschool, and is assumed to be the “bridge” language or springboard to German itself, the language for literacy in primary school (see Maurer-Hetto *et al*, 2003, p. 17). Luxembourgish is called the “integration” language, not only in schools but also in the Luxembourgish society in general:

La familiarisation avec la langue et la culture luxembourgeoises est une priorité, compte tenu de la nécessité d’une bonne intégration dans l’école d’abord, dans la société ensuite. La langue luxembourgeoise ne doit pas devenir un facteur d’exclusion, voire de discrimination, mais doit jouer un rôle unificateur. (Ministère de l’Éducation nationale et de la Formation professionnelle et des Sports [MENFPS], 2000, p. 4).

The third language, French, is introduced in the second semester of the second primary year. The newcomers in most cases may have missed the preschool Luxembourgish language learning and therefore this so-called bridge to German and French comes as another challenge. As we will see later, newcomers end up learning both German and Luxembourgish at the same time along with the other subjects. The next table summarizes the languages taught and used as the medium of instruction from pre-school to the end of secondary school (*secondaire classique*):

Table 1.5. The Luxembourgish school system from pre-school to *secondaire classique*, from Horner & Weber (2008, p. 89)

The Luxembourgish school system from pre-school to *secondaire classique*

	Main languages taught	Medium of instruction
Pre-school (3 years)		
<i>précocé</i> (age 3/4)	Luxembourgish	Luxembourgish
<i>préscolaire</i> (age 4/6)	Luxembourgish	Luxembourgish
Primary education (6 years)		
(age 6/7)	German as language of literacy, (Luxembourgish: only 1 hour per week)	Luxembourgish, German
(age 7/8)	German, (Luxbg), French added in the 2nd semester	Luxembourgish, German
(age 8/12)	German, French, (Luxbg)	German
<i>Secondaire classique</i> (7 years)		
(age 12/13)	German, French, (Luxbg)	German, French
(age 13/14)	German, French, English (or Latin)	German, French
(age 14/15)	German, French, English	German, French
(age 15/18)	German, French, English	French
(age 18/19)	German, French, English (choice of two of these languages in some streams)	French

1.2.1. Key subjects (and languages) in the Luxembourgish primary school

As we mentioned in a previous section (1.2.), there is a “selection” of students who are left behind between primary and secondary school. Most of those who are left end up in technical schools. This “selection” takes place, for the most part, during the years of primary education. One of the main “causes” indicated as responsible for this “selection” (besides it being the fault of the “victims” themselves) is the study program (see, for instance, Weber, 2008b). By this I could refer to the main issues such as the choice of subjects, languages, order of contents, teaching methodologies, and the fact that there is only a single track for all the students.

With regard to the subjects and languages, Luxembourgish primary schools teach French (from the 2nd year onwards), German and Maths: “Le français,

l'allemand et les mathématiques constituent les trois branches décisives pour la décision de promotion. Dans les deux langues, le livret distingue les domaines de l'oral, de la lecture et de l'écrit.” (Plan d'études de l'enseignement primaire, MENFP, 2004, p. 8). The fact that Maths is taught in German makes the mastery of that language crucial. Furthermore, the same “plan d'études” (study program) stresses the importance of the principal subjects (i.e., German and Maths) for the first two years of primary school, as they constitute the children's first steps into primary education. From the 3rd year of primary school onwards, the teaching of German is intensified; more material is covered in the same number of hours. From this point on, there is a direct correlation between the children's background (i.e. local or migrant) and their academic success (Tomassini / MENFP, 1999).

Some reports partly blame the academic failure of romanophone children on the German literacy only track: “La sélection au sein de l'école luxembourgeoise se ferait donc par le bas et la langue allemande en constituerait l'instrument principal. Les acteurs en donnent pour preuve les élèves portugais. [...] seulement 2% d'entre eux fréquenteraient l'enseignement secondaire 'classique'.” (Noesen *et al.*, 2008, p. 277). Others also state that, on the other hand, Luxembourgers usually have trouble with the French language “[...] le français reste encore trop souvent, pour les enfants luxembourgeois, une langue qu'ils n'arrivent pas vraiment à s'approprier.” (Tomassini / MENFP, 1999, p. 8). Some even criticize the methodology used for teaching French. The “Profil de la politique linguistique éducative” (Gouiller *et al.* / MENFP, 2006)¹⁸ states that: “Si l'apprentissage de l'allemand relève, pour des enfants luxembourghophones, d'une didactique proche de celle d'une langue

¹⁸ Document (besides the « Rapport national ») accessible at : www.coe.int/lang/fr

maternelle, l'acquisition du français renvoie, pour ces mêmes élèves, à une méthodologie propre à l'enseignement d'une langue étrangère." (p. 39).

The mastery of both German and French are essential for success in the Luxembourgish educational system, although objections have been raised regarding the fast learning pace of German in comparison with a rather slow pace in the case of French (Martin, R. / CEPS/INSTEAD, 1995). Furthermore, being a foreigner means that besides learning all the languages of the school, one still has to learn the heritage language and is thus confronted with four languages (Berg & Weis / MENFP, 2005). As Tomassini / MENFP (1999) points out, the Luxembourgish educational system has always been very elitist, with 40-50 % of pupils failing to gain their diploma. Tomassini blames the institutional trilingualism and an incomplete¹⁹ educational system for such a high failure rate, with its commensurate potential as a social immobiliser. The Ministry of Education stresses the correlation between language learning and content learning:

La réussite scolaire des élèves dépend en effet de façon évidente de l'acquisition des langues d'instruction successives pour les différentes disciplines. La langue véhiculaire des épreuves lors des évaluations est celle utilisée pour l'enseignement de la discipline et cette langue change pour plusieurs matières au cours du cursus scolaire. (Gouiller et al. / MENFP, 2006, p. 17).

¹⁹ « Ce taux de réussite très bas s'explique sans doute par le trilinguisme luxembourgeois d'une part, par le fait d'un système scolaire incomplet d'autre part : [...] C'est ainsi que le lycée luxembourgeois d'une part, le Centre Universitaire d'autre part, doivent donner à leurs élèves la possibilité de continuer leurs études à l'étranger, ce qui rend le programme d'enseignement au Luxembourg plus complexe et plus exigeant. Ce même caractère incomplet du système d'éducation d'un pays de 400.000 d'habitants fait qu'il n'existe pas, au Luxembourg, de système très diversifié d'institutions scolaires à niveau et à programme variés en fonction des aptitudes des élèves. Pour la partie aisée de la population, ceci amène un nombre élevé de parents à envoyer leurs enfants dans des écoles en Belgique, en France, ou en Suisse. Pour les autres familles – et notamment pour la presque-totalité des enfants immigrés – le manque de diversification, de passerelles (et de possibilités de rattrapage) signifient tout simplement l'échec scolaire – et l'impossibilité, dans beaucoup de cas, de toute ascension sociale. » (Tomassini / MENFP, 1999, pp. 24-25).

Finally, Weber (2008b), referring to the numbers of students completing secondary education (16.7 % according to STATEC²⁰), states that this German-French “bilingual” education policy may also be understood as a gate-keeping device, despite the fact that the official discourse constructs it as a valuable asset (p. 66).

1.2.2. The so-called model of “separation”?

Noesen *et al.* (2008) claim that the Luxembourgish model of education is characterised by early selection, a lack of individual treatment and frequent “redoublement” (“resitting”)²¹. This model is applied mainly in countries of central Europe such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Luxembourg. For Martín Rojo (2007), also researching in a linguistically diverse scenario, education is characterized by the “marginalizing” model towards diversity. Cultural and linguistic assimilation is not just achieved through submersion into the cultural and linguistic forms of the majority, but through the strategic and temporal separation of those who are considered different (p. 64)²².

²⁰ Luxembourgger Wort. 12 August 2005. Nesthocker ohne höheren Schulabschluss? Statec analysiert die Situation der Jugendlichen in Luxembourg, 3. Cited by Weber (2008b, p. 66).

²¹ The educational model for facing the heterogeneity in Luxembourgish schools could be classified as one which is consistent with a ‘classical humanism’ doctrine (Horner & Weber, 2005; Skilbeck, 1982).

²² “[...] casos, la asimilación cultural y lingüística se busca, no a través de la sumersión en las formas culturales y lingüística mayoritarias, sino a través de la separación estratégica y transitoria de quienes son distintos. Esta posición da lugar a programas educativos de compensatoria y podemos descubrirla de forma inequívoca cuando observamos una dualización del sistema educativo, con programas dirigidos sólo a estudiantes de origen inmigrante, que los separan de la vida del centro, o bien con procedimientos que terminan haciendo que determinados centros sean sólo para “inmigrantes”. (Martín Rojo, 2007, p. 64)

My translation: “[...] cases, cultural and linguistic assimilation is not aimed at throughout submersion into the cultural and linguistic forms of the majority, but throughout the strategic and temporary separation of those who are different. This position produces compensatory education programs which are unequivocally revealed in a dualized educative system, either programs

Some scholars have based their critiques of such a model on the PISA scores for Luxembourg. Dupriez et Cornet (2005), also taking into account the scores of Finland and Sweden, explain that it is better for the country to support the progress of all students for as long as possible rather than simply a number of them: “Le fait d’être ambitieux le plus longtemps possible pour tous les élèves semble donc être une des voies les plus sûres pour accroître l’efficacité moyenne des systèmes scolaires et la qualité des ressources intellectuelles d’une nation.” (p. 56).

It is also essential to mention that while schools in Luxembourg have tried to maintain their homogenization against heretogeneity (as previously mentioned by ‘separating’ the different by early selection, a lack of individual treatment and frequent “redoublement”), the Luxembourgish population has become increasingly heterogeneous. Facing this diversity in the school means facing new phenomena for the school system such as students with a different or immigration background. Even if there is a consensus on the need to adapt to Luxembourg’s society, it seems complicated to insist upon a model whose sole solution to diversity is to make students to resit a year: “[...] la majorité des intervenants ne semble pas prête à abandonner le redoublement et la séparation des élèves en tant que principales variables d’ajustement du système luxembourgeois face à l’hétérogénéité scolaire.” (Noesen et al., 2008, p. 285). In the context of special needs, it is worth mentioning that Luxembourg signed the Treaty of Salamanca (UNESCO, 1994) on special needs in education. One of the paragraphs of this treaty states:

Les personnes ayant des besoins éducatifs spéciaux doivent pouvoir accéder aux écoles ordinaires, qui doivent les intégrer dans un système pédagogique centré sur l'enfant, capable de répondre à ces besoins.

directed only to students with immigrant background that separate them from the social life of the centre, or with procedures that eventually reserve certain centres only for “immigrants”. (Martín Rojo, 2007, p. 64)

The same adaptation of ordinary schools to pupils' individual capacities is stressed in the "Profil de la politique linguistique éducative" (Gouiller et al. / MENFP, 2006, p. 21 & p. 30). The authors of this report go even further when they state that plurilingualism should be heterogeneous and not homogeneous in the sense of letting every student have their own, legitimate linguistic profile without being categorized as a failure:

[...] toute compétence plurilingue est nécessairement et naturellement déséquilibrée et évolutive. Ce principe permet de reconnaître que chaque élève peut légitimement présenter un profil linguistique différent, sans que cette différenciation soit perçue comme le signe d'une insuffisance individuelle ou même d'un échec. (2006, p. 31).

They also state that there have been many propositions to improve the educational system, notably in primary school. One such proposition – though it remained purely "on paper" - relates to a "dual immersion education" program, in which the germanophones could assist the romanophones in the learning of Luxembourgish and / or German, and the romanophones assist the Luxembourgish with French (Profil, Gouiller et al. / MENFP, 2006). Other scholars (e.g. García et al., 2006) argue in favour of a short-term segregation of pupils, taking into account the minorities and their languages: "Claiming that one wants the children to maintain their language and develop it further sounds hollow if the school system is not prepared to organize education that makes this possible." And she continues: "Unless the non-dominant language is used as the main medium of education for a number of years, competence in it necessarily remains shallow." (p. 21).

The "Plan d'études de l'enseignement primaire" (Studies program for primary education) (MENFP, 2004) stresses that the Luxembourgish school is the school for *all*. They state that the school must support all the children, stimulating the strongest

but also those less advantaged, with an emphasis on the weakest: “L’école primaire doit aider tous les enfants, stimuler les plus forts, encourager les moins doués, protéger et appuyer les plus faibles. ” (p. 4). In the same report and in the section on intercultural education it is stated that this type of education should allow equal opportunities for foreign children whilst enabling them to keep their own identity:

L’éducation interculturelle implique une attitude à la fois réceptive et créatrice de toute la communauté, notamment des différents partenaires scolaires. Elle doit permettre aux enfants étrangers d’accéder à l’égalité des chances à l’école et dans la vie professionnelle tout en sauvegardant leur identité culturelle. (p. 3)

It is even recommended that, in order to ensure intercultural educational success, teachers could learn some basics of the language(s) of the migrants: “- permettre aux instituteurs en activité de service de parfaire leur formation en ce qui concerne une éducation interculturelle et d’acquérir, le cas échéant, une connaissance élémentaire de la langue des migrants.” (p. 3). García et al. (2006) also comments on teacher training vis-à-vis minority students. She states that the wish to ‘integrate’ the minority students together with the lack of adequate teacher preparation to deal with a heterogeneous group, leave other linguistic and educational concerns in the background (p. 21).

Finally, in the same report (MENFP, 2004) and in the section on cooperation between primary schools and families, there is a paragraph that makes reference to the lives of the children in an out-of-school context. The authors of the report state that schools and teachers should adapt their methodologies in order to support those children who have a family background that does not provide enough learning possibilities, and / or one which means the children are faced with ‘language disadvantages’:

3. Les activités et les méthodes à l'école primaire doivent tenir compte de la vie extrascolaire des enfants. Elles se basent sur une pédagogie centrée sur les intérêts et les besoins des enfants. Cela implique que le personnel enseignant adapte, d'une part, les travaux d'apprentissage au contexte socioculturel des enfants dont il a la charge et que, d'autre part, il s'occupe davantage des enfants qui n'ont pas dans leur milieu familial des possibilités d'apprentissage « suffisantes », c'est-à-dire les enfants socialement ou linguistiquement désavantagés. (p. 2)

Horner & Weber (2005), in an article on the representation of immigrant students in official and media discourse, summarize the different educational ideologies and compare them with the situation in Luxembourg. Like Skilbeck (1982), recapitulated in the table below, they explain the four existent ideologies i) classical humanism, ii) utilitarianism, iii) progressivism, and iv) social reconstructionism. The “utilitarianism” ideology, however, is not discussed by Skilbeck (1982).

Table 1.6. Educational ideologies (Skilbeck, 1982).

	Central metaphor	Main aspect(s)	Def. of man	Def. of school	Personification
Progressivism	Growth (children growth)	Communitarian and individualistic	Living in harmony with others. One's development is conditioned by social relations	Critical and creative role Curriculum as part of a strategy of social renewal	Piaget and Rousseau
Reconstructionism	Renewal	Man-making	Vulnerable	Education key in lessening social conflict and for developing new patterns of life	Dewey and Plato
Classical humanism	Elitism and social reproduction	Reproduction of an elitist system Utopian view of the past	Two men: “Folk” culture “High” culture	Two curriculums: A common-core and an elitist one (this one characterized by discipline and high attainment)	Plato and Prof. Bantock

Horner & Weber (2005), analysing the discourse²³ of the Ministry of Education, conclude that it supports an ideology of “classical humanism”: “[...] the analysis below will reveal that the emphasis of the Ministry document is predominantly on the “social cohesion” or “preservation of order” aspect of classical humanism and that the other three ideologies play only very minor roles.” (p. 244). Skilbeck (1982) interprets “classical humanism” as an old, elitist ideology whose tendency is to reproduce a system of elites and idealize the past “[...] there is a sense in which things are never as good as they have been in the past [...]” (p. 17). Within an educational context, therefore, such “classical humanism” is frequently associated with discipline so that “Education may be active but is always primarily as assimilative process: induction into institutions; acceptance of defined values and standards; initiation into clearly articulated modes of thought and action.” (ibid p. 17-18).

Martín Rojo (2007) also describes four different models regarding classroom diversity. Using an ethnographic and critical approach, she explores four secondary schools located in Madrid. Martín Rojo analyses different educational policies, the value of certain resources for the participants and the repercussion of these resources in teaching-learning processes. She confirms the existence of an assimilative ideology whose main goal is to eliminate cultural and linguistic differences. New programs, therefore, when aimed at the foreign population and its descendents, fail to introduce any change with regard to pedagogy in the contents or the methodology of the classroom²⁴. Martín Rojo (2007) then introduces four possibilities or models

²³ See report « Pour une école d'intégration » (MENFP, 1998).

²⁴ “[...] nos encontraremos ante una ideología asimiladora. Generalmente, cuando se argumenta a favor de posiciones como éstas, suele afirmarse que es, precisamente, con el fin de lograr la igualdad que se busca diluir o eliminar las diferencias culturales y lingüísticas. En estos casos las formas legitimadas de la mayoría actúan como el marco de referencia del que no hay que distinguirse. En la escuela esto se traduciría en programas de sumersión y de sustitución lingüística y cultural, que se articulan sobre el supuesto de que son los que emigran quienes

regarding diversity: i) the assimilative model, ii) the paternalist model, iii) the integrative model, and iv) the marginalizing model²⁵. The researcher also points out that the fourth model is the one applied in compensatory education. These programs are specially designed for students of immigrant origin; many of whom end up on an educational path similar to their peers in Luxembourgish technical schools. Finally, Martín Rojo (2007) states that these programs are therefore conceived for students with “problems” or “deficit” and such centres are thus considered “second class” (p. 64-65).

1.2.3. A parallel “track” for romanophone children?

Many statistics presented so far confirm the division within Luxembourgish public schools. This division is frequently not seen as supporting “meritocracy”²⁶, in other words, a system in which the talented are chosen on the basis of their achievement²⁷ at school and in society by and large. Other factors such as children’s socio-economic status bear upon the results of PISA tests in Luxembourg and the correlation of scores

deben con su esfuerzo incorporarse a los usos y formas de la mayoría, brindándoles para ello si se precisa un apoyo puntual. Los programas se dirigen, por tanto, sólo a los foráneos y sus descendientes, sin que se introduzcan otros cambios en los contenidos o en la forma de enseñar que afecten al conjunto de la comunidad escolar.” Martín Rojo (2007, p. 60-61).

My translation: “[...] we are confronted with an assimilatory ideology. Usually, these positions maintain that the elimination or diminishment of cultural and linguistic differences lead to equality. In these cases, the legitimated forms of the majority act as a framework of reference, one should not differ from. At school, this position leads to submersion and cultural and linguistic substitution programs, which assume that those who emigrate that must make the effort of assimilation, and only eventually offer them a selective support. The programs are directed, therefore, only to foreigners and their descendants, without introducing other changes in the teaching contents or form that (may) affect to the whole school community.” Martín Rojo (2007, p. 60-61).

²⁵ For a complete explanation of the four models, see Martín Rojo (2007, p. 61-68).

²⁶ For the origin of the term, see Michael Young (1958), *Rise of the Meritocracy*.

²⁷ Based on the definition provided by the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2010). Retrieved on the 19.06.10 at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>: “1: a system in which the talented are chosen and moved ahead on the basis of their achievement. 2: leadership selected on the basis of intellectual criteria”.

(Horner & Weber, 2005). As Noesen *et al.* (2008) state, this constitutes an extra difficulty for some students:

[...] les élèves issus d'un milieu défavorisé, dès le début de la scolarité, auraient des chances de réussite moindres que les enfants issus d'un milieu socio-économique plutôt favorisé. Ces enfants caractérisés par un statut économique social familial faible, dans leur majorité des enfants non luxembourgeois, engrangeraient les difficultés au fur et à mesure de leur carrière scolaire et seraient donc les grands perdants du système scolaire actuel. La sélection au sein de l'école luxembourgeois se ferait donc par le bas et la langue allemande en constituerait l'instrument principal. Les acteurs en donnent pour preuve les élèves portugais. Ces derniers se retrouveraient massivement dans l'enseignement secondaire technique et seulement 2% d'entre eux fréquenteraient l'enseignement secondaire « classique ». D'après les propos des acteurs, il est dès lors logique de se demander comment une part importante de la population luxembourgeoise et, incontestablement, la force économique du Grand-Duché soit aussi faiblement représentée au sein du secondaire dit « classique ». (p. 277)

A proposed solution for the progressive “marginalization” of students with immigrant background or those with special difficulties in technical schools is an early parallel track. As Horner & Weber (2005) point out, the solution could consist in introducing “a French-language literacy program alongside the existing German-language one.” (p. 246). This proposition, which may be found in several articles²⁸, brings a number of potential benefits:

Thus, the widespread fear that such a two-track system might undermine social cohesion is misplaced, especially considering that a two-track system already exists at secondary school level (namely, in the split between *lycée classique* and *lycée technique*). On the other hand, the advantages would be numerous: apart from the all-important one of no longer damaging some romanophone school children psychologically and socially, they include at least an economic and a pedagogical advantage. (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 97)

²⁸ See Horner & Weber (2005), Weber (2008b), Horner (2008).

Although such an early two-track system may well be the solution to the problems arising from the possibly unfair selection which takes place at school, “this solution is also rejected by the Ministry because, they claim, it would work against the aim of integration.” (Horner & Weber, 2005, p. 246). However, as Horner & Weber (2005) stress, the existence of this parallel track would not necessarily end up splitting “ethnic” and “non-ethnic” Luxembourgers, as not only may some “Luxembourgish” children choose the French track, but, equally, some “foreign” children may opt for the German track.

Several scholars emphasize that the linguistic rigidity in Luxembourgish schools creates several problems, particularly for foreign students (Horner & Weber, 2008; Horner & Weber, 2005; Weber, 2008b). Horner & Weber (2005) stress the fixed “idealized model of trilingualism” in a document from the Ministry of Education, entitled *Pour une école d'intégration* (1998):

On the first page of *Pour une école d'intégration*, Luxembourg is described as a multicultural society; but it soon turns out that multiculturalism is understood to be synonymous with the idealized model of individual Luxembourgish-French-German trilingualism in this document. The others should integrate into this “multiculturalism” and if they do not or cannot, then they constitute a problem.” (Horner & Weber, 2005, p. 246)

Pour une école d'intégration (MENFP, 1998) is formulated according to a discourse of separation: of *us* vs. *them*, and harbours a vision of the foreigner as the origin of the problem rather than as a “cultural enrichment” (Horner & Weber, 2005, p. 246). There is also a discourse of “blaming the victim”. Following Horner & Weber (2005): “[...] the ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘integration’ rhetoric seems to be used as a way of maintaining the status quo. It is a system that marginalizes immigrants, and then blames them for their marginalization.” (p. 247). A similar phenomenon, albeit in a

different context (Madrid), was found by Martín Rojo (2008). When explaining the educational system's lack of adaptation to the multicultural reality of the classroom, Martín Rojo (2008) draws our attention to ethnocentric and assimilatory practices:

A repertoire of knowledge that is considered to be legitimate is established in classroom interactions, and it 'must be learnt and understood' by every student. The ideology of assimilation that pervades educational practices becomes evident in interactions that do not just contribute to the construction of otherness. This leads to the configuration of 'us', as those who share the language, knowledge and norms, and 'them', as those who don't. (p. 37)

The "deficit theory" is also mentioned by Martín Rojo (2004) as something largely questioned but which nonetheless has the tendency to reappear. This theory understands all difference as a lack, which requires assistance (p. 197)²⁹. In both contexts (Luxembourg and Madrid) the educational system's lack of adaptation to the ever-changing necessities of the population seems an urgent problem which still needs to be addressed.

1.3. Another challenge: The newcomers

As far as can be seen, Luxembourgish schools still face many challenges. Adapting to a new reality, as is the case in Madrid, is becoming more and more necessary. Frequently, "migrant" pupils are children who were already born in the country and are descendants of their migrant parents. Another group, and one which is on the increase, comprises those children born abroad and who must, therefore, face the school reality in the new country. These children are the "newcomers", "primo arrivants" or "élèves nouvellement arrivés". According to the CASNA (Cellule

²⁹ See footnote number 22 in Martín Rojo (2007) for an explanation of the origin and later development of the deficit theory.

d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants)³⁰ the number of newcomers is high and constantly on the increase: 373 newcomers between the age of 12 and 18 years for the school year 2005-2006; 462 for 2006-2007, 496 for 2007-2008 and 519 for 2008-2009. The main nationalities concerned are the following:

Table 1.7. The main nationalities of newcomers in Luxembourgish schools. Source: MENFP (2009c, p. 72), *Rapport d'activité 2009*.

	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
portugaise	45,58 %	50,43 %	54,44%	40,66 %
capverdienne	7,69%	6,71 %	8,67%	8,09 %
luxembourgeoise				9,25%

Interestingly, the third largest group of newcomers are Luxembourgish. As the authors of the report explain, these are students who come back to Luxembourg after being schooled in a neighbouring country (Belgium for the most part). In any case the lusophone (i.e. Portuguese-speaking) students represent 48,75 % of the total newcomers, without taking into account the rest of students whose mother tongue is also of Latin origin (e.g. Spanish, Italian, French, etc). On the very same page, the authors of the report (MENFP, 2009c) stress the following “generalities”:

En ce qui concerne les élèves accueillis, plusieurs constats sont à faire:

- l'immigration, surtout en provenance du Portugal, continue ;
- la prédominance des élèves lusophones (portugais, capverdiens, brésiliens) entraîne par endroits des classes à concentration élevée d'élèves parlant le portugais entre eux – et donc moins disposés à apprendre d'autres langues;
- la majorité des jeunes primo-arrivants scolarisés à l'école publique sont d'origine sociale modeste et les parents ont généralement un niveau scolaire très faible. (p. 72)

³⁰ CASNA (Cellule d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants) is the « Reception desk for newly arrived pupils Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers » and is part of the Ministry of Education (MENFP). CASNA is located at :

Ministère de l'Éducation nationale
29, rue Aldringen
L - 1118 Luxembourg

It is interesting to note that in a report full of statistics, no evidence is provided for the above statements. This will be addressed partially in Chapter Three where Davis (1994) talks about preconceptions which end up affecting teachers' attitudes regarding these minority students, and which form a vicious circle.

1.3.1. The main challenges for non-Luxembourgish children in Luxembourgish primary schools

One of the main challenges in Luxembourgish primary schools is the fact that, as mentioned before, literacy learning is carried out in German. This language is the mother tongue of just a very small minority at school³¹, although Luxembourgish speakers take advantage of the similarities between these languages (Luxembourgish and German). The situation is not the same for the Romance language speakers. According to the "Profil" report (Gouiller et al. / MENFP, 2006) these students encounter difficulties given that they are confronted with a double obstacle: "[...] accès à l'alphabétisation et apprentissage d'une langue étrangère." (p. 36). In the case of newcomers with a Romance language background, the difficulty is even greater. Davis (1994) noted that these children who are non-native in the Luxembourgish context, might well be receiving submersion instead of immersion pedagogy:

Numerous studies (e.g. Genesee 1985; Lambert 1980; Tucker 1980) have shown that in cases in which the language and culture of a group is perceived as subordinate to that of the language(s)/ culture they are immersed into, the result is submersion, i.e. these children fail to achieve the language skills necessary for classroom interaction and study. (p. 188)

³¹ See Table 1.4. where it is shown that German children (I assume that the majority of these children have German as their mother tongue) are ranked as the seventh nationality in Luxembourgish primary schools.

Davis (1994, p. 188) goes even further, stating that the system needs to understand and build upon both the Luxembourgish language and the social experience of not only Portuguese children, but equally of children from a working-class background. According to the Rapport National (MENFP, 2005), differences between the family culture and school culture frequently influence children's success at school. The mastery of languages³² plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of the social structure and this structure places those with less mastery at the bottom of it. Therefore, for example, newcomers are confronted with a challenging and unequal situation where they can be the first victims of such a system when not supported properly.

As we have mentioned earlier, learning German constitutes the main difficulty and principal reason for the academic failure of the romanophone children in Luxembourg. It seems as if these children are unable to make the language transfer between Luxembourgish and German as easily as other children whose mother tongue is (only) Luxembourgish. In the report of "Pour une école d'intégration" (MENFP, 1998) additional explanations for the academic failure of this community are offered. The authors of the report indicate the fact that these romanophone children do not have the same opportunities to practice German or Luxembourgish at home or in their environment:

La plupart des enfants n'ont pratiquement pas d'usage extrascolaire de l'allemand (lecture, TV, jeux, etc.) et nombreux sont ceux qui n'ont

³² Languages are very valuable and considered a capital (Bourdieu, 1982) because they play a selection role at school ((Rapport National (Berg & Weis / MENFP, 2005)). See also (Bourdieu, 1984): "The primary differences, those which distinguish the major classes of conditions of existence, derive from the overall volume of capital, understood as the set of actually usable resources and powers – economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital. The distribution of the different classes (and class fractions) thus runs from those who are best provided with both economic and cultural capital to those who are most deprived in both respects." (p. 114) In line with Bourdieu is the idea that multilingualism may be viewed as a resource in itself as it opens access to other resources (Heller, 2004).

l'occasion ni de parler le luxembourgeois, ni l'allemand dans leur famille ou dans leur entourage. L'allemand représente pour eux une langue exclusivement scolaire, et qui plus est, une langue qui les met en difficulté à l'école. Le manque de motivation pour l'apprentissage de cette langue se trouve renforcé par les expériences d'échec. (p. 11)

Furthermore, the authors underline the fact that many teachers tend to use Luxembourgish when they should be using German. Almost a decade later, Fehlen (2006) confirms the persistence of such practices. He goes as far as to label the progressive use of Luxembourgish as vehicular language³³ as 'clandestine'³⁴. The authors of "Pour une école d'intégration" (MENFP, 1998), however, already highlight the dangers of such a policy (or lack of it), especially for the non-Luxembourgish children:

Le fait que beaucoup d'enseignants parlent luxembourgeois dans les cours censés être enseignés en allemand a un double effet : les occasions d'entendre et de parler allemand diminuent, et l'enfant d'origine romanophone, qui n'a encore de bases solides ni en luxembourgeois ni en allemand, n'arrive plus à faire de distinction nette entre les deux langues. (p. 11)

What is more, according to the statistics³⁵ (MENFP, 2008) the failure rate in Luxembourg particularly affects foreign pupils (cf., table 1.8. below). As the report underlines:

³³ "La progression insidieuse du luxembourgeois comme langue d'enseignement clandestine est un bel exemple pour l'absence d'une politique linguistique au Luxembourg. Pendant la période de 1999 à 2004 le ministère d'Education nationale a toujours insisté sur le respect des langues d'enseignement officielles et fustigé « une habitude fortement enracinée, consistant à recourir au luxembourgeois pour donner les explications dans les autres cours », sans toutefois prendre des mesures concrètes pour mettre en adéquation la norme et la réalité." (p. 10)

³⁴ "Le luxembourgeois, langue d'enseignement clandestine: Même s'il n'existe pas d'étude scientifique, on peut, sur la base de nombreux indices, affirmer que le luxembourgeois est la langue véhiculaire principale de l'école primaire, bien au-delà de la place qui lui revient dans le curriculum officiel." (p. 9)

³⁵ Le décrochage scolaire au Luxembourg - mai 2006 à avril 2007 - Parcours et caractéristiques des jeunes en rupture scolaire. Causes du décrochage. Juin 2008.

Les résultats de l'analyse du décrochage scolaire au Luxembourg confirment ce constat. Si les élèves de nationalité étrangère représentent 33,5% de la population de référence, ils sont davantage présents parmi les décrocheurs où leur part est de 40,4%. (p. 13)

The authors even comment on the difference by country of origin, with especial attention paid to students of Portuguese, Italian or Cape Verdean origin.

Notons également les différences entre les différentes nationalités. Les élèves de nationalité portugaise représentant 18% de la population de référence, mais 22% des décrocheurs. Un constat analogue se fait pour les élèves de nationalité italienne ou capverdienne. (p. 13)

Table 1.8. Students leaving school classified according to nationality. Source: MENFP (2008, p. 13). *Le décrochage scolaire au Luxembourg - mai 2006 à avril 2007 - Parcours et caractéristiques des jeunes en rupture scolaire. Causes du décrochage. Juin 2008.*

Élèves quittant l'école suivant la nationalité

	Total des élèves Rentrée 2006/2007	Total des élèves quittant l'école ¹²	Élèves réinscrits	Décrocheurs
Luxembourgeois	23.879 (66,5%)	730 (55,3%)	204 (55,3%)	326 (60,6%)
Portugais	6.550 (18,2%)	303 (23,0%)	82 (22,2%)	116 (21,6%)
Ex-yougoslaves	1.428 (4,0%)	50 (3,8%)	16 (4,3%)	18 (3,3%)
Italiens	996 (2,8%)	56 (4,2%)	10 (2,7%)	25 (4,6%)
Français	746 (2,1%)	46 (3,5%)	17 (4,6%)	3 (0,6%)
Belges	422 (1,2%)	13 (1,0%)	6 (1,6%)	8 (1,5%)
Allemands	401 (1,1%)	16 (1,2%)	2 (0,5%)	5 (0,9%)
Cap-Verdiens	288 (0,8%)	16 (1,2%)	3 (0,8%)	21 (3,9%)
Autres	1203 (3,3%)	90 (6,8%)	26 (7,0%)	2 (0,4%)
Total	35.913 (100,0%)	13.20 (100,0%)	369 (100,0%)	538 (100,0%)

1.3.2. Integration guidelines for newcomers to Luxembourgish primary schools

Luxembourgish deputies have long debated about how to improve the Luxembourgish school system, taking into account documents such as the cited “Pour une école d’intégration” (1998) elaborated by the MENFP. In one of the deputy sessions³⁶

³⁶ Doc. Number 4615. Chambre de députés. Debat d’orientation sur une école de l’intégration. 29.11.2000.

(2000) and its situation report (2004) (see annex F) where this above-mentioned document (“Pour une école d’intégration”) was cited, some of the conclusions of such a debate in reference to newcomers were:

- i) the continuation of school offer for newcomers,
- ii) the flexibility in case of new specific migratory phenomena,
- iii) a fast integration of newcomers into the regular classroom, and
- iv) a specific teacher training program for such a task³⁷

In line with these recommendations are the so-called ‘bridge’ classrooms. Depending on the age of the newcomers they are placed either in the regular classroom or in a special or ‘bridge’ classroom for progressive adaptation and language learning³⁸. As our interest is narrowed to those newcomers in their early childhood who are placed in regular classrooms, I will not comment on those placed in bridge classrooms, but would like, here, to briefly comment on the guidelines that are followed for helping these early newcomers to integrate into the regular classroom.

The government agency in charge of the newcomers in Luxembourg is called CASNA (Cellule d’accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants). They, and by extension the Ministry of Education, publish different guidelines for families, teachers and socio-educative staff. One of the most significant documents for newcomers to primary school is the “vade-mecum” (MENFP, 2008a) (see in annex F). In it, basic

³⁷ “22. A continuer, en matière d’accueil d’élèves primo-arrivants, sa politique de diversité de l’offre scolaire, à développer les structures adéquates dans les différents régions du pays et à se montrer flexible lors de l’apparition de nouveaux phénomènes migratoires spécifiques. Une intégration rapide des élèves dans les classes normales et une préparation spécifique des enseignants sont à considérer comme des priorités,”.

³⁸ « 7. Dans l’enseignement primaire, des classes d’accueil ont été créées à l’intention des élèves étrangers arrivant au pays à un âge où leur intégration dans une 1e ou 2e année d’études n’est plus justifiée. » Pour une école d’intégration (MENFP, 1998, p. 27).

guidelines are explained (interviews, child's history, etc) and complemented by additional explanations or directives for teachers and staff who welcome newcomers. Among these myriad of recommendations and directives I would like to highlight some which are of relevance to my case study. One such recommendation is on the first page of the document and is related to the integration models for the children. The authors explicitly state that every child is different and that there is not only one model of integration:

Si le but des cours et des classes d'accueil est une intégration partielle ou complète aussi rapide que possible dans une classe régulière, il est illusoire de croire qu'il n'y a qu'un seul modèle d'intégration scolaire. Les enfants sont tous différents de par leur langue et culture maternelle, leurs acquis linguistiques et scolaires antérieurs, leur motivation, leurs aptitudes, leur environnement familial, etc. (p. 1)

Besides some similar recommendations, there are around twenty directives relating to how to welcome a newcomer. I would just like to draw attention to the ones that are directly related to:

- i) integration into the learning cycle,
- ii) languages to be taught,
- iii) intercultural education and language openness, and
- iv) giving confidence to the newcomer.

With regard to integration into the learning cycle, I would like to underline that the vade-mecum states that if the newcomer has already been taught in roman alphabet in his country of origin, the educational authorities should try not to place such a newcomer in the first year of studies. As I will comment in the methodology section, my case study had already been taught in a roman language when the child was

placed in the first year of primary studies. Concerning the second relevant point, i.e., languages to be taught, the vade-mecum states that, if possible, the teachers should start communicating through a language the closest to the newcomer. The authors also point out that learning should be limited to just one language and they explicitly advise against mixing German and Luxembourgish³⁹. The teachers of my case study tried not to mix Luxembourgish and German although the newcomer in fact learnt both languages at the same time. With regard to the third relevant point (intercultural education and language openness) the vade-mecum encourages exchanges between students of different origins. Such exchanges can be based, for example, on activities such as learning numbers in different languages, or posting vocabulary in different languages, which my case study mainly had access to via “*éveil aux Sciences*” (introduction to sciences) in Portuguese. And finally, I would like to mention one of the last points in this vade-mecum; giving confidence to the newcomer. The vade-mecum encourages the organization of an exchange with another child of the same linguistic origin⁴⁰. As we will see in the methodology section, this did indeed take place and was useful for the child and the classroom community especially during the first weeks.

1.4. The research questions

The aim of the present research bears upon the questions posed, research design and the analysis of the data. The context for the research itself was introduced in the sections on the Luxembourgish socio-educational context and the problems regarding

³⁹ « - attention : ne pas mélanger l'allemand et le luxembourgeois ! » (p. 3). It is not clear the meaning of « mixing » for the vade-mecum (MENFP, 2008a). If it is, for instance, code-switching or mixing grammar of German and Luxembourgish.

⁴⁰ « - organiser, dans la mesure du possible, le contact et l'échange avec un autre enfant de même origine linguistique. » (p. 4)

a section of students who are “condemned” to educational failure (sections 1.2, 1.2.3, 1.3.1). What captured my attention was the fact that this early “selection” usually takes place during primary studies, as these students are “directed” to technical schools once primary studies are over.

A semi-longitudinal case study⁴¹ that could allow me to understand the daily classroom processes taking place in relation to these students seemed optimal for an understanding of this problematic phenomenon. Throughout these everyday interactions between the child case and the surrounding agents, I was able to observe how some practices are legitimated whilst others are marginalized. Following a time line could allow me to see how the identity of the child case, a romanophone boy and newcomer, one of the “risk groups” with the biggest proportion of educational failure, evolves and changes together with his context.

This thesis, therefore, focuses on the everyday classroom interactions involving a specific, though randomly chosen, case. By taking a look at these interactions, one can observe which resources are brought into play and made accessible for / by the child case in his everyday work at school, eventually accessing a “community of practice”. The general questions guiding this research, thus, involve the newcomer’s process to membership and his access to participation:

How is the newcomer able to access classroom participation at different moments? This is highly relevant because in the beginning the newcomer has no knowledge of any of the legitimate classroom languages (Luxembourgish and German).

⁴¹ A full longitudinal case study covering several school years of the newcomer is also an alternative to the present study, which focuses on the first school year of the newcomer considering this year as one of the most significant ones for the child.

How does accessing participation in a legitimate way allow the newcomer to become another member of the classroom community? What kind of member will the newcomer become after some time in this classroom? Does being considered a “good” or a “bad” member have consequences for his learning process and therefore for his academic success? This process of “social selection” does not take place at a precise moment but occurs over a period of time. Studying the first months of the newcomer’s incorporation into his new class may shed some light on how this social process takes place.

The study of these practices over time involves analysing everyday interactions between the teacher and the newcomer, but also between the newcomer and his peers. Therefore the specific questions guiding this aspect of the study are the following:

- *How is the newcomer accessing participation (and ultimately membership) at different moments in time throughout the academic year?*
- *Which resources (for access) are available and how are they used at different moments?*
- *Which limitations (for access) are present and how are they displayed at different moments?*

The next section explores the justification and the analytical framework linked to these questions.

1.5. Justification, rationale and analytical framework for the study

The purpose for conducting the current study was to target, follow, and understand, from an emic perspective, one of the most vulnerable communities in schools and society in Luxembourg. A further aim was to explore the forms of participation and development of a particular newcomer in a particular community of practice in order to better comprehend the identity construction process which evolves throughout the learning process. The justification for such a study is twofold. On the one hand it sheds light on a part of the process lived by a Portuguese-speaking newcomer in a multilingual school. On the other hand, it contributes to the understanding of the child's progression from a newcomer to an old-timer in such a school context.

The analytical frameworks for this study are threefold. An exploration of the case child's practices (e.g., asking for support using different languages or supporting other peers) and surrounding practices (e.g., peers making fun of the newcomer or the teacher's use of gesturing to communicate with the newcomer) permit the use of an integrated approach and therefore the use of a myriad of tools. The main focus is on interactional practices, which are video-recorded following a time line. Other foci, also interrelated, are discursive representations and contextual ethnographic data. By discursive representation I mainly mean semi-structured interviews with the teachers, family and peers surrounding the newcomer and, of course, the newcomer himself. The ethnographic data I collected for this study are pictures of the classroom, field notes, summaries and photocopies of work produced by the child case.

The tools for the analysis of the interactions are related to the sociological contributions of Ervin Goffman (1959, 1974, 1981) and his concept of the "theatrical" everyday communication applied to the classroom (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). I

incorporate other perspectives into this analysis, such as a vision of “apprenticeship”, following some of the contributions by Lave & Wenger (1991) but also bearing in mind and highlighting some of its potential limitations (Fuller *et al.*, 2005).

1.6. The unit of analysis

Ethnographic and discursive representations supplement the interactional sequences, which constitute the main unit of analysis. This unit of analysis comprises the identity and apprenticeship processes the newcomer experiences during almost the whole academic year I followed him. These verbal and non-verbal interactions may take place either between the newcomer and his teachers, or between the newcomer and his peers. One of the concerns regarding this unit of analysis is the positioning, or ‘footing’ (Goffman, 1981), of the newcomer at different points throughout the year. Other interactional practices relating to the different potential access to and uses of resources, both linguistic and cultural, are the different ‘backstage’ and ‘frontstage’ spaces and practices (Goffman, 1981). These terms will be further elaborated in Chapter Two.

1.7. Summary

In the present chapter I have provided an overview of the Luxembourgish school system with an emphasis on primary school. I have also pointed out some of the presumed weaknesses and commented on the heterogeneity of both the school and national population. I have targeted a particular group in primary school, the newcomers, in particular Portuguese speakers, and have highlighted the enormous

challenges they must face in Luxembourgish schools. I close this chapter by stating the purpose of and justification for the current study.

Chapter 2. AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. Towards a critical approach
- 2.3. A social view on learning: The broad frame
- 2.4. An interactional and ethnographic perspective: The specific frame
- 2.5. Childhood development theories
- 2.6. Engaging socially in a new “community of practice”
- 2.7. Access and Legitimate Peripherality
- 2.8. Membership, socialization and learning
- 2.9. Continuity and change in communities of practice
- 2.10. Relevant previous case studies
- 2.11. Summary

2.1. Introduction

This study aims at bringing several theoretical frameworks together. As it analyses a myriad of data related to the child case, several tools are used to understand these data optimally. I take the understanding of “full participation” and “membership” from the “situated learning” framework, basically defined as learning taking place and embedded in a particular environment (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Essentially, the objective for a learner, from this perspective, is to achieve this so-called “full participation” in a community of practice (CoP) and the utilization of its resources as part of membership. Two key features of a CoP are i) there must be a “shared repertoire” and ii) the members need to be practitioners (Wenger, 1998). This shared repertoire should include experiences, stories, helpful tools, etc, and it should be developed over time. This framework understands a community as living and working in harmony with this “shared repertoire”. I understand that in any classroom, as in any society, there are conflicts and, in order to achieve any degree of “shared repertoire”, there is a process. These conflicts (e.g., power conflicts, ethnic conflicts) may eventually block (e.g., gatekeeping) the access to “full participation” and therefore to academic success.

This thesis covers a significant part of time regarding the process of creating such a repertoire, the way it is built and the problems engendered in so doing. It also takes into account the “not shared” repertoire, and thus draws attention to which repertoires are more in demand or valued. A critical ethnographic approach (Heller, 1999; Martín Rojo, 2003) facilitates the critical understanding of the complex process of membership and everything this entails. Specifically, my interest resides in the analysis of classroom interaction from the perspective of the works of Heller & Martin-Jones (2001) and Martín Rojo (2008; 2010). These studies deal with the issue

of linguistic resources (part of the “shared repertoire”) and explain its role “[...] in the production and distribution of the other kinds of resources at stake at school [...]” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 8). The previous authors incorporate other work on interaction as, for instance, the work of the sociologist Ervin Goffman (1959; 1974; 1981), particularly when applied to the resources previously mentioned. The social rituals and conventions studied include Goffmanian notions employed in the present analysis, either explicitly or implicitly, such as participant structure (turn allocation, etc), interactional floors and stages (frontstage and backstage), and, finally, keying and footing (positioning of the speaker, including code selection or codeswitching). Through the use of some of the tools provided by this interactive approach, together with some ethnographic tools, this study may shed some light on the newcomer’s participation and the “access-resources” correlation (Heller, 2004) so relevant for any member in any classroom or even potential CoP.

Throughout the following pages I address the relevant literature on newcomers and membership with special emphasis on multilingual schools⁴². I start by exploring the different social theories regarding the subject of learning with a special focus on childhood, as our study takes place in a primary school. I continue by focusing on the exploration of social engagement in a community of practice (CoP). During this exploration I use the term Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP), as I will explain later on. I then investigate the issue of membership and socialization and their relationship with learning. Next, I extend these concepts and explore the process of practice or social engagement and its relationship with the issue of “access” in the community of practice. As a next step, I cover the intrinsic feature of continuity and

⁴² Other relevant works concerning bilingual or multilingual schools in the Spanish context are, for instance, by Melissa Moyer (C.I.E.N. research group), i.e., Moyer & Martín Rojo (2007).

change in communities of practice and, finally, I review a number of previous studies conducted in related fields.

2.2. Towards a critical approach

There was a growing concern about minorities not performing well at school in the interaction studies dating from the 1960s (see Bereiter & Englemann, 1966; Jensen, 1969). These minorities included not only ethnic-minority students but also students from low-income families (Mehan, 1998). These studies linked educational failure with “deficit”, hence their labelling as “deficit theories”. As an answer to this approach, some scholars (i.e., Labov, 1972) “showed how one of the causes of educational failure is, rather than any ‘deficit’, the unequal social evaluation of linguistic differences.” (Martín Rojo, 2010, p. 58). Since then, “difference” has been seen as negative or a “disadvantage” that one needs to compensate for, hence the creation of special schools to speed up the process of compensation (Martín Rojo, 2010).

The current position regarding sociolinguist research has provided evidence that “deficit” and “linguistic and cultural differences” have a negative effect on minorities in the sense that such minorities have a disadvantaged position in the system. This may lead these minorities to have a difficult path to social and economic accomplishments in their respective societies (Martín Rojo, 2010). Therefore the different theories regarding “hereditary” or “cultural deprivation” have been challenged and it has been argued that these “culturalist-oriented approach” did not take into account numerous factors (Mehan, 1998). Several of the main “factors” include, for instance, the “rich and complex social organization” of these students, or

“the institutional practices of the school (ability grouping, testing and tracking)” (Mehan, 1998, p. 246).

Leaving these “culturalist-oriented approach” behind means, therefore, leaving behind the ideas that linked cultural and linguistic differences to educational failure (or success) (Martín Rojo, 2010, p. 68). Understanding, thus, schools as institutions where social selection is made, let us see linguistic differences as part of this social process (Martín Rojo, 2010). If schools play such an important role in society nowadays, processes concerning learning in this institution, with its social and identitarian aspects are also very significant and directly related. During this socialization process (secondary socialization, see Berger and Luckmann, 1966) the school plays a key role. This “structure” may facilitate or hinder learning, socialization, and eventually educational success by means of restricting access to different resources. Only those “members” of an educational community with enough will to overcome the different difficulties potentially encountered on the way (to “full participation” and also “educational success”) stand a chance of success.

These resources or symbolic capital, as noted by Martín Rojo (2010), may be linguistic (languages), curricular (knowledge) and cultural (norms) (p. 87). Being part of, for instance, an ethnic minority, and succeeding at school would also contest the culturalist-oriented approach. Even when taking into account the “reproductive theories” (Bourdieu), where those with greater access to resources are the successful ones, there may still be place for those who succeed at school and merit it. Following the ‘identitarian’ process of a random child, as in the present work, becoming a ‘member’ of a classroom community or community of practice challenges this power of ‘structure’ against the agency or will of one child.

2.3. A social view on learning: The broad frame

The present work supports the perspective on learning not as something individual or cognitive but as a social phenomenon, following Lave & Wenger's theory of situated learning (1991), which states that learning should not be understood as a simple transmission of abstract, decontextualized knowledge from one individual to another, but as a social process where knowledge is co-constructed. Furthermore, Lave & Wenger propose that such learning is situated in a specific context and embedded within a particular social and physical environment. This situated co-construction results in a change in the identity of the persons involved in it. Learning is, thus, also a process of becoming someone else (a member) in a sustained community of practice.

Placing an emphasis on the social aspects of learning means looking at the interactions between learners and attempting to shed light on their learning processes from a social perspective. In similar vein, Berger and Luckmann's study (1966), in one of the most relevant works of contemporary sociology, *The Social Construction of Reality*, tackles the issue of social communication, among other subjects such as "primary" and "secondary" socialization. In their work, Berger and Luckmann state that both knowledge and the conception people have of it become embedded in society. Therefore social reality is to be socially constructed and all knowledge is created and maintained through social interactions. This last point is extremely important in the sense that it supports a social learning perspective. If all knowledge is created and maintained through social interactions, this means that learning, directly related with knowledge creation and maintenance, is primarily linked to social interactions or situated co-constructions more so than to individual cognition.

Nowadays, and in our Western societies, most analyses of learning have been confined to its formal, institutional context. Learning that does not take place in this context is, accordingly, labelled as informal. Apprenticeship, a way of learning in the past, was characterised by its situatedness. When one thinks of apprenticeship, one usually thinks of an apprentice and a master, although apprenticeship is much more than just an expert-novice dyad. As Rogoff (1995) states: “Apprenticeship as a concept goes far beyond expert-novice dyads; it focuses on a system of interpersonal involvements and arrangements in which people engage in culturally organized activity in which apprentices become more responsible participants.” (p. 143). This apprenticeship process was not as formally driven and structured as in our current teaching institutions. Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) show us several examples of apprenticeship situations in non-scholastic contexts (midwives, tailors, quartermasters, butchers, alcoholics and insurance processors). They affirm that one of their goals when looking at such situations is to learn something from this kind of apprenticeship that has been progressively left aside by formal teaching. This “informal education”, progressively marginalized by formal education and society in general, is, in the meantime, considered mechanical, imitative, devoid of creativity or innovation and even out of date (Lave, 1990).

Most of the implications of their studies hold true for these non-institutional settings and both admit that the school context is different for a number of reasons. They however affirm that wherever people engage in interdependent practice, their approach fits. Lave (1996) clears the link between “formal” and “informal” education in her article:

More recently I have come to the conclusion that the "informal" practices through which learning occurs in apprenticeship are so powerful and robust that this raises questions about the efficacy of

standard "formal" educational practices in schools rather than the other way around. Further, I found that apprenticeship studies offered an especially clear window on issues about learning. But even supposing that this claim is correct, how could apprenticeship studies be relevant to learning in school settings? The argument developed by Etienne Wenger and myself (Lave & Wenger, 1991) is that learning is an aspect of changing participation in changing "communities of practice" everywhere. Wherever people engage for substantial periods of time, day by day, in doing things in which their ongoing activities are interdependent, learning is part of their changing participation in changing practices. This characterization fits schools as well as tailor shops. (p. 150)

In a certain sense our study takes into account some ideas of Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning approach to a specific school context. This school context has some similarities with the contexts studied by these scholars, and as Lave (1996) states: "Because learning, wherever it occurs, is an aspect of changing participation in changing practices." (p. 161). Through these similarities I try to analyze this specific case partly with the support of the situated learning framework, but also bearing in mind criticism levelled at this framework. In this manner, I do not simply apply the ideas proposed by Lave & Wenger but explore them further.

2.4. An interactional and ethnographic perspective: The specific frame

In the introductory section of this chapter, the interactional perspective of this study was first addressed. I have collected different kinds of data with the aim of improving my understanding of a specific newcomer's access to participation throughout different time periods. Major elements to have in mind in this so-called apprenticeship and identity formation process being studied are the resources (participatory: cultural and linguistic) and access to them. Accordingly, there is some data which can be used for contextualizing purposes; mostly ethnographic data. There is also other data which

could be used for discursive purposes, such as the interviews. Finally, there is the interactional data, which consists of video recordings of classroom interaction and practice.

This last category uses the suggestions made by Heller & Martin-Jones (2001) and Martín Rojo (2008; 2010) who themselves use some of Goffman's concepts (1959; 1974) in their interpretation of classroom interaction. One of the main notions taken from this sociologist is the notion of frontstage and backstage. These stages represent forms of participation that may either occupy a privileged place in the classroom, or else be marginalized or relegated to a backstage area or secondary role. Other notions, such as footing and keying (Goffman, 1974), relate to the management of classroom participation, which, according to Heller & Martin-Jones (2001), "[...] we understand here to concern ways in which speakers signal their position with respect to the conventions and forms of language being produced interactionally." (p. 9). Furthermore, Goffman (1981) defines footing as taking place where the "Participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue" (p. 128). Footing then implies a possible shift in alignment, either for the speaker or the hearer, with respect to the events happening at a precise moment. A change in footing implies (1981, p. 84):

[...] a change in the alignment we take up ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events. This paper [i.e. the essay on "footing"] is largely concerned with pointing out that participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of natural talk.

The notion of footing needs a complex idea of speaker formed by several roles. Goffman (1981) indicates three different roles for the traditional speaker: animator, author, and principal. The animator is the person who makes the sounds, without constituting any social role. The author is the person who selected the sentiments and words to be expressed and uttered. The language is at the level of the mind. And finally, the principal is the person whose position is being established by the words uttered and committed to the ideas expressed. Language at this stage is at the level of active person as a social role or identity.

Finally, by “footing” it is understood (Goffman, 1981, p. 128):

1. Participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self is somehow at issue.
2. The projection can be held across a strip of behavior that is less long than a grammatical sentence, or longer, so sentence grammar won't help us all that much, although it seems clear that a cognitive unit of some kind is involved, minimally, perhaps, a “phonemic clause.” Prosodic, not syntactic, segments are implied.
3. A continuum must be considered, from gross changes in stance to the most subtle shifts in tone that can be perceived.
4. For speakers, code-switching is usually involved, and if not this then at least the sound markers that linguists study: pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality.
5. The bracketing of a “higher level” phase or episode of interaction is commonly involved, the new footing having a liminal role, serving as a buffer between two more substantially sustained episodes.

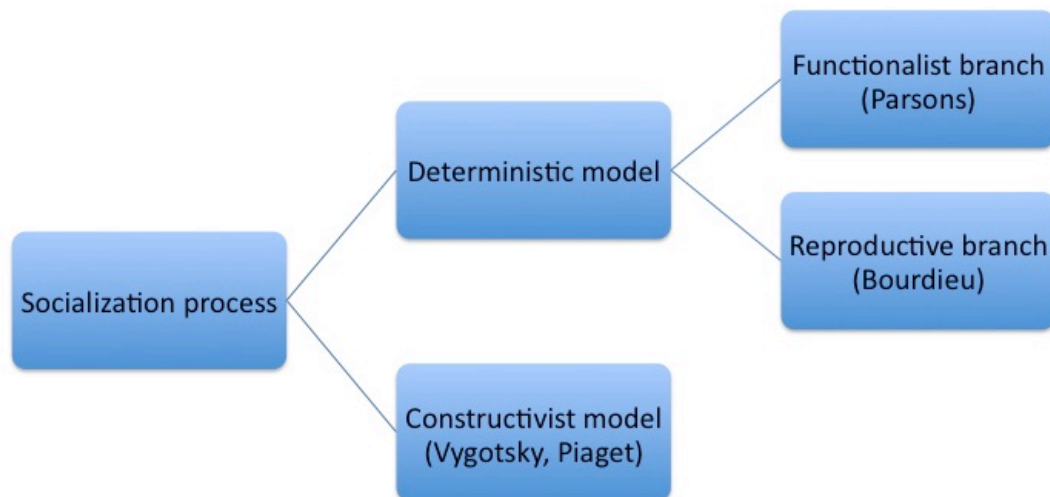
To conclude, another important notion left to mention is “keying”. Keying is the positioning of the participants with respect to the interactional norms produced and reproduced in the activity. These interactional notions aim at helping us to understand the different access to resources in the classroom, especially with regard to the newcomer. This access is being produced through classroom interaction and it may be contested and / or reproduced. Identity-driven interactional patterns can influence the access to participation, opportunities and therefore all kinds of resources in the

classroom. Other scholars point at macro-sociological perspectives to explain the differential access to resources in the classroom. They believe that these ideologies are the ones legitimating some resources in preference to others, therefore configuring later access to the different resources and even to participation in the classroom (Heller, 2004).

2.5. Childhood development theories

The school context chosen for this study is a primary school in Luxembourg. As the main participant and protagonist of the current case study was seven years old at the time of the study, we must consider some of the social theories of childhood for a better understanding of the data. Furthermore, these childhood theories are related to learning and interactive theories, hence the importance of exploring them in relation to the current study. Some traditional theories include those deriving from theoretical work on socialization processes. According to this theory, children adapt and internalize society. As Corsaro (1997) argues: “[...] the child is seen as something apart from society that must be shaped and guided by external forces in order to become a fully functional member.” (p. 9). There are two main models that take into account this socialization process, the first one is the deterministic model and the second one is the constructivist model, as illustrated below.

Figure 2.1. Visualisation of the socialization process of children.



The deterministic model is characterized by the passive role of the child or “novice” and it is divided into two main branches: the functionalist and the reproductive. According to the constructivist model, the child is seen as active and as an agent who constructs her social world and her place in it.

Relevant to the reproductive “branch” of the deterministic model and a different vision on child socialization is the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1997) and its culturally constituted body of values, attitudes and concepts called *habitus* (Barnard, 2009). These reproductive theorists were more inventive than the functionalists (the other deterministic theoreticians) in their view of socialization. The former believe that the process of internalization of the functional requisites of society leads to social reproduction and the maintenance of class differences. Therefore those with greater access to cultural resources would remain society’s elite, stigmatizing the lower social

classes and social mobility (Corsaro, 1997). Bourdieu's notion of habitus provides a more active role for the child than those of the functionalists by defining *habitus* as:

[...] how members of society (or *social actors*), through their continual and routine involvement in their social worlds, acquire a set of predispositions to act and to see things in a certain way. This set of predispositions, this habitus, is inculcated in early socialization, and plays itself out reproductively through the tendency of the child and all social actors to maintain their sense of self and place in the world. (Bourdieu, 1993, cited by Corsaro, 1997, p. 11).

Although Bourdieu accords a more active role to the children, his concepts limit children to cultural participation and reproduction, and as such, it is still deterministic. This notwithstanding, I will use some of Bourdieu's ideas in the later analysis of my data as some deterministic elements may cross the newcomer's path. Fully incorporating and active and unique child means constructivism (Corsaro, 1997). This last model sees the child as an active agent although it believes in a unilateral development. The child is an active agent appropriating information from her environment and constructing her own interpretations of the world.

In line with constructivist theory, it is essential to name here the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Piaget (1968). Both are considered to be part of the constructivist model in which the child "appropriates" society. As it would take at least a whole chapter to give a detailed account of the ideas of both scholars, I believe it would be much more useful to concentrate on their differences and what drives the following model. One of the main differences between Piaget's theory of intellectual development and Vygotsky's socio-cultural view of human development is that, for Piaget, human development is primarily individualistic, whereas for Vygotsky it is primarily collective (Corsaro, 1985; 1997). It is precisely this focus on individual development that weakens the constructivist model as although other agents are taken

into account, the focus is still on the effect of these agents' relationship on the individual's development: "There is little, if any, consideration of how interpersonal relations reflect cultural systems, or how *children*, through their participation in communicative events, become part of these interpersonal relations and cultural patterns and reproduce them collectively." (Corsaro, 1997, p. 17). These limitations lead us to reconsider the idea of *socialization*. If we take the sociological perspective, the idea of socialization is not purely an issue of adaptation and internalization, but also involves processes such as appropriation, reinvention, and reproduction, meaning collective and communal processes such as "[...] negotiate, share, and create culture with adults and each other." (Corsaro, 1997, p. 18).

My concern is still the term socialization itself. According to Thorne (1993) the concept of socialization has an individualistic connotation: "For one thing, the concept of 'socialization' moves mostly in one direction. Adults are said to socialize children, teachers socialize students, the more powerful socialize, and the less powerful get socialized." Thorne goes even further, criticizing this unilateralist notion of socialization: "As a parent and as an observer in schools, I have been impressed by the ways in which children act, resist, rework, and create; they influence adults as well as being influenced by them." (p. 3)

Moving beyond the idea of socialization, Corsaro (1997) offers the notion of interpretive reproduction. He defines this term as:

[...] *interpretive* captures the *innovative* and *creative* aspects of children's participation in society. [...] children create and participate in their own unique peer cultures by creatively taking or appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns. The term *reproduction* captures the idea that children are not simply internalizing society and culture, but are actively *contributing to cultural production and change*. [...] children and their childhoods are

affected by the societies and cultures of which they are members. (p. 18)

The term interpretive reproduction therefore adds a reciprocal character to the relationship between children and the society. This notion is characterized by two key elements: i) language and cultural routines; and ii) children's evolving membership in their culture. Both elements are important for the present study as it deals with routines and also with a child's evolving membership into the new community and / or culture. One of the main resources for children to participate in their culture or cultural routines is language. These cultural routines are essential for the children as they provide them with a certain security and shared understanding of belonging to a specific social group. Therefore predictability supports the routines themselves and provides a space within which an extensive range of sociocultural knowledge can be produced, displayed, and interpreted (Corsaro, 1992, cited in Corsaro 1997).

The child's participation in cultural routines begins very young, from birth. Western societies deal with children in a special way; as children's language and communicative abilities are limited, adults proceed with the so-called 'as-if' assumption as Corsaro (1997) termed it: "[...] infants are treated as socially competent ('as if' they are capable of social exchanges). Over time, because of this 'as if' attitude, children move from limited to full participation in cultural routines." (Corsaro, p. 19).

This 'as-if' assumption and its consequences for the children, moving from limited to full participation, is directly linked to another notion of participation called *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). I will cover this issue later on when addressing *legitimate peripheral participation* (LPP) as a key issue that

includes learning as becoming a member in a community of practice. A final note, however, on children's membership in their cultures must be added. In common with the idea that the interpretive reproduction notion is not unidirectional but rather bidirectional with respect to children's socialization, my second key element with regard to interpretive reproduction is not unidirectional or linear either. As Corsaro (1997) states:

Interpretive reproduction views children's evolving membership in their cultures as *reproductive* rather than linear. According to this **reproductive view**, children do not simply imitate or internalize the world around them. They strive to interpret or make sense of their culture and to participate in it. In attempting to make sense of the adult world, children come to *collectively produce* their own peer worlds and cultures. (bold print in original, p. 24)

The ultimate representation of this interpretive reproductive notion would be the orb web model (Corsaro, 1993). According to this model, children spontaneously participate as active agents or members of both childhood and adult cultures. Corsaro (1993) compares this model with a "spider web" which captures the interpretive reproduction idea as a spiral in which children produce and participate in a series of embedded peer cultures. As a result of this model, children's experiences remain part of their life histories as active members of a given culture. As Corsaro says: "[...] *individual development is embedded in the collective production of a series of peer cultures which in turn contribute to reproduction and change in the wider adult society or culture*" (italics in original, p. 26).

2.6. Engaging socially in a new "community of practice"

Similar to the orb web model and in reference to Corsaro's (1993) process of learning is the "centripetal participation" model of Lave & Wenger (1991). For Corsaro

(1993), children are active agents and participate in peer cultures producing something new and not just imitating the culture around them. Lave & Wenger also think that learning occurs through this kind of centripetal participation in the learning curriculum of the community rather than through imitating the performance of others or simply by acquiring knowledge from instruction (1991). The fact of viewing learning as Legitimate Peripheral Participation (LPP) means that learning is not only a condition for membership, but an evolving form of membership (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Learning as a situated activity could be interpreted in several ways. One of these is that there is no activity which is not situated and that, in a certain sense, this latter view is an individualistic interpretation of learning. It is individualistic as it involves the whole person rather than the view that agent, activity and the world constitute each other. This second perspective on situated learning allows us to move to another view on learning as legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). This situated learning may be the bridge between the view characterized by understanding cognitive processes (and thus learning) as primary and the one that interprets social practice as primary (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

But before elaborating different ideas, let us define the concept of legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). This concept “is proposed as a descriptor of engagement in social practice that entails learning as an integral constituent.” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 35). It is described as a “descriptor of engagement” as the term is characterized by engaging in practice and the degree to which this is possible. Engaging in practice is a central concern for LPP and by extension for learning per se. The notion of LPP is concerned with social practice because, as mentioned before, it understands learning primarily not as cognitive processes but as social processes. The

final part of the definition of LPP as entailing “learning as an integral constituent” refers to understanding learning as a process that arises as the learner moves via centripetal participation in a community of learners.

LPP is the process of bringing newcomers to the centre of the community of practice and becoming full participants via learning from the rest of the group. These newcomers usually start on the periphery and then work with old-timers in legitimate activities in the CoP. I will now define each of the terms belonging to LPP i.e., *legitimate*, *peripheral*, and *participation* in order to better understand this notion. Lave & Wenger (1991) define *legitimate* as referring to the daily activities which are integral to practice; legitimization is concerned with authority and power relations in the community (Kimble & Hildreth, 2006). *Peripheral* means that newcomers will participate at the edge of the practice alongside their peers, initially doing simple tasks and then progressively moving on to tasks that increase in complexity as the newcomer’s skills and knowledge develop. It is not a physical concept, but one which is concerned with the degree of engagement with the community (Kimble & Hildreth, 2006). Finally, *participation* refers to the interaction between newcomers and old-timers in the practice as they negotiate meanings and have to improvise to solve problems. These problems take place as a result of the volatile circumstances in which newcomers and old-timers carry out their tasks (Williams, 2004). It is an engagement in an activity where the participants “have a shared understanding of what it means in their lives.” (Kimble & Hildreth, 2006, p. 328)

One of the keys to LPP in a community of practice is access. In line with the issue of access and in order for LPP to be effective and meaningful, the CoP must allow full interaction between the different members, operations of the practice, and culture of the practice (Wenger, 1998). By community we “imply participation in an

activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities.” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98).

2.7. Access and Legitimate Peripherality

As stated, access is key to legitimate peripherality in a community of practice, especially for newcomers. Legitimate peripherality is understood as the granting of a community to an individual to be peripheral to its activities. To be able to participate in such a community as defined above, one must look for access but also be granted it. Access is challenging in its nature; it gives legitimate peripherality an ambivalent character. Depending on how access is organized, it may cause that legitimate peripherality to promote or prevent legitimate participation. Access is essential for the reproduction of a community of practice, but at the same time it is problematic. Access in a community of practice and in any classroom is about having the right to approach the ongoing activities, the old-timers, other members, resources, information, opportunities for participation, etc. It entitles one to become a full member of a community of practice.

Having access to all those resources and opportunities for participation means being a peripheral and later potentially a full member. Not having them means either not being a member or a full member or having more difficulties to become one, the result of which is to possibly become marginalized (Wenger, 1998). In other words, one could be in the process of becoming a full member and therefore have progressive access to all those resources through legitimate peripherality. Even though legitimate peripherality may eventually facilitate access to resources in a classroom, some kind of resistance from the different members of the classroom is more than probable.

Corsaro (1979; 1985) studied the processes of access-resistance to the entrance into peer culture and activities in a nursery school and found several ways of resistance to attempts to gain access to this peer play, among them non-justified verbal resistance or ownership claims to a play area.

Although Corsaro's extremely interesting research about friendship and peer culture⁴³ (1979; 1985) is relevant for the present study, particularly taking into account the age group⁴⁴ studied, his research mostly focused on access to an activity but did not pay special attention to resources and / or newcomers in formal spaces such as classroom practice. The "shared repertoire" of the participants (Wenger, 1998), in particular the relevant linguistic resources (Heller, 2004) which come into play, the access to these and their relevance for identity and the resistance and limitations are my main foci here.

2.8. Membership, socialization and learning

The fact of moving along the periphery, and therefore some implicit 'degree' of learning, allows the newcomer progressively into the community. This kind of "socialization" into a new group and its language will also change the newcomer's own identity as part of the learning and membership process. In this section, I will explore the concept of "member" and its relationship with the learning process.

A close analysis of the literature reveals what the concept of "member" means.

⁴³ Corsaro's main goals (1979; 1985) were discovering the basic features of peer environment in a nursery school and explore the strategies of communication. Corsaro found four stages in the access-resistance process: "(a) an attempt at access, (b) initial resistance, (c) repeated access attempts followed by further resistance with the eventual agreement among defenders of an area to let others enter, and (d) the assignment of positions (e.g., policeman, mother, baby, or friend) to the new members. (p. 134)

⁴⁴ Corsaro's (1979; 1981; 1985) age group studied ranged from 2-5 year-olds within the nursery school context. In my case, I focus on a child currently attending the first year of primary school, where the children are usually around the age of 6 years, although the newcomer is seven years old at the time of data collection.

In order to have a holistic view of what represents being a member of a society or a community, I will start by looking at its general definitions and then narrow these down for the sake of the present study. First of all, I would like to mention the definition of the specialized dictionary, *the Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*:

membershopping *n* membership *v*

Classifying a person as a member of a group or category, e.g. shop assistant, student, or residents of a particular town. Once a category has been assigned to a person, conversation with that person may be affected. For example, a visitor to a town may ask a passer-by whom he or she, correctly or incorrectly, memberships as a local resident: *Could you please tell me how to get to the station?* Wrong membershopping may result in misunderstanding or may cause annoyance, e.g. if a customer in a department store is wrongly membershiped as a shop assistant. In speaking, membershopping involves the ability to display credibility and competence through familiarity or exploitation of discourse conventions typically used in a group or speech community, e.g. such as the ability to use the technical terms and concepts used by linguists or language teachers. (Richards, 2002, p. 326)

This definition is a somewhat broad for my purposes although it is interesting to note how the dictionary states that this category, membership, is “assigned” to a person. As we will see later on, a more elaborate version of membership understands it as a reciprocal process and not just as an “assigned” or unidirectional one. Other definitions may include diverse aspects. Some definitions, for example, start by defining “community” instead of “member” or “membership”. Among these, one proposes that the basic characteristic of a community is place (Gee, 2004). Others refer to place too, and even provide an example. For Young (2008): “Place of birth is very important in establishing membership in one of the communities that we know best: a country, or to be more precise, a nation-state.” (p. 125) Young goes on to explain that these communities are one of the most important because almost

everyone belongs to one of them (place of birth). As a result, being a member implies being born in a country.

Place, then, becomes important for some communities, for example the one cited above; the community of our own country. Criticism has nonetheless been leveled against the idea of defining *place* as a characteristic of community (e.g., Rogoff, 2003, cited in Young, 2008). Sometimes we can live or work in one place without feeling that we belong to that specific community. In the area of “virtual belonging”, Young (2008) refers to *Facebook* as an example of a virtual community where members have the joint endeavor of social networking. In line with the relationship between the idea of member and the nation-state⁴⁵ (Young, 2008) is the work of Gellner (1983). His work on nations and nationalism is extremely relevant, especially in defining the basic characteristics that people share in order to be of the same nation:

1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, *nations maketh man*; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non- members. (italics in original, p. 7).

⁴⁵ Young (2008, p. 125) : “Place of birth is very important in establishing membership in one of the communities that we know best: a country, or to be more precise, a nation-state. The state is a political community and the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic community. The term ‘nation-state’ implies that they geographically coincide. A nation-state is one of the most familiar communities to which almost everybody belongs and, because the place of birth of citizens is so important, one of the primary defining characteristics of the national community is its geographical location.”. See also Benedict Anderson (1991) about “state” and “nation”; state as a political entity whereas nation as an ‘imagined community’.

Gellner's definition of "members" of a nation sets the essentials for our future understanding of the notions of member and membership in our particular setting. If we look at his definition of a member of a nation and, putting it into perspective, change the notion of "nation" for a microscopic version of it, let's say a classroom, then we may establish a host of similarities and his definitions may help us for our future understanding of membership in a CoP. One possible understanding is that the notion of "ways of behaving and communicating" is close to the notion of "shared repertoire" (i.e., a shared repertoire of languages, styles, tools, and ways of making meaning that is shared by all members of the community) following Wenger (1998). The second part of Gellner's definition focuses on the reciprocal recognition of membership between the members of a nation. He states: "It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation [...]" (p. 7). Interestingly, this recognition from the other members, specifically from each other, gives the membership notion a reciprocal or bidirectional notion that I will explore further.

Gellner's perspective concords with the traditional view in which citizenship has been closely linked to nationality as well as to the way our modern nation-states have defined the notion of membership. According to Gellner, "Basic to the notion of membership is the idea of a single shared culture where language is a key element" (Moyer & Martín Rojo, 2007, p. 138)⁴⁶. Furthermore, it has already been recognized that "the geographical boundaries of nation-states rarely coincide with the boundaries

⁴⁶ Migration, therefore, plays a key role in questioning the connection between nationality and citizenship (Moyer & Martín Rojo, 2007). This fact is even more important in so-called plurilingual countries such as Luxembourg with a high rate of immigrants as mentioned in the introductory chapter.

of languages.” (Young, 2008, p. 126). I agree with Young that “Geographical boundaries do not make languages and languages alone do not make communities.” (Young, 2008, p. 127). Finally, Young (2008) summarizes membership in a community as being related to doing the same things as the other members of the community.

Another relevant contribution to the notion of member and membership is the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), who wrote about the social construction of reality and dedicated a good part of their work to explaining socialization processes. Berger and Luckmann make the distinction between primary and secondary socialization in addition to theorizing about how one becomes a member of society: “The individual, however, is not born a member of society. He is born with a predisposition towards sociality, and he becomes a member of society.” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 149). On the topic of primary and secondary socialization, the authors expound: “Primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society.” (p. 150). As we will see later on, this study’s focus on the movement to the centre of a CoP shares common ground with these socialization processes.

Berger and Luckmann also understood the relationship between membership and society as one of internalization and externalization. “[...] the individual member of society, who simultaneously externalizes his own being into the social world and internalizes it as an objective reality. In other words, to be in society is to participate in its dialectic.” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 149). They define what they understand by internalization of the social world as an understanding of the other

members and the world: “[...] internalization in this general sense is the basis, first, for an understanding of one’s fellowmen and, second, for the apprehension of the world as a meaningful and social reality.” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 150).

Vygotsky (1962) also contributed to the research on socialization, stating that the process of acculturation⁴⁷ begins in primary socialization with the interpsychological dialogue between child and parents. This dialogue is then continued and reinforced during the secondary socialization. Complementing Berger & Luckmann’s ideas on secondary socialization, Wenger (1998) regards secondary socialization as carried out through the discourse of learning in formal communities of learning and practice (Barnard, 2009). Within any community, for example from one school to another or one workplace to another, there are transitions from one sub-culture to another throughout apprenticeship, where the novice is supported so she can move from peripheral participation to full membership of the community of practice. The understanding is then jointly co-constructed in discourse between the interlocutors, either in peer dyads or else in teacher-learner dyads. This discourse is mediated by cultural tools which are at the same time used for transforming the environment (Jonassen, 2003; Wells, 2004). These tools may be material (e.g., pens or books), ideal or symbolic (e.g., (non)verbal language or communication). According to Barnard (2009): “this co-construction among established members of a learning community is facilitated because they share the same *habitus* [...]” (italics in original, p. 4). It is important to note that a newcomer does not necessarily have the same culturally constituted body of values, attitudes and conceptual schemata

⁴⁷ See Berry (2007) : “Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. [...] Because acculturation takes place after an individual’s initial socialization into his or her original culture, it may be viewed as a process of *resocialization*, or *secondary socialization*.” (p. 543).

(habitus) as the members of that CoP. This fact, among others, may contribute to conflicts as well as to the negation of the newcomer's or peripheral participant's access to legitimate participation and full membership.

As Berger & Luckmann (1966) state, secondary socialization is determined by the division of labour and the distribution of knowledge. These two concepts are linked to the notion of legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) as the latter deals with, among other things, issues of how the mentors or old-timers should be skilled at organizing a division of labour, and therefore providing newcomers with opportunities for growth (Williams, 2004). LPP also deals with the distribution of knowledge in the sense that provides progressive access to practice with the old-timers, to shared culture and to the wisdom of the full community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Furthermore, the notion of *peripheral* is directly linked to *knowledge*: when the newcomer is developing her skills and knowledge, she will be able to move to more complex tasks. As Lave & Wenger conclude: "Knowing is inherent in the growth and transformation of identities and it is located in relations among practitioners, their practice, the artifacts of that practice, and the social organization and political economy of communities of practice." (1991, p.122)

Before proceeding to define or narrow down the concept of member in the specific context of Communities of Practice (CoP), I would first like to distinguish between two different concepts of 'communities'. The first one and the one most used in this thesis is the concept of "communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This concept originated from the study of apprenticeship in non-academic contexts, such as tailors in Liberia. A community of practice is "a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice." (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98).

Wenger (1998) later extended this definition by specifying that CoPs were formed along three dimensions: i) mutual engagement in activity with other members of the community; ii) joint enterprise or endeavour that is considered relevant to all members of the community and iii) a repertoire of languages, styles, tools, and ways of making meaning that is shared by all members of the community.

The second concept I would like to describe and distinguish from the first one is “practices of communities” (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986) or the language socialization framework. This concept, though similar in name, does not have the same meaning as “communities of practice”. Whereas both terms aim to follow the processes by which members, thanks to their increased participation, also increase their knowledge in expected areas, the concept CoP defines communities through their practices and economic activities whereas ‘practices of communities’ understands communities “as social aggregates which can be studied by an analysis of their everyday and varied cultural practices and activities which may be, but are not necessarily defined by those shared practices (e.g. tailoring as a profession).” (Baquedano-López & Kattan, 2007, p. 77).

Furthermore, ‘practices of communities’ or the language socialization framework has ‘activity’ as a central unit of analysis as it is one of the main places where children and their caregivers, or novices and experts, participate in their own culturally organized ways in their respective communities. This concept of activity is partly used in the studies of Lave & Wenger⁴⁸. Studies in language socialization not only focus on the activity and the engagement in tasks, but also on the socio-historical

⁴⁸ This concept of ‘activity’, however, is more connected to the Activity Theory propounded by Engeström (1999). Within this framework, activity is not just understood as participating in local exchanges but it integrates the subject, the object and the instrument into a whole interconnected system.

framework where the activity itself is situated, therefore linking these kind of studies to participation frameworks (e.g. Goffman, 1974)⁴⁹. Finally, Wenger (1998) also comments on the differences between socialization theories and CoP :

Socialization theories focus on the acquisition of membership by newcomers within a functionalist framework where acquiring membership is defined as internalizing the norms of a social group (Parsons, 1962). As I will argue, there is a subtle difference between imitation or the internalization of norms by individuals and the construction of identities within communities of practice. (italics in original, Wenger, 1998, p. 280)

Back to our concern with membership in a CoP, Lave & Wenger (1991), as stated, define communities of practice as: “[...] a set of relations among persons, activity, and world, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice.” (p. 98) One of the main issues already mentioned about *being a member* in a CoP relates to questions of practice and access. Both ideas are central for LPP as the newcomer on the periphery must gain and be granted progressive access to the community and all that the community entails so she can become a full member. Wenger (1998) defines practice as residing: “[...] in a community of people and the relations of mutual engagement by which they can do whatever they do.” (p. 74). Wenger (1998) continues: “Membership is not just a matter of social category, declaring allegiance, belonging to an organization, having a title, or having personal relations with some people.” (p. 74). He even explains that “Indeed, we often learn without having any intention of becoming full members in any specifiable community of practice, or for that matter in any other kind of community.” (p. 226).

⁴⁹ See Baquedano-López & Kattan (2007) for a detailed explanation on language socialization and communities of practice and practices of communities.

Being a member in a CoP, therefore, mostly means access to practice and participation in the community, and learning is part of the process of becoming a member of a sustained community of practice. Developing an identity as a member of a community and therefore becoming skillful are also part of the same process. As we develop the identity of a member we are motivating, shaping, and giving meaning to ourselves as skillful selves. The main difficulty in today's world resides in moving from peripheral to full participation as our societies divide and sell labor, truncating both the movement from peripheral to full participation and the scope of knowledgeable skill (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

All these theoretical notions about membership may seem idyllic and everything but down-to-earth. We may tend to think of CoP as a perfect, uniform group of people interacting and learning without any form of disagreement or problem whatsoever. This idyllic vision, however, may not always converge with the notion of CoP. Wenger (1998) already partially covered this issue when mentioning the different forms of participation within a CoP: "Disagreement, challenges, and competition can all be forms of participation. As a form of participation, rebellion often reveals a greater commitment than does passive conformity." (p. 76). Wenger (1998) goes even further about the idealization of CoP and the term "membership". As mentioned, learning is not the only goal of membership in a CoP although it is something implicit in the process of becoming a member. Learning as well as CoP may not always be positive from a societal perspective, since CoP may well be a process through which someone sadly becomes, for example, a criminal too:

I must again insist that viewing communities of practice as privileged places of learning does not imply that belonging to one is an unqualified boon. Membership is not necessarily a positive, elevating, or empowering process. The word 'learning' has positive connotations; it is easier to say that a neighbour is successfully learning to be a physician than to say that a cousin is successfully

learning a life of crime on the street. Successful membership in a community of practice implies learning, but whether it is good or bad is a different issue. (Wenger, 1998, p. 297).

Other scholars share the same concern about the randomization of the groups resulting from a CoP. Among these scholars are Gee and Green (1998), who comment on the view of learning from a perspective of learning as changing in participation and the different types of groups that could be created and reproduced by participation:

[...] learning as changing patterns of participation in specific social practices within communities of practice [...] This view of learning requires us to see that people's activities are part of larger "communities of practice"; that is, groups of people who affiliate over time and events engage in tasks or work of a certain sort. This is the case whether they are students in an elementary school classroom, members of a street gang, members of an academic discipline, affiliates of a "cause," or participants in a specific business organization. Such communities of practice produce and reproduce themselves through the creation of a variety of social processes and practices. Within social processes, and through interactions constituting and constituted by social practices, they "apprentice" new members. (p. 147).

Social engagement, practice and a shared repertoire are indispensable for membership in a CoP, although it is true that "practice" may be an empty notion and we should define what we mean by practice in this specific context. Practice in CoP basically includes all forms of explicit and implicit participation. There are many ways in which one could not only participate in a CoP but also see the representation of membership in such a community:

[practice as social practice] includes both the explicit and the tacit. It includes what is said and what is left unsaid; what is represented and what is assumed. It includes the language, tools, documents, images, symbols, well-defined roles, specific criteria, codified procedures, regulations, and contracts that various practices make explicit for a variety of purposes. But it also includes all the implicit relations, tacit

conventions, subtle cues, untold rules of thumb, recognizable intuitions, specific perceptions, well-tuned sensitivities, embodied understandings, underlying assumptions, and shared world views. Most of these may never be articulated, yet they are unmistakable signs of membership in communities of practice and are crucial to the success of their enterprises. (Wenger, 1998, p. 47).

Other studies have provided detailed analysis of these overt and covert cues from another perspective, and provide a description of the rules or habits of membership in a group. For example, Green & Wallat (1981) describe the emerging structures of classroom instructional conversations following a sequential analysis of the first 13 minutes of a naturally occurring class meeting in two kindergarten classes. They specifically focus on interpersonal behaviour in small-group organization as one of their major concerns is how socialization occurs in these classrooms. Green & Wallat (1981) believe that membership provides the basis for the identification of the special social rules in their data. They come up with six different prerequisites for being and becoming a member of a group:

- i) being a member of the group involves responsibility for signalling cues for attentiveness;
 - ii) being a member of the group includes responsibility for enacting different patterns of responses;
 - iii) becoming a member of a new group structure in the classroom requires coming together in different ways;
 - iv) being a member of a group involves cooperative effort;
 - v) becoming a member of the group involves clear avenues of access;
 - vi) being a member of a group includes speaking rights and responsibilities.
- (pp. 186-193).

Their analysis of two kindergartens and the description of six habits of social engagement in order to be a member of a classroom group shows all the complex processes involved in the social engagement of the members and therefore why it is so important to study the social processes of the classroom.

To sum up, I would like to reiterate that CoP's are legitimate places for learning through participation. I have previously discussed the conditions under which one could become a member of a community, but the effort must be reciprocal. CoP's also provide the participant with certain attributes, such as identity in terms of social position, knowledge and ownership. Most important for this research is that CoP's share a domain and a language and one could become an apprentice as one is acculturated into this domain and into knowledge development (Coakes & Clarke, 2006b).

2.9. Continuity and change in communities of practice

Like the notion of access, communities of practice (CoP's) themselves are ambivalent and contradictory. Intrinsic to the nature of a CoP are the two dichotomous notions of continuity and change, both of which must occur for a CoP to exist. This is so especially when we refer to its members. We talk about continuity when a newcomer becomes an old-timer; this is a part of the CoP's nature. Change refers to the fact that the former newcomer and now old-timer will then be the potential support for future newcomers, although this contradiction is intrinsic to the whole process and not just to its actors. The contradiction also lies between LPP as "achieving continuity over generations [...], and the displacement inherent in that same process as full

participants are displaced (directly or indirectly) by newcomers-become-old-timers.” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 114).

Newcomers, thus, are also caught in a dilemma. First they have to engage in existing practice, be able to understand it and participate in it, on their way to full participants. But then as soon as their identity develops, it becomes part of the future development of the community (Lave & Wenger, 1991). On the topic of identity, Lave & Wenger (1991) state “[...] learning and a sense of identity are inseparable: They are aspects of the same phenomenon.” (p. 115). Then there is the conflict between masters and apprentices, each “threatens the fulfilment of the other’s destiny, just as it is essential to it.” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 116). These conflicts are part of a broader frame that eventually may reproduce not only a newcomer-oldtimer system. Some of the possible negative connotations, among them “marginalization”, bring up the issue of the role of schools in society. It is argued that the school tends to support the reproduction of society, with its classes and different capitals (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Heller, 2001a), hence the importance of being vigilant about the different processes taking place everyday in the classrooms, the diverse forms of participation and the possible exclusion from participation. As the construction of society and schools are so interconnected, the improvements we achieve in schools will have an effect on the society in general.

2.10. Relevant previous case studies

Case study methods have been used in the field(s) of language and education from the 70’s. Basically, there are two main types of case study methods: the interpretive and the interventionist. As their respective names state, one is characterized by the

intervention of the researcher (intervention) and the study of the effect of the intervention, whilst the other is characterized by the non-intervention of the researcher (interpretive), the case itself being the primary interest (Faltis, 1997).

Relevant interpretive studies for the present work range from studies conducted in primary, secondary and adult education. A large number of studies have researched different aspects of immigrant students being incorporated into regular lessons in different countries. Barnard (2009) looks at the way in which a child constructed and / or was constrained from meaningful learning experiences. In this study the researcher followed, over a period of several months, an 11-year-old Taiwanese pupil who had emigrated to New Zealand in the middle of the semester. This child's school experience proved negative although the child became aware, to some extent, of the difficulties he had to overcome in order to be successful in his new school. Unfortunately, the newcomer became aware of this very late and he had to leave the school at that time. Barnard's (2009) study has some similitudes with the present research. Both research projects follow a child (newcomer) who emigrates to a new country and has to overcome several difficulties (i.e., language, new peers, new curriculum) to be successful in this new 'environment'. In the case of this Taiwanese child, he was unfortunately not successful in his new school. The case presented in this thesis, on the other hand, shows a child that was eventually academically successful but, as we will see later on (Cf. Chapter Six), there were some other areas where the newcomer was not successful.

Other significant and recent case studies on children include the research on two children with immigrant background in Luxembourg (Maurer-Hetto, 2009). Maurer-Hetto studies two cases, a boy with some school difficulties and a successful girl in the Luxembourgish primary school. Over a period of two years, the study,

informed by Bourdieu and by socio-cultural theory (Vygotsky, 1962), focused on the tools used by the two children. My study, in common with Maurer-Hetto's, has been conducted in a Luxembourgish primary school, addresses multilingualism, and is longitudinal in nature, although it involves the study of a single child for one academic year only (approximately eight months). One of the concerns I found in Maurer-Hetto's study is that her work could easily be misinterpreted as identifying the "good" immigrant and the "bad" one, as she presents one student who was successful and another who was not. Even though she explains the respective difference between the two children very graphically with a comparison informed by Engeström's activity theory (1987), the chances of labeling the pupils as good or bad persist.

Moving on to similar case studies in secondary schools, I would like to mention the study by Corona, Moore and Unamuno (2008) on reception classrooms in a Spanish secondary school where Catalan was one of the official languages. This sociolinguistic and ethnographic study was carried out over a period of one year in Barcelona. One of the main goals of the study was to understand of the impact of such programs. One of the study's methodological approaches was to contrast the ways in which both the focus groups and the official documents categorize language and society. This discourse and the power relations closely linked to it were believed responsible for the changes in status or membership mainly within the school, from immigrant to student. Studies such as the one by Corona, Moore and Unamuno (2008) are relevant for my research because they demonstrate the influence of the 'structure' (i.e., reception classes, official documents) over the identity (membership) of the students with immigrant background (including newcomers). The 'structure' is one of the potential constraints for the newcomer in the present thesis (Cf. Chapter Four).

Finally, some other relevant studies, although involving an adult population, include research by Hellermann (2006) and Young (2004). These two studies have slightly different theoretical frameworks but I could enrich my approach through the detailed study of them both. Hellermann, in his microethnographic longitudinal case study of the development of interactional competence, followed two adult learners of English (one from Mexico and one from China) in the USA for three terms (30 weeks). The author implemented some ideas of Lave & Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) when interpreting the change in participation of the learners as a movement from peripheral to more engaged participation in the classroom, in this specific case, in literacy events⁵⁰. Young's study (2004), by contrast, only focused on a single learner, in this case an adult Vietnamese learner of English. He followed four successive writing conferences⁵¹ between this learner and his teacher over a four-week period. Young adopted a situated learning perspective by exploring both the learner's and his teacher's interactional competence. By closely observing the sequential organization of the interaction between the two of them, Young realized that the learner was not the only one changing but that the instructor also changed, which in turn, effected further changes in the learner. Young, like Hellermann (2006) confirmed the movement of the learner from peripheral to fuller participation.

⁵⁰ "The reoccurrence of interactions in and for literacy events with teacher guidance is the socialization process in which interactional competence and literacy develop. These are interactions in which learners negotiate meanings with peers and instructors as they move from peripheral to full participation in literacy events (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998)." (Hellermann, 2006, p. 379)

⁵¹ "Before each writing conference, the student wrote a draft of an essay on a topic assigned by the instructor, and, during revision talk, the instructor and student identified problem areas in the student's writing, talked about ways to improve the writing, and revised the essay." (Young, 2004, p. 521)

2.11. Summary

In this chapter I have tried to give a comprehensive picture of the main concepts informing my main research question and concern. I have explored some social theories of learning in childhood as well as the main ideas behind the community of practice framework, notable the LPP process together with the issue of access. This LPP process is conditioned by access granted by other members of the community, thus membership becomes another main point in this chapter. I have ended this chapter by pointing to some previous case studies that have been relevant for me in the design and implementation of the present case study.

Chapter 3. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY EXPERIENCE: NUNO

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3.1. Introduction

[‘What’s the answer to the question of Life, the Universe and Everything?’ After seven and a half million years the computer comes up with the answer: forty-two.]
‘Forty-two!’ yelled Loonquawl. ‘Is that all you’ve got to show for seven and a half million years’ work?’
‘I checked it very thoroughly,’ said the computer, ‘and that quite definitely is the answer. I think the problem, to be quite honest with you, is that you’ve never actually known what the question is.’ (The Hitch-Hikers Guide to the Galaxy, Douglas Adams, 1979, p. 189)

During my research in Luxembourg I gradually became interested in the analysis of social interaction and language learning, especially during childhood. Accordingly, I have planned, observed, recorded and analysed different situations trying not to limit myself to just one point of view and keeping in mind both the micro and macro perspectives. What captured my attention during my recent studies and research was the learner’s perspective and his / her development over time. I tried to approach this issue in this study mainly by adopting an eclectic approach including the use of ethnographic tools. Part of the ‘inspiration’ of conducting a single case study came to me during some data collection in a primary school. This data collection, previous to the present case study, was part of an experimental collection with the aim of exploring several questions (MOCHILU database⁵²). During this fieldwork I soon realized how important and motivating it would be for me to follow one of these children with a view to gaining a better understanding of what they were going through. This was particularly true for several of the children whom I had encountered during previous fieldwork.

A recurrent case in Luxembourg and many other countries is that of school

⁵² MOCHILU (Monolingual Children in Luxembourg) is a database of recordings regarding monolingual children in Luxembourg created by Roberto Gómez.

newcomers. As the mobility of workers and students grows, the mobility of children grows too. This is an issue of great significance at the present time and it may well become even more relevant in the near future. The complete report on ‘Human Development’ for the year 2009 (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2009) was dedicated to human mobility and development. The report indicates that there are around 740 million internal migrants worldwide, i.e., people who move within their own countries. This figure is almost four times higher than that for international migrants (214 million), who make up 3.1 percent of the world population. If we add the two figures (954 million people), we may grasp the scope of the mobility in today’s world.

I then found myself very involved in the learning and development processes of newcomer children challenged by their new circumstances, particularly within the plurilingual and multicultural context of Luxembourg. Another characteristic that seemed relevant to me for a case study on newcomers was the longitudinal aspect. Incorporating the time feature into research such as the present one may help us to shed light not only on a) the language learning processes and b) participatory processes of these children, but also on c) their social interactions in the classroom community over time. Even though the data collection period lasted for a single academic year, I could follow the first “steps” of the newcomer in the new community and research his involvement in that group.

3.2. Objectives of the present case study

The present study is part of the research tradition of the LCMI (Language, Culture, Media and Identities) multidisciplinary research unit of the University of Luxembourg. Some of the main lines of research deal with literacy processes as well

as participation in multilingual contexts. The main theoretical frameworks in this research unit are the socio-cultural and the socio-interactional. This study and its theoretical perspectives are also in line with the MIRCO (Multilingualism, Social Identities, Intercultural Relationships and Communication) research group in the Linguistics department at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

This work is an extension of current research within the LCMI and MIRCO research units in the sense that it contributes to a longitudinal vision of the participation and language learning processes in relation to identity and membership. It also adds a new aspect in the sense of focusing specifically on newcomers in multilingual and multicultural schools, an issue that, in my opinion, has not received adequate attention in the past and will be of greater concern in the future. Furthermore, this research raises and addresses concerns regarding the situation of monolingual children in a multilingual society such as Luxembourg. The last issue is also of relevance to other schools hence its findings may potentially inform practice in comparable educational contexts (i.e., Madrid's schools).

The main objective of the current study is to better understand how a monolingual Portuguese-speaking child (Brazilian), new to the country and its multilingual school system, interacts, integrates and is integrated into this challenging environment, and ultimately becomes a member of the classroom community. I basically understand this school as “multilingual”⁵³ in the sense that i) most children attending to it can potentially speak more than one language; ii) the teacher can speak

⁵³ CEFR [Common European Frame of Reference], Council of Europe (2001, p. 4): “Multilingualism may be attained by simply diversifying the languages on offer in a particular school or educational system, or by encouraging pupils to learn more than one foreign language, or reducing the dominant position of English in international communication.”. Retrieved on the 20.08.10: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/Framework_EN.pdf

more than one language; iii) several languages are taught in the curriculum; iv) more than one language is usually spoken in the classroom (Luxembourgish, German).

In relation to my main objective, there are specific questions that have been shaped before and during the course of the study. The initial main question was the following: *How/when does a newcomer and monolingual child immersed in a multilingual school become a member of the classroom?* The question was then narrowed down and reformulated: *How is the newcomer accessing participation (and ultimately membership) throughout the academic year?* As a significant part of participation and identity construction in the classroom is related to resources and either directly or indirectly related to accessing participation, the following questions automatically arose: *Which resources (for access) are available and how/when are they used/displayed? Which limitations (for access) are there and how/when are they displayed?*

3.3. Selection of subject or case

There are different ways to select a case or sample. Merriam (1998) cites Chein (1981) that the most appropriate sampling strategy is nonprobabilistic or purposive. Patton (1990) states “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich cases* for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful* sampling” (p.169, italics in original, cited by Merriam, 1998, p. 61).

Some types of purposeful selection include: typical, unique, maximum variation, convenience, snowball or chain / network sampling (Merriam, 1998):

Table 3.1. Types of case studies based on Merriam (1998)

TYPE OF PURPOSEFUL SAMPLING	DESCRIPTION
Typical	“reflects the average person, situation, or instance of the phenomenon of interest.” (p. 62)
Unique	“Based on unique, atypical [...] phenomenon of interest.” (p. 62)
Maximum variation	Looking for shared patterns out of heterogeneity (p. 63)
Convenience	“Select a sample based on time, money, location, availability of sites [...]” (p. 63)
Snowball, chain, or network	The most common form of sampling. It “involves asking each participant or group of participants to refer you to other participants” (p. 63)

The sample for the present study could be referred to as typical, in the sense that it chooses a typical newcomer, namely a lusophone immigrant in a Luxembourgish school (Cf. Chapter Two). It could also be snowball (chain or network sampling) in the sense that the researcher had initially inquired about different newcomers of Portuguese background and subsequently selected this particular case according to the information-rich criteria, which makes the case not only a good example for a study but, equally, one of potential interest for the community. Furthermore, according to Merriam “to find the best case to study, you would first establish the criteria that will guide case selection and then select a case that meets those criteria” (1998, p.65). The researcher took into account that this was a typical case in the sense that it involves a Portuguese-speaking newcomer, something rather common in the Luxembourgish schools (Cf. Chapter Two). The case is, furthermore, a rich example in that it involves an extremely motivated child who was initially described by all the teaching personnel and his family as being very eager to participate and interact in the community of learners at his new school.

It is also important to mention that the researcher looked at different schools

and found equally interesting cases elsewhere. The first interesting case was in a school that did not agree to be video recorded. Let us call it school ‘one’. The present case was found in a different school, which I shall call school ‘two’. This child will be described later on in this work but, as mentioned earlier, the child (henceforth “Nuno”) was very motivated and was a Portuguese-speaking newcomer from Brazil, whose stepfather (henceforth “Rui”) is from Portugal and whose mother is from Brazil.

3.4. Research Design

I chose to design the present research as a case study because I thought it would be the most appropriate form for investigating the evolving membership of a newcomer. Audiovisual recordings constitute one of the most significant types of data for such a case study, since they enable the detailed analysis of interactional aspects which we may fail to capture via field notes or audio recordings. Preparing transcripts from these audiovisual recordings is a research activity in itself, and one which is highly relevant for subsequent analysis. In the section that follows, I will explain:

- i) the groundwork for the data collection
- ii) the data collection procedure per se
- iii) the data treatment (i.e., organization) phase

3.4.1. Gathering data from an integrated perspective

In my attempt to employ a data collection procedure that maps onto my integrated perspective, I have focused on relevant interactions closer to the co-construction of

learning and identity in a particular context, but also on how the context may restrain the learning opportunities and resources for the agents involved. I have also tried to document the child case as closely as possible by using different data collection methods. Following a situated learning perspective means looking into significant situations or contexts since learning is embedded and co-constructed in the social and physical environment. Other perspectives used in this study permit a critical take on these learning situations, and thus unearth and illuminate the potential limitations learners may be confronted with. Ethnographic tools, finally, enhance the other methods of data collection employed. In their capacity to capture situated interactions between the child case and the community, ethnographic tools may significantly contribute to furthering our understanding of the situated environment and its actors.

3.4.2. Planning the research

Undertaking a case study of newcomers, like any other research, can be a huge task. One of the initial ideas of the current study was to follow at least two different cases. If this had been the case, the study would have been a “multi-case” study and I feared that the readers would tend to compare these two cases⁵⁴ instead of looking at them in order to get a closer look at the issue at stake. I finally decided to focus on a single case and get a closer, deeper insight into the membership process, related interactions and social integration in several areas (e.g. access to resources and participation) regarding this child. Following just one child is not easier than following two, in principle. I think the level of difficulty depends on the quality of the research and how the researcher gets deeper into the case.

The first point in the planning of the present research was to formulate an

⁵⁴ As, for instance, in the research conducted by Maurer-Hetto (2009), see Section 2.9.

initial main question, which was then elaborated into a series of concrete research questions. These research questions (RQs) functioned as a guide for the rest of the study, although it was never implied that these RQs were in any case fixed: “Your choice of the unit of analysis, as with other facets of your research design, can be revisited as a result of discoveries during your data collection [...]” (Yin, 2009, p. 30)

The process of generating the RQs took place in tandem with the review of the literature. Qualitative methodologies and theoretical frameworks, together with previous case studies, were consulted in order to review what had already been done in the field. One particular study of the language learning development of a Moroccan girl who arrived at an Italian school proved a source of initial inspiration for planning the current research (Pallotti, 1996). Pallotti’s micro-interactional study, however, focused more on language development whereas the present project tries to focus more on the membership process, the community of practice and a newcomer’s struggle for access to and regulation of resources and participation.

3.4.3. Consent forms and access issues

Consent is always a difficult but fundamental part of research. Selecting a newcomer for the present study proved to be one of the main issues regarding consent forms and access. The educational authorities informed us regularly of the arrival of different children. In order to select and obtain some early audiovisual data as soon as possible after the newcomer’s arrival, consent had to be granted very quickly.

During the selection of the case, I initially chose a different case who had just

begun attending a Luxembourgish school (school ‘one’). Consent forms⁵⁵ were given to the families and teachers, although after a two-week waiting period, consent had still not been granted by half of the families, despite all efforts made by the two teachers involved to explain the research project to the families. At that moment it seemed to be a terrible loss of time for the study. Immediately afterwards, two newcomers had just arrived at another school (‘school two’). This school was bigger and had a higher proportion of non-Luxembourgish children. Again, consent was requested although the original letter of consent⁵⁶ was edited in order to make the research intentions clearer to the families, and the form was handed out almost immediately after observing and choosing the child case (see annex A). Again, the teacher concerned (at school ‘two’) was extremely collaborative and instrumental not only in ensuring that all the families understood but also that they consented to the present study⁵⁷.

3.4.4. Data collection design and procedures

Different resources were used to delimit as much as possible the unit of analysis and therefore the focus of the study. As mentioned before, this study was not a closed study in the sense of being totally planned as many experimental studies are, but was flexible both with regard to its research questions and design. Bearing this fact in

⁵⁵ These consent forms were given in French and Portuguese languages respectively. A curriculum of the researcher was attached to these consent forms. See Appendix A for the French version and also a Portuguese version used for this school.

⁵⁶ The two versions of these consent letters are included in Appendix A.

⁵⁷ For research purposes consent was asked of all the families concerned in the class, as the cameras were going to record the whole classroom. Specific permission relating to the focus on the child case was sought from the teachers and the family of this particular child only. Throughout the research, I requested that both the child’s case family and his teachers do not communicate to the child case, at least during the research, the fact that he was the focus of the study.

mind, I was helped by some external collaborators⁵⁸ in order to try to gather as much data as possible during the data collection phase, which was informed by the present methodology and research design. Furthermore, as one cannot anticipate the relevant moments in the interaction between the community and the newcomer, as much data as possible would need to be gathered.

During the data collection periods, the researcher and the external collaborators adopted the ‘participant observer’ attitude (James, 2001). That is to say, the researcher (myself) was present during the collection of the data in the classroom, although I did not initiate any interaction with the child case or the other children, but would engage in interactions initiated by the children. This last point was agreed upon in order to have some degree of socialization with the children in the classroom so as not to be regarded as a complete foreigner or stranger.

As the study looks closely into how the child case became a member of a community, I planned a one-year, ‘semi-longitudinal’ study. The academic year in question is the first year of primary studies, starting in September (2008) and ending in July (2009). With the main concern of not disturbing the normal progress of the children, I planned three main data gathering periods: i) the arrival of the child in the month of November, ii) the middle of the academic year approximately in February, and iii) around the end of the academic year in June. In this way I could have a good grasp of the child’s progress in the community without bothering the class routine all year long. The whole week of classroom interaction was recorded each time. As a way of documenting the progress or change between these three main moments, I made some regular observations and field notes on a weekly basis at the school,

⁵⁸ The external collaborators were colleagues who were working at the LCMI research unit at the time of the research. They were selected according to their previous experience regarding data gathering. Their main role was to support audio-visual recording in the classroom.

spending between two and five hours per week in class and observing different subjects every week.

The main data collection procedure consisted in recording with two cameras. One of them was the main recorder, capturing the child case and his surroundings. The second one captured interactions in another corner of the classroom and served as distracter. Both cameras had the recording light or red light covered so the children could not know which one was recording and when. Some other microphones were distributed around the classroom as distracters (see map of the classroom in the “audiovisual recordings” or Figure 3.2). Some minor techniques (i.e., distribution of microphones around the classroom, use of different cameras, naming of the tapes) for this data collection were adapted from a case study by Gabriele Pallotti (2005)⁵⁹.

3.5. Types and methods of data collection

Different types of data have been collected for the present study. Most of the data comprises audiovisual recordings of the classroom using two different cameras. Other data includes audio interviews with:

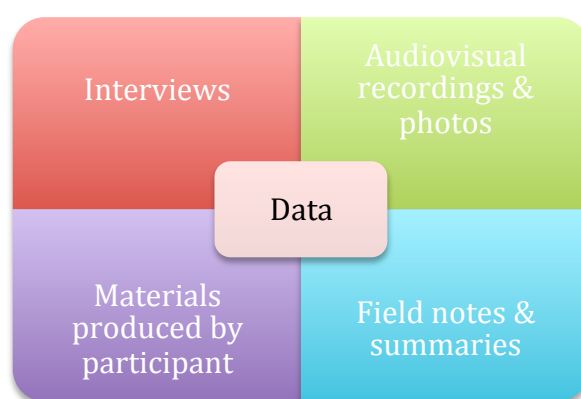
- i) the teachers
- ii) the parents of the child case
- iii) other children surrounding the child case
- iv) the child case

Artefacts produced by the child case (mostly his written work) during the academic year were also collected for different purposes (transcription support and identity

⁵⁹ I also followed some recommendations from Gabriele Pallotti in person. I thank him for the short but intense conversations we held before and during the data-gathering period. He was extremely helpful as he listened to me and gave me good advice for the whole study in general.

support). Finally, I elaborated field notes and summaries. The field notes were taken during or immediately after the recordings and during regular visits to the school between the main three phases of recordings. The summaries correspond to a synopsis of the recordings. These summaries are different from the field notes in the sense that they combine the narrative and analytic styles (García-Varela, 2007). Data collection is summarized in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Main types of data collected⁶⁰.



3.5.1. Participant-observation

Back in 1983, Atkinson and Hammersley stated: “*all* social research is a form of participant observation” (italics in original, Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994, p. 249). Some years later, the same scholars delimited participant observation as “[...] observation carried out when the researcher is playing an established⁶¹ participant role in the scene studied.” (1994, p. 248). Along similar lines, Yin (2009) defines participant observation as “a special mode of observation in which you are not merely a passive observer. Instead, you may assume a variety of roles within a case study

⁶⁰ See Mason (2002, p. 52) for more about different kinds of data sources.

⁶¹ Here “established” makes reference to the role played and acknowledged by a participant-observer in contrast only to the role of non-participant-observer. Thus I understand as “established” all observers who participate in the research be this to a lesser or greater degree.

situation and may actually participate in the events being studied." (p. 111). Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) also recognize that participant observation can be defined through the variation that can be found in the researcher's role. Consequently, they mention four types of participation when a researcher is observing (or doing ethnography). They state that some scholars (Gold, 1958; Junker, 1960) have classified the different degrees of participation as i) complete observer, ii) observer as participant, iii) participant as observer, and iv) complete participant, depending on the implication of the researcher in the field.

If I should choose between one of the above-mentioned degrees of participation when observing in the classroom, I would probably choose the second one: observer as participant. Furthermore, the children did not know me before the observation and therefore I had to gain their confidence and trust on a daily basis. It was via some limited participation with the children during the observations that I developed a good relationship. By 'limited participation' I mean responding to any interaction initiated by the children and addressed to me, especially in the Portuguese language classes as the children soon realized that it was the main language used to address the researcher. Duranti (1997)⁶² also recommends this kind of limited participation since attending to one's role and documenting the others' may be distracting: "For this reason, ethnographers must often restrain themselves from being complete participants. They learn to assume the strange status of accepted **by-standers** or professional **overhearers** [...]" (bold letters in original, p. 101). In any case, ethnography is recognized to be "powerfully placed" to approach children's lives, even though the adult researcher's role is usually limited to a semi-

⁶² See Duranti (1997, pp. 99-102) for an explanation of the participant-observation roles.

participatory⁶³ one (James, 2001):

[...] however friendly we are, adult researchers can only even have a semi-participatory role in children's lives, can the power differentials which separate children from adults begin to be effectively addressed. In this sense ethnography is powerfully placed to initiate this process. (p. 254)

3.5.2. Audiovisual recordings

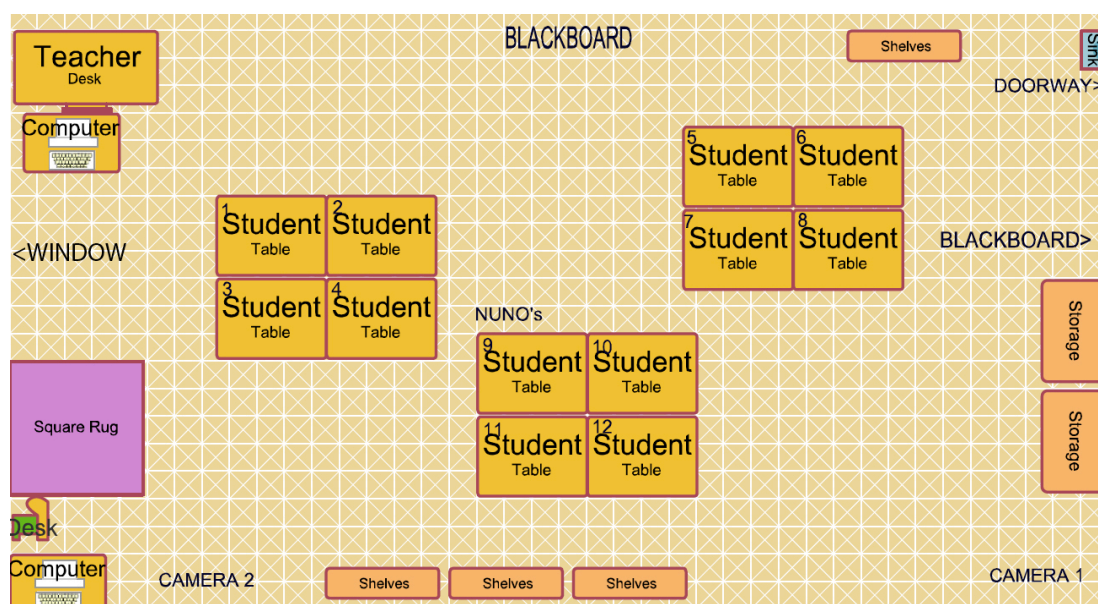
Audiovisual recordings become a necessity when the researcher is confronted with a reality that must be watched repeatedly and transcribed. It is also obvious that when something is recorded, some other researchers or participants can look at it and see it with different “eyes”. For all these reasons, audiovisual recordings become extremely important for research such as this one. In order to focus on, find and explore the significant interactions for this and any other study, a researcher needs to watch the data repeatedly; therefore it is absolutely necessary to video record these moments. Introducing a camera to the setting has a “camera effect”, or what is called “participant-observer paradox: to collect information we need to observe interaction, but to observe interaction (in ethically acceptable ways) we need to be in the scene; therefore, any time we observe we affect what we see because others monitor our presence and act accordingly.” (Duranti, 1997, p. 118). In any case a neutral observation seems impossible and even if there is a participant-observer paradox, this is considered integral to the study since the researcher is a human being. Furthermore, the children usually forgot the presence of both the cameras and the researcher after

⁶³ I believe that the differences between “semi-participation”, “observer as participant” and “participant as observer” are slight. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, p. 249) noted, there are nuances to take into account when we refer to the four types of roles adopted by observers such as for example “whether the researcher is known to be a researcher by all those being studied, or only by some, or by none”.

some minutes and continued with their “usual” routines⁶⁴.

After careful study of the classroom, the researcher and some external collaborators opted for using two cameras, each equipped with a tripod. The cameras were set at the back of the classroom, one in each corner. Camera “1” was the main one, recording Nuno’s desk and those surrounding him. Camera “2” was mainly used as a distracter, so the child would not feel any obvious special treatment. This camera was also used for recordings in case camera 1 was poorly positioned, for example when there were interactions in a corner on a small carpet where the children sometimes played games. Camera 2, therefore, was also a mobile camera. Most of the time there was a researcher operating each camera, therefore a total of two researchers were present in the classroom during data gathering. Below is an outline of the classroom setting in early November 2008:

Figure 3.2. Map of the classroom in November 2008.



A microphone was attached to camera 1 with a cord, and camera 2 had the micro incorporated for mobility reasons. Some voice recorders were placed on the other

⁶⁴ See Duranti (1997, pp. 116-119) for more tips on video recording and Mason (2002, p. 118) for the impact of visual media.

desks around the classroom as distracters. The recordings took the normal weekly curriculum as reference and usually one tape was used for each lesson. Figure 3.3 provides an overview of the curriculum for the child case's first year of primary school⁶⁵.

Figure 3.3. Weekly schedule in Nuno's school.

Horaire	lundi	mardi	mercredi	jeudi	vendredi
8h00-8h55	Calcul	Allemand	Allemand	Calcul	Calcul
8h55-9h45	Allemand	Calcul	Calculs	Activités dirigées	Rel/Ems
10h00-10h50	Rel/Ems	Allemand	Calcul	Eveil	Natation
10h50-11h40	Education artistique	Allemand	Travaux manuels	Eveil	Allemand
11h40-12h30	Etudes dirigées	Luxembourgeois	Etudes dirigées	Allemand	Etudes dirigées
14h00-14h55	Activités dirigées		Natation		Education musicale
15h10-16h00	Education physique		Allemand		Eveil aux sciences

Consultation pour parents: lundi de 16h00 à 17h00
--



3.5.3. Semi-structured interviews⁶⁶

The researcher tape-recorded audio interviews with the research participants at three points during the academic year, that is to say, at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the year, and during the same period as the audiovisual recordings.

Interviews were conducted with:

⁶⁵ All the subjects included in this schedule were recorded with the exception of physical education and swimming lessons. The analysis included more samples of Math, German and Portuguese / Science lessons as these subjects take most of the time during the week and are also the most relevant for advancing in the curriculum.

⁶⁶ For more information about qualitative interviewing see Mason (2002, pp. 62-83).

- i) the main teacher of the child case (including the replacement teacher)
- ii) the teacher of the Portuguese language class
- iii) the educator in the “foyer” or centre where the child usually had lunch and spent the afternoons
- iv) the child case’s parents
- v) a number of children
- vi) the child case

These interviews were conducted in French, English, Spanish and / or Portuguese and lasted approximately twenty minutes. The aim was to grasp and triangulate the different views on the child’s behaviour and progress, as well as to add key ethnographic information to the study. The interviews comprised a number of pre-planned questions that were asked at the different moments of the study (see in appendix D for the complete interviews), although the overall nature of the interviews was semi-structured, that is to say, a combination of more and less structured questions, with some degree of flexibility (Merriam, 1998).

3.5.4. Materials and artefacts created by Nuno⁶⁷

Objects, artefacts and media products constitute one of the six potential data sources where researchers may generate data⁶⁸. As part of the present study, most of the materials created by the child case during classroom work were collected. These materials were classified, documented and scanned (appendix B) with the main purpose of accompanying and facilitating insights gained from the transcriptions. A

⁶⁷ In order to safeguard the anonymity of the child case, I will henceforth refer to him by the pseudonym « Nuno ».

⁶⁸ Other categories are i) people, ii) entities, iii) texts, iv) settings, v) events. See Mason (2002, p. 52) for an explanation of the different potential data sources. See also section 3.5. in this thesis.

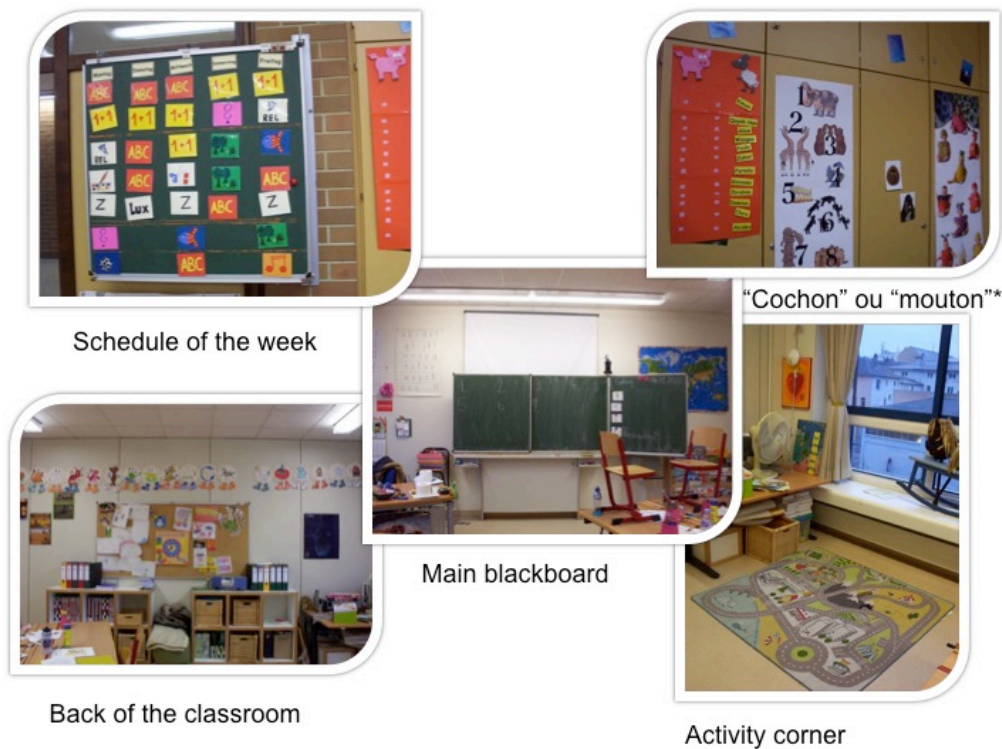
potential use for future research by looking at his writing samples could also further one's understanding of part of the child's progress and learning. These materials consisted mainly of work sheets from the different lessons and some homework (see appendix B for a sample of these materials)⁶⁹. I chose not to use these materials for analysis in the present work but to use them mainly as support for the transcriptions and the situational information.

3.5.5. Photographs

Some photographs were taken at the same time as the recordings throughout the academic year. Most of them served to complement video recordings and field notes. The pictures were also useful for documenting classroom layout for several purposes. In addition to providing a support for transcriptions, the pictures provided also important ethnographic information (see appendix C for relevant pictures). I consider it relevant to briefly describe the classroom layout as it is part of the contextual information of several transcriptions and may help the reader understand parts of the data. Figure 3.4. provides some representative pictures of the classroom:

⁶⁹ Permission to collect these materials was granted by the main teacher and the parents.

Figure 3.4. Several pictures of the classroom (see appendix C for supplementary pictures).



In the top left hand corner, we can see the picture of a weekly schedule adapted to the primary school. There is also a picture of the back of the classroom with the different shelves and posters at the bottom left hand corner. At the bottom right hand corner there is another picture of the carpet where, once a week, the classroom usually met for different activities such as story reading and the like. And finally, there is a picture comprising the name tags of the classroom members classified as “pig or sheep” (*cochon ou mouton*) at the top right hand corner. This activity, which was the teacher’s idea, served to expose those who had behaved badly. If a child behaved “correctly” then (s)he stayed in the “sheep” column and earned a piece of lego at the end of the day. If, on the other hand, a child behaved “badly”, then (s)he could be placed in the middle column which meant receiving no lego at the end of the day, or even in the left column (pig column), losing one piece of lego at the end of the day.

Lego pieces were very important to the children because they could be exchanged for prizes (small toys and games) at the end of the week. Even if this behaviour-related activity might look like a game through adult eyes, it was very significant for the children, who saw either public exposure or recognition in front of the whole class community. This activity also, with its subsequent influence on classroom interaction, served as part of a classification scheme which, according to a series of behavioural rules dictated by the teacher, sought to identify, in particular, the “outcasts” in the class.

3.5.6. Field notes and summaries

Field notes were taken in conjunction with the process of video recording. In addition to these, additional field notes were taken during the weekly visits to the school between the three main periods of recordings. The notes focus on specific moments in the interaction between the child case and the community (i.e., when the child interacted with his peers and / or the teacher). The summaries were written after every recording. A full list was elaborated on an excel table to better keep track of the different recordings. The summaries were conceived of as a “pre-transcription”, explaining clearly the lesson’s different activities and concentrating, in a descriptive manner, on the interaction of and around the child case (Nuno), with a view to understanding classroom interaction and facilitating transcription along with other subsequent analytical phases (see appendix E for a sample of field note / summary). Below is an overview of recordings made during the first month of analysis:

Table 3.2. Sample table of audiovisual recordings in November, 2008.

Inventory of Recordings
Enter list comment here

File: 20081120_Table_recordings.xls
Page 1 of 1

Item	Name	Date	Subject	Lenght	Observations
1	MATHS_20081110_8_00_Camera_1	10-nov-2008	Maths	51:14:07	
2	MATHS_20081110_8_55_Camera_1	10-nov-2008	Maths	49:54:02	
3	GERMAN_20081110_10_50_Camera_1	10-nov-2008	German	41:34:06	
4	GERMAN_20081111_8_00_Camera_1	11-nov-2008	German	57:46:14	
5	MATHS_20081111_8_55_Camera_1	11-nov-2008	Maths	45:53:23	
6	GERMAN_20081111_10_00_Camera_1	11-nov-2008	German	58:38:02	Ed. Artistique too
7	GERMAN_20081111_10_50_Camera_1	11-nov-2008	German	59:03:09	
8	LUXEMBOURGISH_20081111_11_40_Camera_1	11-nov-2008	Luxembourgish	30:19:01	
9	GERMAN_20081112_8_00_Camera_1	12-nov-2008	German	57:16:00	
10	MATHS_20081112_8_55_Camera_1	12-nov-2008	Maths	45:42:22	
11	MATHS_20081112_10_00_Camera_1	12-nov-2008	Maths	56:57:11	
12	TR_MANUELS_20081112_10_50_Camera_1	12-nov-2008	Travaux Manuels	43:01:19	
13	GERMAN_20081112_15_10_Camera_1	12-nov-2008	German	46:15:17	
14	MATHS_20081113_8_00_Camera_1	13-nov-2008	Maths	59:25:11	
15	MATHS_GERMAN_20081113_8_55_Camera_1	13-nov-2008	Maths/German	43:41:23	
16	PORTUGUESE_20081113_10_00_Camera_1	13-nov-2008	Portuguese	51:12:04	seen technical problems at beg
17	PORTUGUESE_20081113_10_50_Camera_1	13-nov-2008	Portuguese	43:19:21	
18	GERMAN_20081113_11_40_Camera_1	13-nov-2008	German	45:21:22	
19	MATHS_20081114_8_00_Camera_1	14-nov-2008	Maths	1:02:29	
20	MORAL_20081114_8_55_Camera_1	14-nov-2008	Moral	33:51:05	
21	MATHS_HOMEWORK_20081114_10_50_Camera_1	14-nov-2008	Maths/Homework	1:02:25	
22	HOMEWORK_SCIENCES_20081114_11_40_Camera_1	14-nov-2008	Homework/sciences	1:02:31	12:15
23	SCIENCES_MUSIC_20081114_14_45_Camera_1	14-nov-2008	Sciences/Music	59:41:07	14:45
24	SEVERAL_20081110_11_Camera_2		Several	1:01:18	
25	SEVERAL_20081111_12_Camera_2		Several	58:38:19	
26	SEVERAL_20081113_Camera_2	13-nov-2008	Several	1:02:29	
27	SEVERAL_20081114_Camera_2	14-nov-2008	Several	1:02:30	
28	SEVERAL_20081114_Camera_2_2	14-nov-2008	Several	45:23:03	

3.6. The main characters⁷⁰

By main characters I mean here the main actors surrounding Nuno and contributing to his development as a member of the classroom community. I will comment on:

- i) the most significant children surrounding Nuno
- ii) Nuno's teachers
- iii) some notes on the information I gathered on Nuno's family
- iv) some notes on the background of the researcher responsible for the present study
- v) a view of the main gatekeepers in this study

⁷⁰ For the sake of the protection of the identities involved in this work, all the names mentioned in this section and in the whole thesis (with the exception of myself) have been changed to pseudonyms.

3.6.1. The children

- Beginning of Nuno's academic year (November 2008):

Nuno: The newcomer

Nuno was a seven-year-old child (date of birth 14/06/2001⁷¹), who had just arrived from Brazil in November 2008. He was a very active boy, described by his teachers and parents at this stage as a child who liked to participate in all the classroom activities and play with all the children around him even though they spoke language(s) he could not fully understand at that moment. He liked to attract the attention of the group and be one of the main “characters”, despite the fact that he didn't speak the main language of communication, Luxembourgish, upon his arrival. His mother is Brazilian and immigrated to Portugal, where she married Rui, Nuno's stepfather (Portuguese). Nuno also has an older sister. Then the parents, Nuno and his older sister immigrated to Luxembourg for employment reasons. At the time of the study, Nuno's mother was working as a cleaning lady in private homes, and Nuno's stepfather was a blue-collar worker too, working for an important factory in Luxembourg.

Sunita: The silent but sensible partner

Sunita was a six-year-old girl of Nepalese origin. She had already been in the country for some time (approximately two years) and was described as a good student by her teachers. In November she was sitting next to Nuno, although some weeks later, her family moved and she herself had to move to another school. Sunita and Nuno did not share any language of communication. This notwithstanding, she seemed to me one of

⁷¹ I only provide Nuno's date of birth and not those of his peers as I did not wish to bother the teacher even more by asking for more personal information. Besides, the dates of birth of Nuno's peers was not a significant information for the current study.

the members of the classroom who exerted the most influence on Nuno's behaviour and academic development. Nuno and Sunita had a good relationship with each other and found various ways to communicate such as the use of gesturing and monosyllables.

Maria: The other Brazilian

Maria was a Brazilian girl who had arrived in the country a couple of years previously. Her family had a good relationship with Nuno's family and this bore upon the relationship between the two children. In November, Maria served as a guide, an "old-timer" or experienced member for Nuno, the newcomer. She herself had obviously had to go through many similar experiences and could therefore help Nuno strategically (i.e., Maria spoke Brazilian like Nuno). She sat facing Nuno.

- The middle and end of Nuno's academic year (March & June):

Cathy: The new friend

Cathy was a six-year-old girl with a Thai family background and living in the country since she was approximately two years old. Progressively, since February, Nuno had been changing the children he befriended and Cathy had become one of his best friends. She was now sitting opposite him and the only common language of communication they had was Luxembourgish. Cathy was rather a quiet girl, who liked doing her work meticulously. Occasionally, according to my observations, the two children came into conflict because Cathy would tell the teacher about something that Nuno had done wrong in her opinion.

Afonso: The responsible classmate

Afonso was a six-year-old boy, whose father was Turkish and whose mother was Portuguese. He could speak both Portuguese and Luxembourgish fluently and he was sitting next to Nuno in the second semester. He did not usually disturb or interact with Nuno on a regular basis, but mostly when he thought that Nuno had done something wrong. Such moments usually created a conflict which had to be solved by the teacher. Afonso was a good and cheerful student according to his teachers and in my eyes also.

Tiago: The new Brazilian newcomer

Tiago was a seven-year-old Brazilian newcomer who arrived in January 2009. Tiago's teachers described him as an especially quiet and hard-working child. He was close to Nuno because both had in common the fact of being newcomers from Brazil. Tiago was easily influenced by Nuno when they were together as Tiago was quiet and Nuno was very active. Even though Tiago arrived later than Nuno, he was also, in the eyes of both his teachers and myself, a good student who, for instance, in some of the maths lessons, frequently outperformed Nuno, a fact which created some conflicts.

Miguel: The naughty boy

Miguel was a six-year-old boy with a difficult family background. Notwithstanding the fact that he could understand some Portuguese, as his father was a Portuguese-speaker, the teachers informed me that his mother had forbidden him to speak it. This had possibly given rise to his aversion of any Portuguese speaker in the classroom. He was apparently also a hyperactive child, and thus he usually had to take his medicine early in the morning. When he had had his medicine he was a quiet boy, but whenever

it had been forgotten or the effects of it had passed, his behaviour changed completely and he became a disruptive element in the classroom community, on many occasions also bothering Nuno. Usually he annoyed Nuno when the latter was one of the main children trying to participate actively. Miguel frequently interrupted the classroom routine drawing attention to himself, and usually annoyed the main characters until the teacher told him off or even expelled him from the classroom.

3.6.2. The teachers

Claire: The “integrative” teacher

Claire was a young⁷² and caring teacher who was substituting for the main teacher, Simone, who was on leave for almost the whole of the first semester. She developed a particular empathy for Nuno, which could be sensed by all the children in the classroom. This “special treatment” for the newcomer perhaps was the source of a number of conflicts in the classroom. Claire tried to make all the children in the classroom work and feel happy. She always tried not to leave a single child behind, but to adapt to the different needs and specificities of the children.

Simone: The “assimilative” teacher

Simone was also a young teacher although more experienced than Claire as she had already been teaching for a few years. She was also a sensible and hard-working teacher although generally stricter than her colleague. When Simone arrived, in January 2009, she changed not only the seating arrangement of the pupils, but also the

⁷² At the time of the study she was still studying to pass the public examination to become a full-time teacher in Luxembourg. She had been working for a year when she was called for the school where Nuno had arrived.

position of their desks and even the classroom rules. Simone stressed the importance of having a quieter classroom and of treating all the children the same way. She did not develop explicit empathy for the newcomer children. At first she had some serious conflicts with Nuno as he had enjoyed a “special” role in the classroom with the previous main teacher, Claire. When Simone arrived, this special teacher-pupil relationship had to be reconfigured and Nuno rebelled against such a change. In the end, Simone made Nuno understand that he was just another child and that no exceptional treatment was to be given to any child in the classroom.

3.6.3. The family

Nuno’s family consisted of his Brazilian mother, his stepfather from Portugal and his older sister (13 years old), who already attended secondary school. Both parents were blue-collar workers. Nuno’s mother apparently had some issues with the government administration. It seems that she was still not allowed to legally stay in the country, as her papers had not been fully processed. She nonetheless worked as a cleaning lady in several houses, and was for this reason, always very busy. Nuno’s mother’s busy schedule meant that Nuno had to wait everyday in the “foyer de jour” to be picked up after school much more frequently than the other children. His stepfather was usually more accessible and he was the one who drove Nuno to school, picked him up and spent more time with him. It was Nuno’s stepfather who asked him more frequently about what he had done at school and it was also the stepfather who habitually attended the meetings with the teacher.

3.6.4. The researcher

The main researcher (myself) is of Spanish origin and has tried to bring an objective perspective to this community. Like Nuno, he can be regarded as a newcomer for a number of reasons. The researcher is new to the school community and the children soon discovered he mainly could speak Spanish, Portuguese and English. Like Nuno, the researcher was learning both German and Luxembourgish although he did not have to go through a similar membership process as the children already saw him as an adult and accorded him a different status. Finally, the fact that the main researcher is not a “native” of the country may also constitute an advantage as often working with one’s own culture may tempt one to leave certain “knowledge” implicit:

Whereas it is hard (and often impossible) for non-members to see things from the inside of the culture, it is equally hard for members to see things from the outside. The problem with many sociologists’ view that one needs ethnography only or *especially* when working in another culture is based on the fact that when working on one’s culture and within one’s society one can leave much knowledge implicit [...] (Duranti, 1997, p. 160)

3.6.5. The *gatekeepers*

There were several potential gatekeepers in this study, not all of whom, however, made access to the data more difficult. Among the main gatekeepers for this research we would like to mention:

- i) the Luxembourgish educational authorities
- ii) the school authorities
- iii) the “foyer de jour” authorities
- iv) the families

Most of these groups were very collaborative. For example the educational authorities (Service pédagogique de la ville de Luxembourg) and the school authorities greatly facilitated my access to the school and the identification of an appropriate child for the purposes of my case study. The families were also very collaborative and readily agreed to participating in my research⁷³.

The only explicit gatekeeper in this study transpired to be the “foyer de jour” authorities. As part of our case study, I tried to follow Nuno at this “foyer de jour” as well. I should mention here that this was a circumstance that was not anticipated at the outset of the study, as I could not know whether the child would attend this centre or not. Therefore once the child had spent some time at school, we interviewed the “foyer de jour” (daycare centre) teacher (henceforth “Julie”) and enquired about the possibility of recording. At first it seemed possible, but soon after she changed her mind. Julie gave me back all the consent forms that had been distributed to the families and stressed the fact that several families categorically objected to the filming of their children. Bowing to this fact, I did not bother the families again. However, it is quite possible, and I indeed suspect, that the families had been pitched against the study, since the teacher later admitted herself to being opposed to the filming of the children. Julie argued that Nuno’s behaviour had worsened since the researcher had begun recording at school and that she did not want it to deteriorate even further due to filming in the “foyer de jour”. Moreover, she was very negative when we interviewed her in March, which was a totally different experience to the interview I had conducted in November. As a consequence, and due to the antipathy Julie made me feel for her, I did not bother interviewing her in June.

Other potential gatekeepers, especially in the context of classroom interaction,

⁷³ This was not always the case. As mentioned in section 3.4.3. the majority of families from school “1” were opposed to this study because of the audio-visual recordings.

are the teachers. As we will see in the next chapters and as Erickson and Shultz (1982) have shown, some not so obvious gatekeeping practices “have negative consequences for non-mainstream individuals.” (Davis, 1994, p. 110). The preconceptions about minority students may potentially function as a gatekeeping device that is sometimes brought to bear during classroom interactions:

In Luxembourg, the national examination and counselling practices not only serve as gatekeeping devices, but also contribute to secondary school teachers’ attitudes and beliefs about student ability. These teachers tend to form preconceptions about students’ academic potential and generally associate degree of success with social background. (Davis, 1994, p. 110)

3.7. Data Organization Procedures

One of the main concerns, in any research, is the issue of data handling and organization. Nowadays there is a wide range of software programs that facilitate data storage (see Lewins & Silver, 2007), with some programs facilitating both data storage and analysis. In order to save time and visualize the data in an efficient manner, a software that is able to serve as a database and as an analytical tool is a priority tool. For this reason, I chose *Transana* as my software program for the organization, storage, transcription and analysis “facilitator” for the audiovisual and audio recordings.

By the end of the research period, I had created a total number of 69 initial files (53 one hour length audiovisual recordings and 16 audio interviews). In order to locate all the files in a database properly (video recordings, interviews, transcriptions, and others), I had to create an easily retrievable filing system. Furthermore, the complexity of the database was even greater due to its longitudinal nature. I finally adopted the following system for both the audiovisual recordings and the interviews,

as I explain below:

- Audio recording:

DATE_TYPE_NAME (yymmdd_type_name)

Example of the audio recording: “20081129_Interview_main_teacher”

- Audiovisual episodes and their corresponding transcripts:

SUBJECT_DATE_TIME_CAMERA

Example of audiovisual recording: “Maths_20081110_8_00_Camera_1”

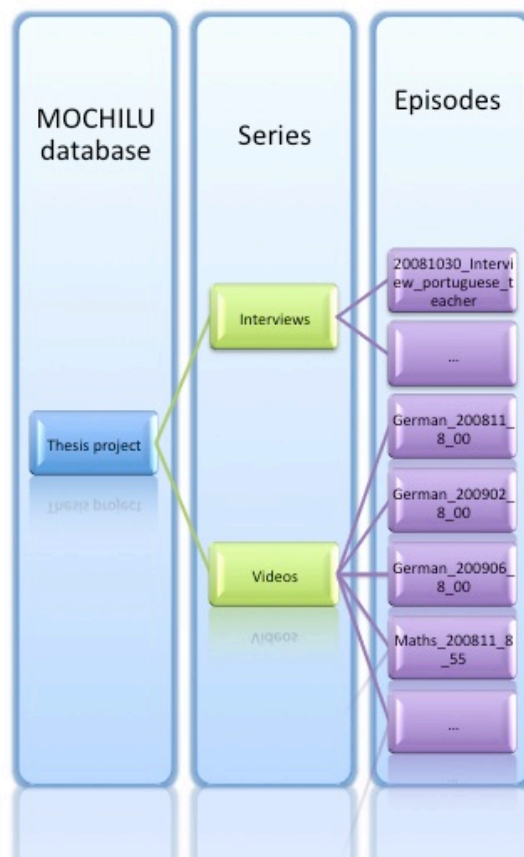
The date included in the file name helps us to find and manage the data more easily. For episodes and transcripts, the date is not the primary information provided by the file name, where the main purpose is to automatically organize the database according to the subject of instruction and thereby facilitate their retrieval for the subsequent thematically-oriented analysis. Where different transcribed versions for the same videorecording exist, then the date of the transcript version was attached to the title of the transcript, allowing us to keep all the different versions. Finally, there were also additional short clips originating from the main audiovisual episodes. These ‘quick clips’ were catalogued differently, consisting of a number (1, 2, or 3) depending on the time of the recording (1st period, 2nd period or 3rd period) and a content-related title for later classification and analysis.

3.8. Data Treatment and Analysis with Transana software

Transana is a software that allows for both database storage and analysis. It is the program chosen for the present study and for storing the so-called MOCHILU (MOnolingual CHildren in LUXembourg) database as it satisfies our requirements.

The MOCHILU database was created by the researcher and stores all data on classroom interaction and interviews which have been gathered for this project (see Figure 3.6).

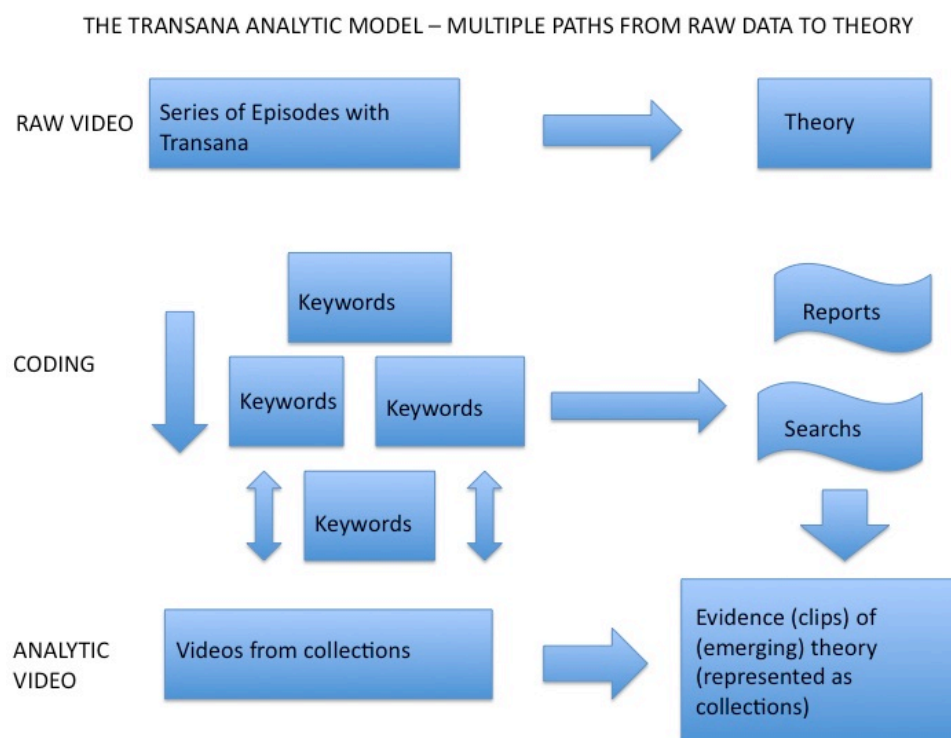
Figure 3.5. A schema of the MOCHILU database organization.



Chris Fassnacht originally created this software, which has been further developed and is currently maintained by David K. Woods at the Wisconsin Center for Education Research, University of Wisconsin-Madison. *Transana* allows us to simultaneously transcribe and watch audio or video data, in addition to facilitating the handling and analysis of large quantities of video and / or audio data. The researcher can create transcriptions in as much detail as he/she wants and also create collections,

clips, and so on. *Transana* is an essential tool for the current study as it facilitates not only the storage or management of data, but also the analytical phase. As with certain other tools for qualitative analysis, *Transana* is able to have multiple paths from raw data to theory and vice versa:

Figure 3.6. The Transana analytic model⁷⁴.



The *Transana* interface is organized into four main windows (*Figure 3.7*). The upper left window is used for the waveforms or visualization of the sound of the file. To the upper right there is another window for the video file. The size of this window can be adjusted according to one's needs. The bigger window to the lower left is the one used for the transcript, and its size may also be modified. The last window, the one to the bottom right, is reserved for the hierarchical organization of the database. The first

⁷⁴ Based on the presentation of the qualitative analysis of video by David Woods at the Université du Luxembourg on the 7-12 December 2007.

element is the name of the database which can be easily updated or even changed for another database as one can create several databases with this software. The database can be subdivided into three categories (or “super categories” according to Transana lexicon): i) series, ii) collections, and iii) keywords. There is a further element for “search”, which is basically a Boolean search in the keyword category.

The first mentioned super category or the so-called “series” comprises a group of different recordings which share some element(s) in common. Here the series are the i) interviews and ii) the videos as shown in *Figure 3.6*. Inside each series there are several “episodes” or video / audio recordings. In the present study, each episode corresponds to one of the lessons attended by the child case, for example, one of the Maths classes in November, Maths from November 2008 at 8:00 a.m. (Maths_200811_8_00) is one episode (*Figure 3.6*). Finally, every episode can be accompanied by its corresponding “transcript”. Several transcripts can be written for a single episode for various reasons, either because different versions have been saved over time or there have been different transcribers⁷⁵. Finally, to every transcript may be attached its corresponding notes (optional) which are very useful for providing additional information about the transcript version for different potential transcribers or equally for pointing out interesting moments which may be further explored.

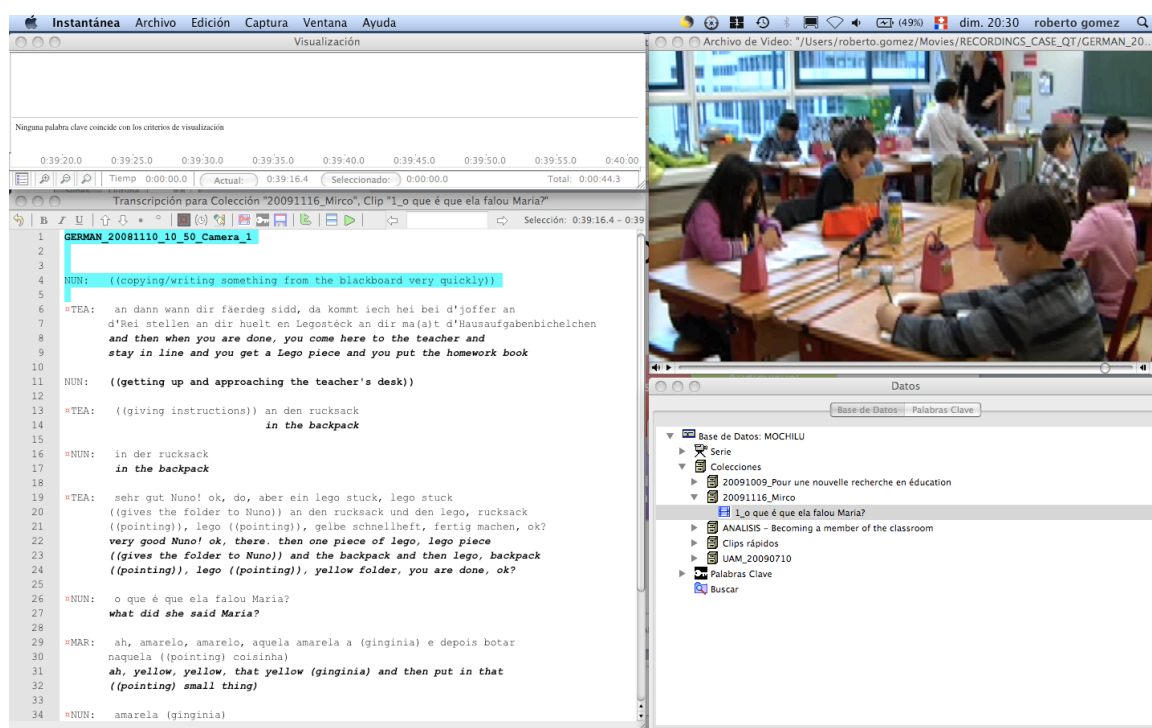
The second super category mentioned above was “collections”. A collection is made up of a group of “clips”. One can create clips selecting a piece of transcript that has been “time-coded” from the main transcripts. The process of coordinating the video or audio with the transcript is made through inserting “time-codes”. These time-codes have to be inserted manually by the researcher. A clip is a short piece of video

⁷⁵ Different transcript versions of the same video recording are possible as the researcher can work at different times on the same transcript and / or improve it. Different transcribers for the same transcript are also a possibility and therefore keeping the different and valid versions is part of the database routine and also a potential benefit for the analysis.

and transcript that fits into a category. It is also possible that the researcher wants to create a “quick clip” and leave it for later classification, depending on whether the researcher already has established the categories and then wants to fill them up, or needs to create clips and then establish the final categories or collections. Therefore once the “time codes” and the transcripts are finished, it is easier to select a part of it and name it according to the researcher’s interests. Once the researcher has several of these clips, he or she can organize them into collections, which can also be organized hierarchically.

The third and final super category is “keywords”. These work in a similar way to the clips. The researcher selects a part of a transcript that has already been time-coded and creates a keyword for it. Keywords can be organized hierarchically and visualized in the waveform window. Furthermore, *Transana* can generate a map with the different keywords, which is very useful for the later analysis.

Figure 3.7. The *Transana* interface in MOCHILU.



3.9. Why look at longitudinal data with Transana?

Transana is an optimal tool for treating large amounts of data. When dealing with longitudinal data, one is usually confronted with a great quantity of data. As David Woods states about collecting and processing large amounts of video data:

Education researchers often turn to video when they want to document interaction in the classroom. Video is an important tool for analyzing educational practices and tracking student outcomes. From the graduate student, who collects 80 hours of video for her dissertation, to the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development, a project which has collected approximately 25,000 hours of video data over the course of over 15 years, researchers clearly regard video as central to the analytic process. These researchers need tools that allow them to process and analyze the huge amount of data this represents.⁷⁶

Hence one of the main aims of *Transana* is the process and analysis of huge quantities of video (and audio) data. My data comprises approximately 50 hours of video recordings in addition to the audio interviews and other kinds of data. Finally, *Transana* is a tool that allows us to create keyword maps, among other tasks, and to thereby facilitate the longitudinal analysis of the data.

3.10. The processes

Here I would like to comment on different, significant processes regarding the handling and analysis of the data. I summarize three interrelated processes. The first process after data gathering and organization is the transcription process. I then comment on the codification process and finally on the analytical process.

⁷⁶ Retrieved on the 01.06.09: <http://www.transana.org/about/index.htm>

3.10.1. The transcription process

It is often said that there is no “objective” or “neutral” transcription. This means that an initial process of analysis may already be taking place at the same time as the writing of the transcription itself ⁷⁷. When the researcher transcribes, he or she pays more attention to some things than another researcher perhaps would, thus transcribing is essentially a “selective process” (Duranti, 1997, p. 161). Researchers may also organize the transcription in different ways. One could, for example, pay more attention to intonation, or simply organize the turns of talk and overlaps using alternative transcribing conventions (i.e., GAT, Jefferson system). Transcribing is not simply a question of copying literally what one hears, unless one is creating what is sometimes called a “rough” transcript. It is already a process whereby the researcher pays more attention to some issues rather than to others and therefore it belongs in a sense to the analytical phase. In fact, how the data is recorded or collected is already “coloured”, that is to say, influenced by interests and research questions and as such it is everything but neutral ⁷⁸.

A transcript in the current research consists of: i) a title and a head of transcript, containing information about the time, place, participants and observations; ii) the body of the transcript, of varying length. Due to the nature of the study, the length of the transcript will correspond to a whole episode, that is to say, approximately fifty minutes. I use my own transcription convention, which is eclectic and a simplified version of other conventions such as GAT (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem). Due to lack of resources I do not transcribe the whole episode of fifty minutes (there are 53 episodes for the entire database) but limit the transcripts

⁷⁷ See Ochs's *Transcription as Theory* (1979) for a full account on the topic of transcription.

⁷⁸ See Duranti (1997, pp. 122-161) for more details about the transcription process.

to those segments considered relevant to the research questions. The transcriptions consist of various notes together with their corresponding time-codes which indicate the main action of both the class in general and the child case in particular (for the given period). An even simpler version of the previous transcript convention is applied to the interview data. In any case, a simple transcript and annotation is created in one of the first reviews of the data. A second phase entails the insertion of time-codes, as we will see in the next section (3.10.2.) on the “codification process”. Once the time-codes are inserted I can create clips where I fine-tune the transcript and arrive at a much more elaborated, detailed version.

3.10.2. The codification process

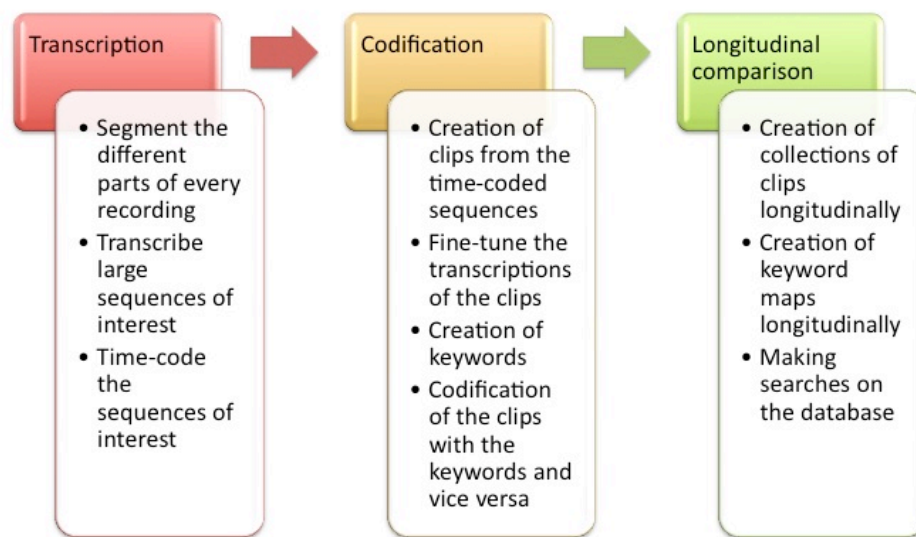
The aim of this process is to create clips from the time-coded segments. These segments were already selected according to their relevance to the research questions. Once the clips were created, I organized them into collections. Once I had the collections and the clips, I could proceed to the creation and matching of the keywords. These keywords, which relate directly to the research questions, were attached either to a part or the whole of a clip and may be attached to different clips simultaneously. For example, if I am studying the gestures used by the child case with the purpose of attracting the attention of the teacher, then this keyword, let us call it “attracting attention” may be present for different clips at different moments of the data recorded.

3.10.3. The analytical process

Part of the analytical process covers the whole process of transcription of the different

kinds of data, the work on the transcripts or codification and finally the phase of analysis of the results based on the child's longitudinal participation in the community (see Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8. Sample of transcription, codification and pre-analysis process with *Transana*.



3.11. Composing the dissertation

After collecting all the data available and re-reading my notes, the question of how best to analyse and present such a huge amount of data came back to my mind. Triangulating so much data and presenting it in a legible way was in itself a challenge. After long hours of data treatment, reflection and consultation, I decided to follow the “time-line” I had built for the study. By “time-line” I mean considering “time” as a guiding factor for several parts of the thesis (e.g., design, research questions). Following this “time-line” could allow me to study the case and his

immediate surrounding community in its different stages of development. Furthermore, the research questions, integrated in the review of the literature, also followed the time-line of participation and membership, which presupposes in its nature a longitudinal or time-line approach. Hence, following a time-line for the chapters that follow here seemed a good way to represent the child case and the “challenges” he has to face during everyday interaction in the classroom community.

3.12. Summary

Throughout the previous pages, the methodological basis for the current study has been presented. I explained the main aims of the case study and detailed the methodology regarding the selection of the subject. I went on to explain the full design of the study (perspective, planning, access issues, data collection) and the types and methods of data collection (participant-observation, audiovisual recordings, interviews, etc). This data collection was driven by the main features or concerns of this study and organized both temporally and thematically. I then commented on the diverse procedures used for data organization and treatment, including the software *Transana* (version 2.30b-Mac). There then followed an outlining of and commentary on the three main interdependent processes in relation to the data gathered, in particular the audiovisual and audio recordings. The chapter concludes with a section on the internal reflections related to writing the present thesis.

Chapter 4. ACCESSING A NEW COMMUNITY

- 4.1. Introduction
- 4.2. Welcoming the new “member”
- 4.3. The first “conflicts” on the periphery
 - 4.3.1. Defining “periphery”
 - 4.3.2. Nuno’s first positioning in the new “community”
 - 4.3.3. The teacher as the mediator between newcomer and community members
 - 4.3.4. The reaction of the different members to the newcomer’s “movement”
- 4.4. The first resources for the newcomer
 - 4.4.1. Linguistic resources
 - 4.4.2. Interaction resources
- 4.5. The first gatekeeping
 - 4.5.1. Old-timers’ gatekeeping
 - 4.5.2. Teacher gatekeeping?
- 4.6. Summary

PART II. The rituals of access to resources

Chapter 4. ACCESSING A NEW COMMUNITY

*First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win*⁷⁹. (Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The present chapter aims at understanding the first weeks after the arrival of the newcomer in the school and, more importantly, in his new classroom. This period of time is very important as it is a period of adjustments, both for the newcomer and those who surround him. From the newcomer's point of view, this is a new community, but for the community he is the one who is new and strange. In order to better grasp this period of time and explore the resources the newcomer displays and the limitations he experiences in this new community, we have divided the chapter into four main parts. The first part looks in particular at the legitimate ways in which the newcomer has been welcomed to the new community or classroom. The second section goes into the first so-called "conflicts" between the community (or a part of the community) and the newcomer and the role of the teacher in those situations. The third part explores some of the linguistic and interactive resources the newcomer brings into play on his way to "full" participation. Finally, the fourth and last part

⁷⁹ From *Wikiquotes*: "Describing the stages of a winning strategy of nonviolent activism. A close variant of the quotation first appears in a 1914 US trade union address by Nicholas Klein: And, my friends, in this story you have a history of this entire movement. First they ignore you. Then they ridicule you. And then they attack you and want to burn you. And then they build monuments to you. And that, is what is going to happen to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America." Retrieved on the 01.07.10:

http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Mohandas_Karamchand_Gandhi

seeks to extend our understanding of the limitations or barriers the newcomer may be confronted with such as the potential gatekeeping, either by his own teacher or his own peers. The chapter ends with a brief summary of the main points elaborated throughout the chapter.

My perspective is informed by the concept of “communities of practice” advocated by Lave & Wenger (1991), although I of course also take into account some of the critiques that this “model” has provoked (Fuller *et al.*, 2005). I adopt certain concepts from Lave & Wenger’s idea of “apprenticeship”, yet complement their approach extensively with the works of the sociologists Ervin Goffman (e.g., 1959, 1974, 1981) and Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., 1977, 1982, 1984). Other primary sources which inform the present chapter are the studies of classroom interaction conducted by Erikson (1987, 2001) and Mehan (1979, 1998). Finally, I also take into account research conducted from a critical ethnographic approach, especially when applied to multilingual, heterogeneous classrooms, drawing, in particular, from Heller (2001a; 2001b), Heller & Martin-Jones (2001) and Martín Rojo (2008; 2010, among others).

4.2. WELCOMING THE NEW “MEMBER”

The first moments and days in the new school may be very significant for the newcomer. He will meet his new classmates in addition to his new teacher. More importantly, he will be placed in a whole new universe where rules, habits and expectations may differ from those he is familiar with. He will be introduced to a new “market” (in Bourdieu’s sense) where he will need to adapt and thereby find out how he could fit in. The teacher, at this stage, is the main actor mediating between the two main parties at this moment: the newcomer and the new environment. Her response to

this new element in her classroom, even implicitly, could influence the newcomer's trajectory in a substantial way, either positively or negatively. In the following extract, the main teacher (I call her so in order to distinguish her from other secondary teachers with less teaching hours), henceforth "Claire", is telling us briefly what happened on the first day of school for the newcomer and thus how they "legitimately" (here in the sense of officially) welcomed the newcomer.

Excerpt 4_1⁸⁰

20081029_Interview_Main teacher

The interview with "Claire" took place in the same week as the audiovisual recordings. Claire was in fact replacing the official teacher ("Simone") who was on leave during that semester. The interview format was "semi-structured", hence it consisted of a number of both pre-defined and open questions, with the ensuing discussion being guided by the reactions of the teacher and the interviewer. In the following excerpt Claire describes how the newcomer was received.

TE: ah, mm, donc il est venu, le premier jour qu'il est venu dans la classe ahh, je parlais un peu avec lui et je, on on a on a regardé ensemble la carte avec les autres enfants et il l'a expliqué, on a cherché son pays et aussi les autres enfants, parce que j'ai beaucoup d'enfants qui viennent de l'étranger on a regardé un peu à la carte, donc on a vu son pays et alors il a fait comme ça et on a demandé comment et il a fait comme ça, c'est l'avion ((gesturing an airplane))

RE: l'avion

TE: comme ça je sais qu'il est venu eh oui par l'avion et aussi je crois qu'il n'était pas longtemps qu'il était seulement cinq jours au Luxembourg et après il est venu directement à l'école, c'est ça que je sais, le service de l'enseignement, oh bon, m'a dit cinq jours avant, tu vas peut-être recevoir un nouveau un nouvel enfant parce qu'il est juste, son père était juste ici et cinq jours plus tard il était dans ma classe, pourtant

⁸⁰ The number "4" corresponds here to the current chapter and the "1" to the numbering of the excerpts. This system assures the easy retrieval of a sample as the chapter's number is embedded in its title.

The preparatory activity the teacher uses to introduce the newcomer is quite significant. As we see, the teacher is allocating time for the newcomer to place his country of origin on a globe and at the same time describe the way he came to Luxembourg, even if at this stage all he can do is point at the globe and use gesture to signify the means of transport. At some point the teacher is legitimating the newcomer's background as a valid one in the classroom community by allocating time and attention to such an activity for the entire class. We could say that the newcomer brought some "capital" with him, his origin, his language, among others. By enquiring and showing interest, the teacher is giving a certain value to this "linguistic and cultural capital" in the new "symbolic market" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) rather than "decapitalising" (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) the newcomer from the outset. Such "decapitalisation" (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) would entail the opposite approach, for example, simply mentioning the newcomer's name and nothing else, as a means of integrating him into the classroom. The use of such resources, or preparatory activity (from a teacher's perspective) in a frontstage⁸¹ space (in Goffman's terms) is not threatening, in the case presented here, the legitimacy of such a space, at least for the current teacher in the class.

The teacher's expectations seem in line with the previous excerpt (4.1.) regarding the newcomer's welcoming and convivial attitude. As we can see in the next excerpt, the teacher's expectations at this stage (approximately two weeks after the newcomer's arrival) with regard to the newcomer's development and integration

⁸¹ In order to study the legitimation of certain resources and participants, I will use Goffman (1959) distinction between frontstage and backstage partly based on classroom research by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) and also Martín Rojo (2010, p. 84): "Frontstage is where the performance takes place and the performers and the audience are present. When teachers decide who is a ratified participant and what is a relevant activity, a legitimate topic and a legitimate language to be used, they are also administering what can be placed at the front. In the backstage, facts, contributions, topics and languages which are not evaluated, which are not considered a legitimate part of the class, may appear."

are quite positive. Her remarks focus mainly on the newcomer's interaction with other children and the way the newcomer overcomes his language deficit by using other resources such as gesturing.

Excerpt_4_2

TE: oui je crois au niveau de l'intégration ça c'est déjà dès la première journée il était très ouvert il a déjà parlé avec les autres enfants, aussi en récréation parce que j'ai toujours les surveillances les mercredis donc je regarde un peu où est-ce qu'il est, s'il est touj(ours), la première journée par exemple j'ai vraiment fait attention qu'il n'est pas tout seul, mais il y a toujours des enfants autour de lui, aussi des autres cas, il joue avec tout le monde donc, il communique avec les gestes donc il n'est jamais un enfant seul, il n'est jamais seul donc je crois qu'il va très bien s'intégrer dans la classe et au niveau de la langue je crois ça va se faire automatiquement donc j'ai pas de souci.

Claire's remarks here are twofold. On the one hand, she is satisfied because the newcomer, Nuno, is never alone. It is therefore implied that he is perceived as a social being from the very beginning. On the other hand, she mentions the question of the language. This issue, she thinks, will be resolved "automatically" so she is not worried about it. Her remarks imply that by the constant interaction with other children, Nuno will learn the language without effort. In truth however, Nuno is and will be making a huge effort to learn the language, which in fact is not just one (i.e. Luxembourgish), but two, taking into account the literacy language (i.e. German). He is also making a big effort trying to access participation and its resources in the classroom. Finally, the teacher does not appear, at this stage, as a potential threat or gatekeeper for the newcomer, which could also happen, as we will see later on in this chapter.

An additional perspective on the newcomer's arrival is brought to us by the teacher at the "foyer du jour" or daycare centre (Julie). This centre, located in the same school, takes care of the children in the afternoons until the parents come to

fetch their children. This place is still a formal space where the rules of the school, or similar rules, may apply, nonetheless it has some hybrid characteristics. Children may spend time not just doing homework, but also having lunch and playing freely. In the following excerpts, Julie describes the centre and Nuno's first moments in this new space.

Excerpt_4_3

20081113_Interview_Foyer_teacher

The excerpt 4.3. reveals that Nuno spends a lot of time in this daycare centre, where he learns and interacts with children other than those of his classroom (none of whom visited the centre at that moment). Unfortunately, it was impossible to collect visual data⁸² in this centre due to parental restrictions.

TF: bah les jours quand il y a deux fois l'école il vient eh, de douze heures et demi jusqu'à deux heures, et alors de quatre heures jusqu'à dix-huit heures, et, quand il vient seulement une fois, l'école, il vient de eh, douze et demi jusqu'à dix-huit heures

In the next excerpt (excerpt 4.4.), Julie describes the types of activities done by the children who come to the “foyer” or daycare centre. It is important to remark that we perceived this place as a much more monolingual space than the classroom. The government directs daycare centres and their “default” language is the national language or Luxembourgish. “Default” language here is taken to mean the language that is supported and legitimated by the system in this specific place (daycare centre) and by the teacher. In this case, Luxembourgish was the language expected and

⁸² Audiovisual recordings of the children's interactions in the daycare centre were not initially planned. However, after some observations in this centre, I tried to gather some audiovisual recording with the aim of adding this data to the classroom interaction data. Unfortunately, parental and teacher restrictions were stronger in this place, as already mentioned in Chapter Three of this thesis.

desired in this space⁸³. It is, again, a new challenge for Nuno as he is entering this new “universe” where he also has to fit in. In order to do so, he must understand the new rules for accessing participation, the legitimate resources and the symbolic capital needed for such.

Excerpt_4_4

TF: On fait les devoirs, d'abord après le repas on sort un petit peu pour eh, pour recevoir à nouveau un peu d'énergie pour après faire les devoirs, et puis, et, il, on fait, eh, des activités des projets sur des thèmes n'importe, le prochain projet que je vais faire c'est la famille mais aussi parfois on fait du bricolage maintenant on a fait du bricolage pour le bazar, et, je raconte aussi des histoires avec des livres d'images, et, maintenant pour la saint Nicolas on va aussi chanter des, des chansons en luxembourgeois, pour la saint Nicolas donc, et oui eh, quand les grands font encore les devoirs je reste avec eux et alors les petits ou les enfants qui ont déjà fini les devoirs peuvent jouer à ce qu'ils veulent.

Excerpt 4.5. below provides a description of Nuno's first day at the daycare centre, and thus of how he is welcomed. Julie does not stress any special activity, comment or feelings of empathy concerning the newcomer's first day. She mentions how she saw a member of his family and somehow she argues that she had limited information about the child. Whilst her remarks about the lack of information provided by Nuno's father do not seem a critique at this stage, in other interviews she will criticize the father and his attitude more severely. Among the information she was given is the fact that Nuno doesn't speak Luxembourgish, the main resource for gaining access to participation and other resources in this new space. There is no special mention of any extra activities to welcome Nuno in this new space and community. Apparently Nuno was not legitimately introduced to his new classmates.

⁸³ Le « Centre de Animations Pédagogiques et de Loisirs » (CAPEL : <http://www.capel.lu>) is in charge of the nurseries, daycare centres, and free time activities for children between 5-12 of age. No language policy regarding daycare centres is specified in their web page and / or documentation.

Excerpt_4_5

TF: eh le premier jour j'ai vu son beau père, et, bon, il m'a pas beaucoup dit eh j'ai les informations, je les ai reçu de la graduée, ici du foyer, je savais qu'il vient du brésil et qu'il peut pas, qu'il comprend pas la langue d'ici le luxembourgeois, et, beaucoup plus je ne savais pas ((laughs))

Finally, Julie comments concerning Nuno's progress are in line with those of Claire cited above. She is quite optimistic about Nuno's progress, given his behaviour and aptitude. Whenever Nuno needs or wants to participate in this community, language, she observes, does not restrict his access completely, as he uses other resources such as gesturing.

Excerpt_4_6

RE: ehm, ehm, par votre expérience, eh, qu'est que vous pensez qu'il va dans dans dans, pensons dans toute l'année scolaire, eh, qu'il va il va bien se débrouiller, il va bien apprendre les autres langues?

TF: oui je pense qu'il apprend bien, maintenant s'il ne comprend s'il ne parle pas maintenant, toutes les phrases dans dans correctes, maintenant mais je pense qu'il va, il peut, eh, comment dire ça en français?

RE: se débrouiller

TF: il peut oui voilà se débrouiller, et, oui, avec les, quand il parle des trois années alors ça va mieux avec les phrases, mais, pour se débrouiller je pense que dans quelques mois il

RE: il va bien se

TF: oui oui parce que maintenant il sait déjà bien, eh, oui il essaye aussi avec les mains pour pour montrer alors ça va

We have seen how Julie has not mentioned any activity aimed at introducing Nuno to his new classmates. Somehow she may have contributed, either voluntarily or not, to a process of “decapitalising” (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) Nuno (and therefore his resources) by not stressing the “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1984) Nuno possessed on

his arrival to the new group or community or new “symbolic market” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

The primary differences, those which distinguish the major classes of conditions of existence, derive from the overall volume of capital, understood as the set of actually usable resources and powers – economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital. The distribution of the different classes (and class fractions) thus runs from those who are best provided with both economic and cultural capital to those who are most deprived in both respects. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 114)

Even though Julie has not stressed the “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1984) possessed by the newcomer on his arrival, she remains positive regarding Nuno’s behaviour in this new community and so far she does not represent any potential threat or limitation for Nuno’s access to symbolic resources in this new community.

4.3. THE FIRST “CONFLICTS” ON THE PERIPHERY

4.3.1. Defining “periphery”

My use of the concept of “periphery” leans upon different complementary sources. I conceive of periphery as defined by Lave & Wenger (1991) in a more developmental sense, thus not as being primarily related to space, but regarded as a positive process related to participation:

Peripherality suggests that there are multiple, varied, more- or less-engaged and –inclusive ways of being located in the fields of participation defined by a community. Peripheral participation is about being located in the social world. *Changing* locations and perspectives are part of actors’ learning trajectories, developing identities, and forms of membership. (*italics in original*, p. 35-36)

And they go on:

[...] *peripherality* is also a positive term, [...] The partial participation of newcomers is by no means “disconnected” from the practice of

interest. Furthermore, it is also a dynamic concept. In this sense, peripherality, when it is enabled, suggests an opening, a way of gaining access to sources for understanding through growing involvement.” (*italics in original*, p. 37)

On the other hand, my understanding of “peripherality” is not simply as a condition or dynamic concept, but also as a place where one, voluntarily or coerced, interacts with a certain degree of freedom. This understanding of peripherality is in a way similar to the concept of “îles de liberté” (Bourdieu, 1982). These islands or zones of freedom constitute spaces where liberties can be taken as one profits from not being watched. Goffman (1959) studied a similar space and he named it “back regions” or backstage. These back regions are “where people assemble the props and prepare themselves for interaction in more formal settings.” (Giddens, 2009, p. 268). When applied to the classroom, this backstage can be understood as a place where secondary interactions are somehow “marginalized”, whilst still remaining a place of some liberty.

I could say that Nuno is, at this moment, positioned on a kind of “double periphery”. On the one hand, he is on a periphery regarding access to symbolic resources, participation and ultimately a kind of membership, but on the other he is also on a periphery when he is participating with other members in a backstage space where he has more liberty to receive, for instance, a translation of the teacher’s commands or to use his own symbolic resources such as Portuguese. Later, I demonstrate how the mixture or transition from either periphery to centre and backstage to frontstage spaces produces possible “conflicts” or adjustments between the community members, the teacher and the newcomer.

The first weeks for Nuno and the classroom community are crucial for understanding the later development of both. These first weeks represent what I could call “adjustments” that the community, the teacher and the newcomer must perform in

order to accommodate each other and re-negotiate the access to resources and classroom rules or regulations. At this stage Nuno is a “by-stander” (in Goffman’s terms) on the periphery of the community, as he does not yet possess the “access key” to participation, namely the legitimate language (Luxembourgish). Judging by the comments of the teachers and Nuno’s own observations, however, it seems that he is nonetheless trying to learn this language as quickly as possible. At the same time, he is also trying to access participation in any way available, particularly through non-verbal language or gesturing. As a result Nuno has been placed in a new environment where he is confronted with a new relationship in the “symbolic market” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977); one in which the system or structure, including Nuno’s teacher and peers, position him automatically as inferior. The old-timers in this community represent the superior members, as they possess not only the potential access to full participation and its resources but are also legitimated speakers. As such, they also have an important and potential role in Nuno’s access to participation and eventual membership, since they possess the language as well as the experience of the community.

The next excerpt (excerpt 4.7.) is taken from an interview with Claire, who notices what I will call “conflicts” as Nuno moves along this periphery. Nuno seems keen to participate, but his lack of means renders him somehow violent towards the other members of the classroom community, at least from the teacher’s perspective.

Excerpt 4_7
20081029_Interview_Main teacher

TE: oui je crois oui, il y a je crois son grand problème est qu'il ne peut pas communiquer avec eux comme ça donc parfois je je vois vraiment qu'il est très qu'il devient agressif carrément, donc il est vraiment, par exemple, au niveau c'est seulement un bon exemple c'est seulement avec les crayons donc, s'il prend un crayon, par exemple, il veut prendre un autre crayon, il ne fait pas, il ne dit pas non c'est à moi, il fait directement um, comme ça ((gesturing)), donc, il est très,

parce que je crois c'est parce qu'il n'a pas la langue pour communiquer il utilise d'autres choses et là je dois vraiment parfois dire eh non c'est fini, tu ne dois pas faire comme ça, et alors il le comprend aussi mais parfois il ne comprend pas si les autres enfants me disent aussi parfois oui mais il ne comprend pas, mais avec sur sa table ça va mais il y a par exemple les garçons qui veulent alors, parler avec lui et, oui c'est ça c'est une barrière pour lui je crois, la langue, mais ça va venir avec le temps là j'ai remarqué un peu dans son comportement, mais, donc en récréation c'est pas le cas mais par exemple seulement des petites choses qu'il ne comprend pas tout de suite ((inaudible)) il devient vraiment, il frappe ou il, il pousse quelqu'un donc ça j'ai vraiment remarqué

The teacher, Claire, is stressing Nuno's "violent" attitude, but at the same time her discourse is excusing him because he does not possess the resources to communicate properly. Learning to speak and being able to speak in the community of practice are important factors for full membership (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Learning, however, must be preceded by a predisposition on the part of the agent, who is structured socio-politically and also the classroom. According to Bourdieu (1977), this "propensity to acquire the dominant usage is a function of the chances of access to the markets on which that usage has a value, and the chances succeeding in them." (p. 656).

Taking into account Claire's remarks on the kind of impotence Nuno suffers when it comes to communication, as documented above, it seems that this "propensity" in Nuno is quite strong, but that he does not know how to manage it for now; the situation clearly demands too much of him. Even if he uses a lot of gesturing, it seems that this is not always enough. This accounts for his aggressive behaviour towards his peers, which, in turn, poses a threat to himself and his process of "integration" into the classroom community. So far Claire feels empathy for Nuno and his momentary lack of legitimated symbolic resources. For this reason, she does not repress his aggression via stronger "gatekeeping" or even possible "censorship" (particularly in Goffman's sense).

An interesting example of ‘conflicts’ in classroom interaction took place in an “introduction to Science” lesson in Portuguese. A fact worth mentioning is that the vast majority of the children in that classroom were speakers of the continental Portuguese variety. Nuno, the newcomer, is a speaker of another Portuguese variety, the Brazilian one. This may be not so obvious for an external observer, but it was in fact one issue for the relationship between the newcomer and the rest of the Portuguese speaking community in the first weeks as the Portuguese teacher, henceforth “Izabel”, explains in the next section (excerpt 4.8.). This fact was particularly relevant during the introduction to Sciences in Portuguese, where Portuguese was the legitimate language and main means of communication. Izabel spoke continental Portuguese although she declared, on several occasions, that she valued and legitimated all varieties of Portuguese in her classroom.

Excerpt_4_8
Portuguese_20081113_10_00_Camera_1
1_Começa o espectáculo (the show begins)
'36:58 -'38:06
Background information.



As mentioned above, the following excerpt was recorded in the Sciences and Portuguese class. Children at this school can choose to attend the Science class (i.e., “éveil aux Sciences”) in a heritage language such as Portuguese or Italian. In this case, they are in the first of the two hours that are allocated for Portuguese and “éveil aux Sciences” together. In the first part of the lesson, the children draw a picture of themselves. In the second half, they are supposed to show and explain the picture to the rest of the class. In this extract, Nuno is selected to show his drawing. During this explanation he was confronted with the reaction of his peers.

In order to analyse the following audiovisual and ‘conflictive’ excerpt, I basically draw on the concepts of legitimate periphery, legitimate participant, linguistic and cultural capital and participation, all in relation to access to resources in the classroom routine including turn-taking, code-switching, errors and their repercussions. I try to grasp the interaction in this concrete situation where one specific participant, a newcomer to the classroom (and a new community to the newcomer), is taking the opportunity to speak (frontstage) in front of the whole community: the Portuguese language classroom. As I have already mentioned, a relevant issue to stress here is that the newcomer comes from Brazil whereas the majority of the children, including the teacher, are from Portugal. A linguistic variety differing from Nuno’s is therefore the dominant one. This may even be the first time that the majority of these children hear this Brazilian variety of Portuguese.

I have divided the following excerpt into four parts in order to comment upon it step by step. The first part documents how Nuno confronts the group and the first reaction of both parties, that is to say, on the one hand Nuno and his peers and on the other the teacher. The second part deals with Nuno’s doubts regarding legitimized participation in view of the group’s reaction. The third demonstrates how Nuno achieves the main part of the task (i.e., the description of his drawing). And finally, the last part is characterized by Izabel’s performance and evaluative comments, both on Nuno’s presentation and the students’ drawings.

4_8a.

001 SAR: ((Sara sits down after her presentation))
 002 NUN: ((raising his hand and shouting) ECH! EU!)
 ((raising his hand and shouting) ME! ME!)
 003 TEA: agora pode ser o Nuno
 now Nuno can

004 NUN: ((trying to get up and possibly making a joke of it))=
 005 AFO:=((to Nuno) inaudible)
 =((to Nuno) inaudible)
 006 OTH: ((to all) começa o espectáculo)
 ((to all) *the show begins*)
 007 NUN: ((coming up front slowly))
 008 OTH: ((to all) começa o espectáculo)
 ((to all) *the show begins*)
 009 NUN: ((stopping and looking at the children))
 010 TEA: ((touching Nuno on the arm))

The first moments of this excerpt are marked by the way Nuno attempts to access direct participation in the classroom. In line 2 Nuno is not just raising his hand as the other children around him are doing, but he is also shouting “me, me”. Interestingly, even if (in Goffman’s terms) the legitimate frontstage language in this classroom is Portuguese, Nuno shouts first in Luxembourgish before self-correcting and repeating his request in Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, Izabel selects Nuno as the next legitimate participant (line 3). Right then (line 4) Nuno starts a kind of pantomime pretending to be unable to get up from his place (the children were seated on the floor). The children around him reacted and some others commented on Nuno’s presentation as the newcomer made his way to the teacher (lines 5-8). Nuno didn’t seem to appreciate these comments that categorized him as a “showman” or as different from the others so he looked at the group seriously and remained silent for a moment (line 9). Izabel standing by his side, then tried to reassure Nuno by touching his arm, thus signalling her support and legitimating him as a participant in counteraction to the “delegitimization” (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) of his peers (line 10).

4_8b.

011 NUN: ((opens his notebook and shows his drawing of
 012 himself))
 013 OTH: ((laughs))
 014 NUN: ((closes his notebook))
 015 FAB: [((clapping his hands))
 016 TEA: [olha / não podes tapar / se não nós não vemos! ((opens
 look / you can't hide / if so we can't see! ((opens
 017 notebook with the help of Nuno))
 notebook with the help of Nuno))
 018 NUN: ((opens his notebook))
 019 TEA: temos (inaudible)((helping Nuno to set his notebook))
 we have (inaudible)((helping Nuno to set his notebook)
 020 não te tapes! quem é que está aqui?
 don't cover yourself! who is the one in here?
 021 OTH: ((laughs))

In the second part of the excerpt (lines 11-12), Nuno is showing his work to the classroom community. By laughing outright at Nuno's work, the class can be seen to delegitimize Nuno's participation completely (line 13). Nuno's first reaction to this "attack" is, one could say, to "save face" (Cf., Goffman's notion of face, 1982). Nuno tries to save face by closing his notebook, which should put an end to both the aggression and the activity itself (line 14). Some members of the classroom applaud, possibly surprised by such behaviour in a frontstage space (line 15). At the same time the teacher reminded Nuno that by accessing this frontstage space, ratifying him as a legitimate participant, he had given his agreement to participate in it (line 16). She even opened Nuno's notebook herself since she had to play her role as teacher (line 16-17). Nuno then opened his notebook himself (line 18) and Izabel began contextualizing the activity (lines 19-20), while other children started to laugh once again at the sight of Nuno's drawing (line 21).

4_8c.

022 TEA: diz lá / apresenta-te
say it / introduce yourself

023 NUN: <<low voice> eu sou Nuno / tenho olhos castanhos>
<<low voice> I am Nuno / I have brown eyes>

024 TEA: <<repeating> eu sou Nuno / tenho olhos castanhos / e
<<repeating> I am Nuno / I have brown eyes / and

025 mais? quantos anos tenho?
more? how old I am?

026 RUB: (essa barriga preta)
(that black belly)

027 NUN: (sete)
(seven)

028 TEA: sete anos?
seven years?

029 NUN: ((nods))

030 RUB: (essa barriga) (inaudible)
(that black) (inaudible)

031 TEA: olha lá ((pointing on the notebook))
look there ((pointing on the notebook))

032 RUB: essa barriga amarela
that yellow belly

033 OTH: [((laughs))]

034 OTH: não é [(inaudible)]!
it is not [(inaudible)]!

Izabel then continued to support the activity by asking Nuno to start his description (line 22) and finally Nuno uttered his first words. The newcomer's low tone (line 23) was not valid for a frontstage situation, therefore Izabel repeated his words aloud so the group could hear them (line 24) and continued to encourage Nuno to elaborate his description (line 25). Meanwhile Nuno's "delegitimization" persisted in the background as classmates joked about the drawing (line 26). Nuno kept this low almost inaudible tone (line 27) when telling his age. It is as if the teacher had to pull the words out of Nuno's mouth instead of Nuno himself voluntarily providing his own description. Some members even go as far as to ridicule Nuno overtly as if they

were in a backstage space. The teacher, we note, fails to intervene directly (lines 30-34).

4_8d.

- 035 TEA: [o retrato do Nuno / está parecido com ele / não está?
[the portrait of Nuno / resembles him / doesn't it?
- 036 OTH: está
it does
- 037 TEA: está / sim / todos os retratos estão muito parecidos
it does / yes / all your portraits are very similar
- 038 convosco
to you all
- 039 NUN: ((holding the notebook and looking down))
- 040 TEA: não queres dizer mais nada Nuno?
don't you want to say anything more Nuno?
- 041 NUN: ((negates with his head))
- 042 TEA: não / podes te sentar
no / you can sit down
- 043 NUN: ((sits down))

This last section of the interaction is characterized by the teacher's attempt to engage the classroom community in a recapitulative evaluation of Nuno's short description of his drawing. Izabel's attempt to support Nuno's drawing is seconded by a number of pupils (lines 35-36), and the teacher extends this positive evaluation to all the pupils' drawings (line 37-38). The activity concludes with the teacher asking the newcomer if he would like to add anything else (line 40). Nuno's gesture of negation (line 41) stands in direct contrast with the beginning of this excerpt, where he was so keen to participate that he cried out loud (line 2).

One of the main concerns of being a member in a community, in this case the Portuguese language community in the classroom, if we can call it such, is that the newcomer has to learn to talk as a full member so he/she can be engaged in practice. In order to be engaged in practice, the newcomer first has to have access to practice

from the periphery. Gaining such access, however, can create a conflict between those who support the newcomer and those who don't. In the example provided above we see how Nuno is put under pressure by the mockery of his peers, which impedes his performance. The problem here is that if Nuno doesn't participate, he cannot become a fully fledged member of the community and benefit from the learning opportunities this would entail. To some extent the teacher mediates between Nuno and the community, in particular those peers who, through their derisive behaviour, limit Nuno's "integration" into the classroom community. We can see the tension between the two parties involved in the conflict, those who support the newcomer in becoming a full member and those who prefer to leave him on the periphery, limiting his access by their mockery. The problem of having one's movement blocked on the periphery is that one might well eventually stay in such a "marginal" position (Wenger, 1998) where accessing participation is even more difficult. Another potential issue regarding these conflicts and delegitimization is the possible link between social identification and academic learning (Wortham, 2006). The delegitimization and relegation of a pupil's person and contribution may have a serious effect on his or her academic achievement.

The next excerpt (excerpt 4.9.), which took place on the same day, exemplifies some of the first conflicts Nuno encountered as a "periphery member" of the classroom. In this case the lesson is German, the language of instruction. This excerpt is essential as the teacher, here Claire, is legitimating Nuno's rapid movement from the periphery to the centre or in this case the frontstage, allowing him to continue the lesson and to take the role of the teacher for a short period of time. We must bear in mind the situation Nuno is being placed in, despite the fact that he only arrived a fortnight ago, the semester has already started and Nuno has a very limited

knowledge of German. As we will see, Nuno's limited resources do not stop him from taking on the role of "substitute" teacher, a challenging role and a situation which other old-timers may use to "attack" Nuno.

Excerpt_4_9

SEVERAL_20081113_Camera_2

1_Nuno macht weiter (Continue Nuno)

'14:44 -'16:23

Background information.



The pupils are sitting in a corner of the classroom and form a circle. They are working on a literacy task in German. Basically, Claire shows a picture and then selects one pupil to say aloud the word related to the picture. The child then has to put the picture in one of the three places depending on where the accent is. At one point, Claire has to talk briefly to another teacher in the doorway of the classroom and she selects Nuno as a 'substitute' teacher to take over the activity whilst she withdraws to the doorway (at the threshold of the classroom). Nuno appears the ideal candidate, as he was the one who was previously holding and handing her the cards during the activity. The next transcription reflects the interactions in the new space created by Claire's absence; a new backstage space for the teacher, yet a frontstage one for the newcomer and the other pupils.

4_9a.

001 TEA: ok / bleib sitzen / bleib sitzen
ok / remain seated / remain seated

002 ((teacher stands up and walks to the door))

003 MIG: joffer [(inaudible)
teacher [(inaudible)

004 NUN: [((making a noise while he is slowly showing
005 one card to the others))

006 TEA: Nuno hei / Nuno macht weiter! gut idee Nuno!

Nuno here / Nuno keep going! good idea Nuno!

007 Afonso (inaudible) / Nuno macht weiter
 Afonso (inaudible) / Nuno keep going

008 OTH: den Afonso de chef!
 Afonso the boss!

The first part of the interaction corresponds to the section where Claire selects Nuno as a kind of “substitute” teacher. In fact, this comes as a total surprise for Nuno, who, once the teacher left, intended his act of showing the cards to the pupils around him as a kind of game. In so doing, he can be interpreted either as a positive agent in the classroom or indeed as a subversive one (lines 4-5). Nuno was sitting, as usual, next to the teacher, who placed him there due to his limited language knowledge at this stage. By having Nuno holding the cards or helping her in any other way, I assume that she was probably more assured that he would not be bored or distracted due to his limited ability to understand the class routine. Furthermore, his being right next to her means that she could also assist him more easily. In this specific example, Nuno is selected as the main “agent” for the frontstage space probably because of a misunderstanding between the teacher and the newcomer (lines 4-6) but in any case this choice ratifies Nuno as a legitimate agent or member at that moment.

4_9b.

009 NUN: bleibt setzen! bleibt setzen Fabio!
 remain seated! remain seated Fabio!

010 MAX: ((approaching Nuno to see the cards))

011 NUN: ((hiding the cards) hal op!)
 ((hiding the cards) stop it!)

012 MAX: (inaudible)

013 TEA: ((from a distance) Nuno macht weiter!)
 ((from a distance) Nuno keep going!)

014 MIG: ((picking a card from Max hands) neee!)
 ((picking a card from Max hands) noooo!)

015 ((offers it to Nuno) hei!)

((offers it to Nuno) here!))

016 FAB: *((picks the card from Miguel) toma-la (inaudible)*
((picks the card from Miguel) take it (inaudible)

017 MAX: *((recovering the card) nee ech muss deen nach soen)*
((recovering the card) no I still have to say that one)

018 NUN: *((trying to get the card back) nee! nee!*
((trying to get the card back) noo! noo!

019 *((gets the card back))*
((gets the card back))

020 OTH: nee
noo

021 MAX: *(loss der dach soen!)*
(listen to me!)

022 FAB: não / *((index finger up) o Nuno faze)*
no / *((index finger up) Nuno is doing it)*

023 MAX: *(inaudible)*

Even though Nuno was selected by chance for the frontstage, he does not doubt it and immediately accepts the offer by telling off some classroom members in Luxembourgish (lines 9 & 11). This sudden change in Nuno's footing (Goffman, 1974) and his new role in the classroom are not accepted immediately by all classroom members who are used to seeing him in an inferior position. As the unrest is obvious, the teacher once more legitimizes Nuno as the principal actor or agent from a distance (line 13). Several small conflicts around one card occur (lines 14-19) where, basically, two classroom members support Nuno as the principal actor and try to give him back one card while a third member is opposed to this. In answer to several complaints originating from this third member, one of the two main supporters counters in Portuguese by stating that Nuno is the one "doing" (line 22), thus it is he who is in charge. The language of communication in this last statement is quite fascinating as it is Portuguese and the receiver of the message does not understand it, as he is not a Portuguese speaker.

4_9c.

024 NUN: ((showing a card to the class))

025 SUN: ech ech ech
me me me

026 ALL: ((raising hands))

027 NUN: Sergio
Sergio

028 OTH: lama!
llama!

029 SER: DAS lama
THE llama

030 NUN: ((gives card to Sergio))

031 TEA: ((coming back and giving some instructions) nohannen
((coming back and giving some instructions) backwards

032 nohannen nohannen nohannen nohannen nohannen nohannen /
backwards backwards backwards backwards backwards

033 Sunita / Sergio nohannen)
backwards / Sunita / Sergio backwards)

Excerpt 4.9c documents Nuno's main attempts to direct the activity he is in charge of. He tries to imitate the teacher by showing the card (line 24), waiting for the children to raise their hands (line 26), and naming the pupil he wishes to provide him with the correct answer (line 27). In the end, someone else gives the answer away (line 28) although it is the legitimated speaker who stresses the gender of the word (line 29). Nuno then proceeds to give the card to the speaker (line 30). Finally, the teacher returns telling the children to "go back", as they were no longer forming a wide circle but a very closed one (lines 31-33).

4_9d.

034 NUN: ((pointing to the cards on the floor and looking at the
((pointing to the cards on the floor and looking at the

035 teacher) ja joffer?)
teacher) yes teacher?)

036 TEA: ja

yes

037 OTH: *nohannen
backwards*

038 TEA: *Max hei
here Max*

039 NUN: *((keeps showing the cards))
((keeps showing the cards))*

040 TEA: *Celia!
Celia!*

041 TEA: *((sits down and takes the cards from Nuno) ist da denn
((sits down and takes the cards from Nuno) is there*

042 *ein A))
an A))*

043 NUN: *joffer ((tries to get the cards back))
teacher ((tries to get the cards back))*

044 TEA: *nein nein / joffer / joffer / joffer ((moves the cards
no no / teacher / teacher / teacher ((moves the cards*

*away))
away))*

045 MAX: *((touching Nuno with a weird dance))*

046 NUN: *<<aloud> hal op Max!>
<<aloud> stop it Max!>*

047 TEA: *((continues the activity))*

This last extract documents the transfer of power between the newcomer and the teacher. Nuno's first reaction is to ask Claire if the cards are displayed correctly (lines 34-35). He tries to continue with the activity (line 39) and once the teacher realizes that Nuno does not intend to stop simply because she has re-appeared on the scene, she tries to get the cards back (lines 41-42). Nuno resists and tries to get the cards again (line 43) yet this forces Claire to tell Nuno quite explicitly, but also via her gestures, that she is the one managing the cards now (line 44). This minor tug of war does not appear to have any negative effects on how the teacher views the newcomer. The same cannot be said of certain classroom members, who seem to relish Nuno's "defeat" (line 45).

The importance of this excerpt lies in the fact that the newcomer becomes a substitute teacher for a few seconds, thus he takes over the management of the whole class, which is a big responsibility for him at this stage. As some of the classroom members accept this fact and others don't, tension ensues. It is also noteworthy that Claire selects Nuno to continue the activity in spite of her awareness of his limited ability to speak Luxembourgish at this stage (lines 6-7). It would, perhaps, have been more sensible to select another child; one more able to communicate with the classroom community. Regarding such situations, Lave & Wenger (1991, p. 109) state "For newcomers then the purpose is not to learn *from* talk as a substitute for legitimate peripheral participation; it is to learn *to* talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation" (italics in original). The power of the teacher in the legitimization of the newcomer is also evident. She chose to place and ratify Nuno "frontstage" even though he neither asked for this, nor possesses the best resources to accomplish the task. However, it is thanks to this type of assistance that he can possibly have more opportunities to participate and therefore access the resources required in order to become a full participant in the near future. Interactions of this type also constitute a means of resisting the social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1977; Boudieu & Passeron, 1977) of certain systems such as school, where those with more symbolic resources maintain this secure position, negating all access to those with less symbolic / material resources and negating, equally, any chance of "meritocracy", not only in schools but in society in general.

Although being placed "frontstage" is not all that is required in order to access these resources, the newcomer has to be an agent himself and draw from his own resources in order to take advantage of the opportunity. As we have seen, this chance, like many others, is not totally easy for him, and so whilst he may, on the one hand,

lean on the support of certain classroom members, he is also confronted with the resistance of others.

4.3.2. Nuno's first positioning in the new "community"

The analysis conducted so far has drawn attention to some of the conflicts related to Nuno's presence and/or agentivity in the new community. Both he and the community, in a reciprocal process, are starting to get to know each other and position themselves particularly in relation to each other during these first weeks. When Claire was asked about the main features that characterize Nuno, what struck her most was his strict behaviour regarding himself: *"il est très très critique par rapport à soi même"*. It seems that Nuno has a history of setting his standards very high, which he continues to do in this new context. At this stage it looks to us as if he is well motivated to succeed in school and may overcome the obstacles and limitations the system or "structure" may place in his way.

According to Bourdieu (1977), one's position in the social structure defines the position one may occupy within interactions: "The specific characteristics of the work of linguistic production depend on the linguistic production relation inasmuch as the latter is the actualisation of the objective power relations (e.g. class relations) between two speakers (or the groups to which they belong)." (p. 651). Therefore Nuno has to "fight" the position assigned to him by the community now and co-negotiate a new relationship.

Excerpt 4_10

20081029_Interview_Main teacher

TE: [...] il me redonne tout, donc il arrache aussi son son prénom là bas, il arrache aussi souvent, eh, oui il me redonne tout et après c'est aussi bon comme comme tu as vu il m'a aussi redonné les cartons, ((inaudible)) ma place sur mon sur mon bureau, et après c'est bon,

donc je le laisse toujours, et je vois toujours que ça c'est une bonne solution parce que après c'est bon, ou par exemple, mais ça c'est son père m'a aussi dit qu'il est très très critique par rapport à soi-même, par exemple quand il a fait une faute, eh, comme tu as vu en allemand, il a, c'était j'ai dit au... tu dois changer ça mais c'est pas grave donc il y a partout il y a partout des enfants (avec) des fautes, c'est pas grave, donc, moi j'ai dit seulement, ah j'ai fait une croix, tu dois changer et après c'est bon, c'était le premier qui avait fini aussi, la petite fille ah avait aussi les mêmes fautes et et il est il est vraiment comme ça, ah non, et c'est que mais je crois ça c'est plutôt dans son caractère parce que son père m'a dit qu'il est aussi comme ça, il doit toujours être tout doit être parfait, donc il veut tout être il ne veut pas donner des fautes, aussi par exemple, que j'ai remarqué hier en éducation physique, donc là, il n'étaient pas très sage avec les autres, il y avait trois garçons qui n'était pas très sages, alors j'ai dit je vais mettre vos prénoms au milieu, si ça ne va pas, et par exemple il y a parfois, il y a toujours des enfants qui sont au milieu mais il veut se mettre directement au cochon et il a pris il a pris son nom, il l'a mis sur le cochon, il a directement enlevé son lego, remis dans dans dans dans le carton, et alors j'ai demandé aux enfants aux autres enfants qu'est-ce qu'il a dit, et ils ils ont dit ah il a dit qu'il n'était pas sage qu'il n'a qu'il n'a qu'il ne veut pas le lego. Et après j'ai longtemps parlé avec lui pour qu'il reprend vraiment son lego et après c'était bon, donc il est très critique par rapport à soi-même, donc il ne veut pas faire des fautes, il veut toi tout tout doit être correct, et, oui, ça j'ai vraiment remarqué mais mon père son père m'a dit que que c'est comme ça aussi à la maison et comme ça c'était aussi dans son pays d'origine, tout doit être parfait pour lui donc [...]

Both the routines of “placing the name in the middle” and being a “cochon” (pig) are part of a classroom policy of good behaviour. A comprehensive explanation of this is provided in the chapter on methodology (Cf. Chapter 3).

Nuno’s “self-critical” behaviour does not pass by unnoticed by the other agents in the classroom, that is to say by the teacher and the rest of the children. The teacher seems to take a more flexible view of Nuno’s mistakes than Nuno himself. Nuno’s attitude may prove, to the whole community and by extension to us, that he is the agent and wants to be the agent in his own learning process in the new school as he is the one demanding more of himself, more even than the teacher. This is how he positions himself in this community from the very beginning.

Finally, Claire underlines the fact that it is only lessons in Luxembourgish which have a negative effect on Nuno's behaviour. As this is something that the whole class is aware of, the teacher usually leaves Nuno alone, allowing him to remain physically peripheral to the other children (sitting in a circle in a corner) until he decides when he wishes to participate.

Excerpt_4_11

TE: [...] c'était sûrement intéressant avec les cours en luxembourgeois comment il a réagi donc, c'est toujours quand on fait de Luxembour(g) et je sais je sais déjà parce que les autres écrivent déjà "sarabina" et alors il sait déjà en luxembourgeois dans le cercle, et là il ne plus jamais participe donc, je le, je le laisse toujours sur sa place [...]

With respect to this voluntary non-participatory stance, Mehan (1998) states that "Not every instance of student misbehaviour is a case of resistance [...] Subject to multiple interpretations from multiple perspectives, it is not always clear when action is resistance, deviance, or conformance to an alternative code of conduct." (p. 261) The teacher's view of this situation does not provoke more conflict than is already present. It seems to us that the teacher does not know the reason why Nuno acts this way only in the Luxembourgish language lesson. Nor does she interpret his behaviour negatively as resistance. Indeed, it seems that the empathy she feels for Nuno motivates her to allow him to join the group whenever he feels ready to.

The Luxembourgish lesson may be the one of most relevance for Nuno at this stage in the school curriculum. Luxembourgish is one of the 'keys' for legitimizing his participation in the classroom community, given its legitimization as one of the dominant languages in the language market, a status it enjoys as it is the main oral (vehicular) language of the teacher and the school. The dominant language secures access to markets (Bourdieu, 1977), therefore it is vital for Nuno to feel empathy (and

determination to participate) with this lesson as soon as possible. It is also true that other languages (i.e. standard German and, later, standard French), especially in their written form, are the ones that provide educational success and therefore access to the markets. However, for Nuno at this stage Luxembourgish is both a resource for “social integration” in the classroom community and a resource for accessing the other languages, as frequently the directions in almost all subjects are given in Luxembourgish.

Excerpt_4_12

20081030_Interview_Portuguese_teacher

Izabel, The Portuguese teacher, is also a key for Nuno’s access to resources and full community membership. Even though they meet for merely two hours a week, she is the legitimated teacher for science in Portuguese classes. At this stage Izabel seemed to have a normal and professional relationship with Claire. A closer analysis of the discourse between the two, however, demonstrates that this relationship will change from January onwards. In the following excerpt Izabel tells us about the “first positioning” of Nuno in the new community.

TP: non non, au niveau de socialisation, ne rien, au contraire, il aide il aime, il aime bien aider aider les autres. J'ai vu qu'il y avait des enfants qui avaient pas encore mémorisé un peu une partie

RE: uhum

TP: “o coro”, eh, le refrain de la chanson et oui il a aidé a répéter, tout est comme ça, plusieurs fois et, qu'il aime bien aider même

She confirms that Nuno is an active agent in the classroom community, and notes that he even likes helping others during the lesson. These comments converge with those of Claire who also notices and appreciates Nuno’s active engagement in the classroom. This ‘partial freedom’, usually in a backstage space, maps onto Bourdieu’s

position on agency, as Erickson (2001) explains: “Bourdieu grounded his research program upon a conception of socially limited agency [...]”. “Socially limited agency” may be interpreted as the relative freedom Nuno enjoys when assisting some of his peers, especially in this backstage space, where he has the necessary resources or capital (i.e., Portuguese). In so doing, he adopts a different footing; one that positions him progressively as an important actor in the new community.

Even if Izabel is the one teacher to have spent the least time with Nuno so far given her restricted teaching assignment of two hours per week, her observations, particularly regarding Nuno’s active stance, are nonetheless also in line with the general comments of Julie, the daycare centre teacher, and Claire. When asked about the new languages Nuno is confronted with, she also believes that he is going to learn Luxembourgish and the ‘other’ languages easily.

Excerpt_4_13

TP: Je crois bien qu'il est, qu'il a pas des problèmes d'apprentissage ça ça j'en vois tout de suite que, il assimile vite, eh, on a chanté une chanson tout de suite il a retenu et, une petite histoire aussi, il est vif il est... participe activement et je crois bien que qu'il va bien s'engager qu'il va aussi apprendre le luxembourgeois et les autres langues facilement.

Finally, Izabel comments on the difference between the spoken varieties of Portuguese and Brazilian. Even if the teacher tries to mitigate such differences, they may nonetheless be of importance for Nuno, who, for example, originally uses the word ‘banheiro’ for toilet, but soon replaces it with the peninsular variety ‘casa de banho’.

Excerpt_4_14

TP: “Posso ir ao banheiro?” les autres enfants ils savent pas qu'est-ce que ça veut dire, aller “ao banheiro”, alors ça rigole mais qu'est-ce que ça veut dire aller “ao banheiro” et? C'est rigolo et j'explique, que comme il est de brésil il dit certaines mots et c'est intéressant, mais lui il se gêne pas du tout et les autres non plus c'est intéressant et je dit que c'est comme ça les langues, c'est une richesse culturelle.

At this stage Izabel (who speaks continental Portuguese) deals with lexical differences in a flexible relaxed way, playing down their significance. She comments on how the other members laugh at them, without apparently annoying Nuno and adds a comment that might be a reaction to the researcher's presence, the idea that languages constitute a cultural richness. In any case, it seems that she is not “gatekeeping”, sanctioning or confronting Nuno because of his variety of Portuguese, which could also be a potential cause of conflict regarding his peripheral position and footing.

Excerpt_4_15**20081113_Interview_foyer_teacher**

Concurring with the main teacher and Izabel, the daycare centre teacher (Julie) also notes that Nuno plays with all children, regardless of their mother tongue, origin, or age, although she had noticed that, lately, Nuno had a tendency to play more with the older children.

TF : Pas du tout timide ((laughs)) il parle avec les autres enfants il joue avec les enfants, même avec les petits il joue, normalement, les autres (grands) enfants que j'en ai ici dans le groupe, il ne joue maintenant pas tellement beaucoup avec les, petits, mais lui il, il joue vraiment avec tous les enfants même les petits même les grands, (mais) il parle maintenant plus avec les grands parce que cela il peu(ve), eh, eh, mieux, eh, traduire c'est comment j'ai dit comme les petits maintenant.

Excerpt 4_16
20081028_Interview_father

Nuno has a very close relationship with his stepfather, Rui. He is the one in charge of taking Nuno from home to school. He is also the one who picks him up after school. When we asked him for an interview he was extremely forthcoming. Nuno's mother, on the other hand, remained unavailable for an interview. It seemed that she was not only extremely busy but, as Claire informed us, she was also worried about being interviewed as her application for residency in Europe had not yet been approved. In the following excerpt, Nuno's stepfather stresses Nuno's motivation for succeeding at school at that moment. Nuno is so excited about his learning process that when he arrives home he wants to share this excitement with his family by taking on the role of "expert" and teaching his father what he himself has just learnt at school that day. Nuno's stepfather compares Nuno with his older sister in this respect.

FA : Il s'adaptait bien, eh, on a été à parler avec la professeur avant, il s'adaptait bien il est très content, très content, chaque jour qu'il arrive à la maison il dit j'ai appris à dire ça et ça moi je parle pas l'allemand, je comprends rien de c'est qu'il dit mais il m'explique, il me traduit, il me fait prononcer les mots, eh, il me corrige les mots et tout ça, tu dis pas bien, c'est pas comme ça c'est comme ça, eh, il est toujours, eh, je crois qu'il est il est, c'est ça que je dis à la professeur, il s'amuse, il s'amuse à ce moment il s'amuse à l'école, c'est pas que c'est pas la même façon que je trouve à sa sœur parce qu'il a une sœur meilleure qui a douze ans, elle est au lycée technique de Bonnevoie et pour elle je crois que c'est un peu déjà une obligation d'aller à l'école, lui non, il est toujours bien avec l'école, ((laughs)), pour lui il vient il viendrait à l'école les samedis, même au samedi, ((laughs)).

Nuno's father, we see, is aware of and transmits his son's excitement at the new reality around him. When Nuno comes home he is able to adopt a different role thanks to the knowledge he receives at school. He is able to position himself differently, to adopt a different "footing" (Goffman, 1981), and thereby reverse the

traditional father-son role. On this new footing, it is he who is the “expert” and his father is now forced to adopt a different footing, the inferior one of the “novice”, which is the one Nuno mostly experiences at school. This reversed footing may counterbalance the footing Nuno must adopt at school where he is not even able, for the most part, to communicate properly.

In the following excerpt (excerpt 4.17) we can see yet again how the stepfather is the one in charge of Nuno’s commuting between the school or daycare centre and home. Rui tells us how Nuno reports on every activity he has done during the whole school day. To some extent we can conclude that Nuno is very keen on participating in every single activity at school as well as at the daycare centre and that he likes reporting these activities back to his family.

Excerpt_4_17

FA : Normalement quand il arrive toujours, je vais le chercher au foyer maintenant à six heures, eh quand il arrive il dit toujours qu'est-ce qu'il a appris, eh, des mots, de nouveaux mots qu'il a appris et tout ça, eh, qu'est-ce qu'il a fait au foyer, s'il s'il va s'il va s'il va à la piscine ou s'il ne va pas, s'il va à la gymnastique ou s'il fait, il me raconte tout ((laughs)) toute sa journée ((laughs)).

4.3.3. The teacher as the mediator between the newcomer and the community members

Erickson (2001), in his article on language and discourse as social practice, and in relation to what he terms “co-membership”, states the following: “Consistently, by his use of irony rather than a more direct kind of negativity, the counsellor was doing what Goffman (1967: 47) called ‘face-work’- maintaining the student’s dignity in spite of the numerous ways in which what the student was doing (interactionally, as well as in terms of his student career) did not fit the standard expectations of the junior college.” (p. 172)

The term co-membership indirectly signals the influence of others in the co-construction of the participation framework, in particular others considered or positioned higher in the hierarchy. Teachers, thus, occupy a powerful role in the classroom as the representatives of the system or structure and they may mediate to either support the newcomer (through direct or indirect cues) or not. The following example (4.18) records a segment of interaction where the teacher supports the newcomer on two occasions. The first act of support is embedded in the usual classroom interaction whilst the second one is enacted in front of the whole classroom. We will also see a number of repair strategies used by the teacher after her mediation in support of Nuno's participation.

Excerpt 4_18
GERMAN_20081111_8_00_Camera_1
1_das bild 2 (the picture 2)
'16:46- '17:08
Background information.



The excerpt took place during the first lesson of the day. The children are making “Perlen” in the classroom. This consists of creating images from small plastic pieces (*Perlen* / “pearls”) between activities or in their free time once the other activities have successfully been completed. Some minutes later, the class started a vocabulary revision activity. The activity consisted of dividing the blackboard into three columns, each of which was reserved for one of the German grammatical genders (*der*, *die*, *das*). The teacher then showed the pupils a picture. If a pupil knew the gender, he / she had to raise his / her hand, and, if selected, say the word and the corresponding gender aloud. To conclude the activity, the pupil then has to place the picture in the correct column on the blackboard.

001 TEA: ((showing a card))

002 ALL: ((raising hands))

003 NUN: ((raising his hand and shouting)

004 joffer! joffer! joffer!)
teacher! teacher! teacher!)

005 SUN: ((standing up and raising hand) joffer! joffer!)
((standing up and raising hand) teacher! teacher!)

006 TEA: ((looking at Nuno) Nuno)
((looking at Nuno) Nuno)

007 NUN: <<slowly> das biield>
<<slowly> the piiicture>

008 TEA: sehr gut Nuno!
very good Nuno!

009 AFO: bah eh / emmer Nuno
bah eh / always Nuno

010 MAX: ((to Afonso) du wills es immer auch)
((to Afonso) you always want to)

011 TEA: hien muss d'wieder méi / dann hört mal zu / hien
he has to rehearse the words more / so listen / he

012 muss d'wieder méi oft üben wéi dir / hien war net
has to rehearse the words more often than you / he was

013 a(m) ufang vum den (vun der) schoul hei / hien muss
not here at the beginning of school / he has to rehearse

014 d'wieder vill méi oft üben wéi dir
the words much more often than you

015 TEA: hei ((takes up a new card)) / Afonso (kennst)
here ((takes up a new card)) / Afonso do you (know)

016 du das?
this?

017 AFO: das (inaudible) ((gets up and picks up the card))
the (inaudible) ((gets up and picks up the card))

Claire's strategies for supporting the newcomer, such as giving Nuno opportunities for participation or good evaluative comments, are apparently not welcomed by some classroom old-timers (line 9). When the conflict arises, Claire aligns herself with the newcomer (lines 11-14) but then selects as next speaker the old-timer who has just complained about the "special" treatment granted to the newcomer (lines 15-16).

Nuno's request to participate is louder than his fellow classmates (lines 3-4). For the moment, and due to his limited linguistic resources, he simply shouts "joffer" (teacher) several times in order to participate. The teacher selects him as the next speaker (line 6) and Nuno is able to say the right word and its corresponding gender (line 7). Claire's positive public evaluation of his performance (line 8) sparks the complaint of an old-timer, who protests about the fact that Nuno is "always chosen" (line 9). The quick reaction of another old-timer defends Nuno (line 10) by stating that Afonso always wants to be the "chosen one" as well. The reaction of Claire is also immediate, and she aligns herself with Nuno by stressing the fact that he was not at school from the beginning (lines 11-14). Claire's response is so effective that none of the children dare to contradict her. Finally Claire asks the complaining old-timer to be the next participant (lines 15-16). In so doing, she satisfies both parties and prevents further conflict.

We can see, in this extract, how the teacher tries to compensate for the newcomer's linguistic "deficit" by providing him with opportunities to participate. This "special" treatment provokes a reaction in other old-timers which the teacher then has to mediate. Teacher mediation may be essential to defend the interest and promote the progress of the newcomer in this community, especially in these first moments.

Excerpt_4_19
Luxembourgish_20081111_11_40_Camera_1
1_wann ech glift hier setzen (sit down here please)
'3:13 – '4:32
Background information.



This is an excerpt from the Luxembourgish language lesson, which usually takes place for one hour a week. Usually, the teacher takes the children to a corner in the classroom where, sitting on a carpet, she reads tales and distributes worksheets to be

colored in by the children. This extract documents one of the first Luxembourgish lessons as well as the routine that Nuno is not willing to take part in almost from his arrival. It is the only subject where he does not want to participate. Claire is already aware of the situation and thus allows Nuno to stay quiet and join the group whenever he wants to. This usually takes a few minutes, and in this case it took approximately three minutes from the start of the lesson. Claire had already alerted us to this situation even before we began to record.

((Nuno comes close to the group and stands up, looking at the teacher))

- 001 TEA: ((looking at Nuno) kenns de bei eis sëtzen?)
 ((looking at Nuno) do you come to sit down with us?)
- 002 NUN: ((standing up / nods his head))
- 003 TEA: da komm / hei ass eng Plaaetz fräi
 so come / here there is a place left
- 004 ((to Jose) wat wels du maan)
 ((to Jose) what do you want to do?)
- 005 JOS: <<low voice> sarabine>
 <<low voice> sarabine>
- 006 TEA: sarabine am Bett molen?
 paint sarabine in bed?
- 007 MAX: ((pointing to nuno while Nuno is looking for a
 ((pointing to nuno while Nuno is looking for a
- 008 place to sit down) nuno du (inaudible)) [hei!
 place to sit down) nuno du (inaudible)) [here!
- 009 NUN: [((pushing
 [((pushing
- 010 Max))
 Max))
- 011 TEA: hei / loß en do wann ech gelifft hisëtzen Max / wat
 Here / let him take a seat there / Max / so what
- 012 wells du dann maan?
 do you want to do?
- 013 MAX: eh / eh / ((gets up and points))
- 014 TEA: ja / ((inaudible)) virdrum vie so

yes / ((inaudible)) before that

015 NUN: ((sits down next to Max))

016 MAX: wou wou wou?
where where where?

017 TEA: hei / den do / mir weiss noch (was) nuno (inaudible) /
here / there / we still don't know (what) Nuno

018 hei Nuno
(inaudible) / here Nuno

019 NUN: ((shouts because Max has stepped over him)) Ahhh! Wa!
((shouts because Max has stepped over him)) Ahhh! Wa!

020 TEA: oh oh oh oh oh / ((looking at Max) pardon pardon /
oh oh oh oh oh / ((looking at Max) sorry sorry /

021 Max)
Max)

022 MAX: kanst du (inaudible)?]
can you (inaudible)?]

023 TEA: [pardon pardon
[sorry sorry

024 OTH: <<mocking Nuno in a lower voice> ahh wa / ahh wa>
<<mocking Nuno in a lower voice> ahh wa / ahh wa>

025 TEA: den Mupp, deen d'Schank muss fannen // sarabina bei den
the dog who has to find the bone // sarabina is near

025b bedzen leien
the bed

026 OTH: ((whispering))
((whispering))

027 TEA: oder den (den jongleur) Max
or the (the juggler) Max

028 MAX: (den jongleur)
(the juggler)

029 TEA: den huet du den jongleur
then you have the (the juggler)

030 NUN: jof:]
teach:]

031 TEA: [Nuno!
[Nuno!

032 NUN: (inaudible)
(inaudible)

033 TEA: ja / ja
yes / yes

- 034 OTH: mei:: (inaudible)
more:: (inaudible)
- 035 NUN: ((looking at the teacher and pointing) pinta?)
((looking at the teacher and pointing) drawing?)
- 036 TEA: ((looking at Nuno) ja / <<port.> pinta: touti quanti)
((looking at Nuno) yes / <<port.> drawing: everything)
- 037 NUN: ((doing something with the paper sheet))
- 038 TEA: <<pointing down> sarabina molen>
<<pointing down> sarabina drawing>
- 039 NUN: <<port.> pintar?>
<<port.> drawing?>
- 040 TEA: <<port.> pinta sarabina> eh / <<asking Maria> was ist
<<port.> draw sarabina> eh / <<asking Maria> what is
- 041 (balle) auf portugesich?
(ball) in portuguese?
- 042 MAR: bola?=
ball? =
- 043 OTH: =bola
=ball
- 044 TEA: bola ((looking at Nuno)) nove nove=nove bola?
ball ((looking at Nuno)) nine nine=nine ball?
- 045 OTH: nove bola!
nine ball!
- 046 TEA: ((pointing) ehm ehm / ehm / oder cluny clunes?
((pointing) ehm ehm / ehm / or cluny clunes?)
- 047 NUN: ((nods))
((nods))
- 048 TEA: cluny clunes ((gives paper to Nuno))
cluny clunes ((gives paper to Nuno))
- 049 NUN: pinta pinta?
draw draw?
- 050 TEA: pinta pinta ja
draw draw yes
- 051 TEA: ((selects next speaker))

Claire's mediation in this excerpt is our main issue here. Some other issues such as access and participation are linked to this mediation. According to Lave & Wenger (1991, p. 100), access is "key to legitimate peripherality by newcomers to the community of practice and all that membership entails". Wenger states that to become

a full member one has to have access to old-timers, resources, and opportunities for participation. In this excerpt we can see the different “forces” that drive access, from the point of view of the newcomer, but also from the point of view of the old-timers. Firstly, it is the newcomer, the agent, who himself refuses to join the group and practice Luxembourgish. It is also the newcomer who changes his mind and accepts to join the group after a period of what could be called “passive resistance” (Erickson, 1987). The teacher asks Nuno and grants him permission to join in. He also receives the consent of the group. This excerpt exemplifies thus, not only the difficulties the newcomer has to overcome, but equally how he manages to participate in this context and the decisive mediation of the teacher between the different parties.

Claire is willing to have the newcomer working inside the main group hence when Nuno gets closer, she asks him if he would like to join in (line 1), then invites him to sit down with them (line 3). Nuno then tries to find his place and as there is not much space, a conflict or confrontation occurs between him and another child (lines 7-10). It is the teacher who solves it, letting Nuno sit down at the same time as she asks for the other child’s direct participation (lines 11-13). Finally, Nuno sits down, but then another issue comes up. The child next to him, who had opposed his joining the group, steps on him (line 19). Nuno protests the only way he can, by shouting, not speaking. The teacher now intervenes (lines 20-23), mediating the conflict so that the child apologizes to Nuno. Claire makes two attempts to get the child to apologize to Nuno without success. Soon afterwards (line 24), we can hear how another child imitates, in a low voice, Nuno’s previous cry. The teacher then finishes her interaction with Max (lines 25-29) and then starts another interaction with Nuno (line 30).

We can see how Nuno uses different resources now in order to participate in the classroom group. In this case, it is the use of gestures such as pointing, but also

the use of Portuguese (line 35). Claire seems open to this kind of “mixed-language” or “translanguaging” as Ofelia García would call it. García (2009, p. 7) argues that “a heteroglossic ideology of bilingualism considers multiple language practices in interrelationship” (cited by Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 66). Claire seems so understanding probably due to the fact that she knows that this is the only way Nuno can participate at this stage. In fact, one could argue that she aligns herself with Nuno by using Portuguese, although her Portuguese is closer to Italian (line 36 & 40). She even asks the other Portuguese-speaking children to translate a word into Portuguese so that she can communicate with Nuno (lines 40-41). The teacher and Nuno end up understanding each other and Nuno eventually chooses the picture he wants to color (lines 46-48).

This example draws our attention to several conflicts and how the teacher probably tries to mediate for the good of both the group and the newcomer. On the topic of conflicts in participation with newcomers, Lave & Wenger (1991) state: “[...] sustained participation of newcomers, becoming old-timers, must involve conflict between the forces that support processes of learning and those that work against them.” (p. 57). No mention is made, however, of how to, and who, mediates between these two poles. In the last example for this section we see a good case of an interaction where the teacher is mediating in a manner that permits the newcomer to participate both verbally and physically in the activity the group is performing. A number of pupils object to Nuno’s participation and thereby create “access” conflicts which are eventually solved by the mediating strategies of the teacher.

4.3.4. The reaction of the different members to the newcomer's "movement"

We have already commented on the reaction of certain members to the possibly preferential treatment Nuno receives from the teacher. Besides, there are also further "backstage" interactions and contributions between the newcomer and several old-timers we would like to explore. The following excerpt is just one example of some of these backstage interactions between the newcomer and the old-timers.

Excerpt_4_20
GERMAN_20081111_10_50_Camera_1
1_WAT? (WHAT?)
'07:13- '07:42
Background information.



This excerpt focuses on a German literacy activity. The students are placed in a small circle and play a game that consists of pronouncing the letters they are stepping on. The teacher conducts the activity in Luxembourgish and there is a parallel or backstage conversation among three children, including Nuno.

```

001  NUN:  ((sitting on the floor))
002  TEA:  Nuno setz dech auf deng stull!
          Nuno sit down on you chair!
003  TEA:  Celia!
          Celia!
004  AFO:  ((looking at Nuno) (coi?))
          ((looking at Nuno) (coi?))
005  NUN:  ((looking at Afonso) <<lux.> wat?>)
          ((looking at Afonso) <<lux.> what?>)
006  AFO:  ((looking at Nuno) (coi?))
          ((looking at Nuno) (coi?))
007  NUN:  ((looking at Afonso) <<port.> vai?)
          ((looking at Afonso) <<port.> goes?)
008  FAB:  (eoeo)
          (eoeo)
009  NUN:  ((looking at Afonso and Fabio)) <<lux.> wat?>
          ((looking at Afonso and Fabio)) <<lux.> what?>

```

010 FAB: (eoeo!)
(eoeo!)

011 AFO: ((clapping his hands) <<lux.> kanns du lëtzebuergesch
((clapping his hands) <<lux.> can you speak

012 schwätzen?>
Luxembourgish?

013 NUN: waaat?
whaaat?

014 AFO: ((laughs))
((laughs))

015 FAB: (eoeo)
(eoeo)

016 NUN: ((looking at Afonso)) <<lux.> waaat?>
((looking at Afonso)) <<lux.> whaaat?>

017 TEA: Afonso!
Afonso!

018 FAB: (eoeo)
(eoeo)

019 TEA: ((giving instructions to all the children))
((giving instructions to all the children))

020 NUN: ((looking at Sergio) wat?)
((looking at Sergio) what?)

021 SER: wat? ((gesturing to Afonso about Nuno's craziness))
what? ((gesturing to Afonso about Nuno's craziness))

Right after the teacher orders Nuno to sit on his chair (line 2), a peer and old-timer starts an interaction with Nuno (line 4) by saying something that Nuno apparently does not understand. Even though this peer speaks Portuguese, like Nuno, the newcomer responds in Luxembourgish (line 5), using one of the few words he knows in this language. Nuno's peer then repeats the same Portuguese word he said to Nuno a few seconds ago (line 6). This time Nuno asks him if this word exists in Portuguese (line 7), as they both know Portuguese. Then a third child joins in and seems to introduce more unrecognizable elements, perhaps with the goal of making fun of Nuno (line 8). When Nuno repeats the Luxembourgish word "wat?" (line 9), the third child repeats his unrecognizable utterance (line 10). This peer is obviously trying to

ridicule Nuno. As such, he is negating Nuno's linguistic competence (Unamuno & Codó, 2007, p. 129), as we see by the rhetorical question "can you speak Luxembourgish?" (lines 11-12) the answer to which he knows perfectly well. Some peers may not be used to associating Nuno with Luxembourgish and this sudden change of footing provokes a negative reaction in them.

Nuno's reaction to this question is to persist in these interactions which look more like a power game than a real conversation (line 13). The utterances are repeated (lines 14-16) until the teacher calls Afonso with the purpose of stopping this conversation (line 17). Afterwards, Nuno continues the 'game' with Sergio (line 20). Sergio's reaction, however, is a gesture which implies that Nuno is crazy (line 21). This could be interpreted, once again, as a sign negating Nuno's competence and, therefore, his participation, access to valued, legitimated symbolic classroom resources and eventually membership. Foucault, among others, explored the way "madness" has been treated by societies in history (Giddens, 2009). According to Foucault, "power works through discourse to shape popular attitudes towards phenomena such as crime, madness or sexuality [...] discourses can be used as a powerful tool to restrict alternative ways of thinking or speaking. Knowledge becomes a force of control." (Giddens, 2009, p. 96). Categorizing Nuno as crazy, therefore, is a powerful reaction by his peers; a way of decapitalising / delegitimizing (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010) Nuno as a potential, valid participant or member in this community and therefore stopping Nuno's "movement" within the class:

It is through decapitalisation that some students are considered good and others deficient, it is through decapitalisation that some are equipped with the necessary capital while others are either required to demonstrate capital they do not possess or else what capital they do have is not positively valued. (Martín Rojo, 2010, p. 346)

This is a good example of language as a resource or instrument that serves to include or exclude individuals from the community of learners, in this case, the school. This is an example of the explicit resistance Nuno is faced with in his process of socialization into the classroom. Nuno, however, is also a provocative newcomer who sometimes likes to play and interact with everybody around him. In this example and by repeating the same word (wat?) five times, he may also be deliberately provoking the other members of the classroom. The teacher then tries to stop the conversation by telling Afonso off, but on the other hand she does not reprimand Nuno, who was also a main actor in the conversation. As Unamuno & Codó (2007) state, language does not only describe a reality but it also defines belongings, including or excluding individuals from certain groups. In this case it could be that Nuno at first uses Luxembourgish as language of integration with the eventual aim of becoming a member of the classroom. His use of this legitimated symbolic resource is not totally recognized by other children, who at this stage may react comically to Nuno's "natural" use of Luxembourgish, especially i) in a backstage space and ii) to Portuguese speakers.

Nuno's later use of Luxembourgish appears more as a provocation or a game than as an integrative resource. This provocative use makes it easy for his peers to exclude him and classify him as "crazy", thus impeding not only his participation but equally his future "movement". Nonetheless, we should mention that, at least at this point, Nuno manages to secure the attention and reaction of the different peers around him. It would have been even worse if his peers had ignored him in spite of his "provocations", and thus excluded Nuno from these exchanges with the other members.

4.4. THE FIRST RESOURCES FOR THE NEWCOMER

By the term “resources”,⁸⁴ we understand all the linguistic and interactive “capital” the newcomer can use in order to participate, to whichever degree, in classroom routines. This participation framework and the resources mentioned above may work bi-directionally, in the sense that once the newcomer approaches full participation and achieves some kind of legitimate participation in the classroom, it may support the development of and access to some resources for him. Therefore as we said there may be a kind of bi-directional and longitudinal development of both resources and participation as the newcomer approaches full participation. For instance, comprehensive and speaking skills in Luxembourgish are the key to participating in the classroom routine. Learning this language could provide Nuno with some of the most important resources to interact in the classroom and progress in school⁸⁵. In order to learn the language Nuno must get as many chances as possible to interact and practice even though he is not proficient. Getting the chances to participate and accessing participation and its resources are, therefore, correlated and may affect each other either positively or negatively. As Lave & Wenger (1991) note, citing Cain’s

⁸⁴ Martín Rojo (2010) classifies “languages, knowledge, competences, participants” as resources: “It is precisely through this distribution of resources [frontstage-backstage] (languages, knowledge, competences, participants) within the class, that the distribution of symbolic resources takes place. In some classes, there is a process of inclusion, one that is evident in how participation is organised, while in others, it is merely an illusion of inclusion, in which participation is apparently allowed, but in reality, is restricted.” (p. 350).

⁸⁵ See Unamuno & Codó (2007) for the importance of language and identity: “Por otro lado, a menudo los procesos de inclusión y exclusión social se articulan entorno a las prácticas lingüísticas; es decir, la pertenencia o no a un grupo social determinado viene definido por la capacidad de producción de ciertas formas lingüísticas (Heller 2001a). La importancia del estudio de los usos lingüísticos también viene dada por el papel central del habla en la construcción de la identidad individual (LePage y Tabouret-Keller, 1985) y colectiva (Heller, 1999), así como por su condición de recurso que regula el acceso a una variedad de bienes socioeconómicos, culturales y simbólicos.” (p. 126)

My translation: “Frequently, there is an articulation between processes of social inclusion and exclusion and linguistic practices, i.e. the membership of a specific social group is defined by the capacity to produce certain linguistic forms (Heller 2000a). The importance of the study of linguistic uses is also based on the central role of speech in individual (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and collective (Heller 1999) identity construction, and as a resource which regulates the access to a variety of socioeconomic, cultural, and symbolic goods.” (Unamuno & Codó, 2007, p. 126)

(1991) ethnographic study: “Whether activity or language is the central issue, the important point concerning learning is one of access to practice as resource for learning, rather than to instruction.” (p. 85).

4.4.1. Linguistic resources

Language itself is a resource and, at the same time, a way of accessing other resources. Its relevance in this context is crucial. As Heller (2001b) points out:

Language is a principal means for regulating access to the social networks and situations in which value is assigned to resources and in which those resources are produced and distributed (and through this function, language itself becomes a resource which is more or less valued by speakers and non-speakers of relevant language varieties). It is through the development of linguistic conventions that we construct stable (normal, routine, taken-for-granted) ways of relating to each other and to the material world [...] (p. 214)

Furthermore, linguistic practices and ideologies shape the linguistic resources the newcomer may potentially have and develop. A classroom where heteroglossia or “simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs” is possible (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), is not the same as a classroom where “separate bilingualism”, or according to Heller (2006), “double bilingualism” is imposed (p. 19). Nuno, so far, is placed in a “regulated” heteroglossic environment, therefore the multiple and simultaneous use of forms or signs is a possibility although this use is predominantly “structured” by the school. Until now, some of his resources are valid, which is an exception in a space such as the school. As Bourdieu (1977) states about school discourse: “[...] school, [...] imposes the legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that a discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to the legitimate norms;” (p. 650).

From this myriad of linguistic practices, ideologies and resources, the newcomer establishes a relation to the new symbolic market (Bourdieu, 1991) and discovers the value of the symbolic resources at stake (linguistic skills, cultural knowledge, etc), both those that he possesses and the ones that he does not (e.g. Luxembourgish). Nuno's response to the discovery of his self-representation has an effect on his new environment:

One's initial relation to the language market and the discovery of the value accorded to one's linguistic productions, along with the discovery of the value accorded to one's body, are doubtless one of the mediations which shape the practical representation of one's social person, the self-image which governs the behaviours of sociability ("timidity", "poise", "self-assurance", etc.) and, more generally, one's whole manner of conducting oneself in the social world. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 660)

Out of school activities are also very relevant in the case of these linguistic resources. Opportunities to speak Luxembourgish are not provided for Nuno beyond the classroom. Neither of Nuno's parents speak Luxembourgish. Both speak different varieties of Portuguese at home with him. Below is an excerpt from an interview with Claire where she explains how Nuno uses some of these linguistic resources during this initial period of time.

Excerpt_4_21

20081029_Interview_Main teacher

TE: oui il eh il donc il me parle en portugais mais quand il me montre par exemple quelque chose, par exemple ou avant avec les jouets, il dit, il vient chez moi, il dit "Joffer" [teacher], alors il me prend par les bras et il me montre, donc, eh avec les gestes, parfois mais plutôt il me montre tout, donc il dit "Joffer" et alors il me prend et il dit mmmmm, et il il me montre

RE: il signale les choses

TE: oui, il signale les choses comme ça, pas vraiment avec, il ne communique comme ça avec les gestes, plutôt il me prend et il me montre les choses ou il dit par exemple, s'il veut savoir avec "der die

das" dans quelle couleur il dit, il prend surtout pour les couleurs, il prend ses crayons, il dit "Joffer, Joffer" comme ça pour la couleur ou eh [...]

The teacher reveals here, to some extent, the special relationship between the newcomer Nuno and herself. Claire mentions that Nuno speaks Portuguese to her (even though she does not understand Portuguese), but also takes an initiative when he grabs the teacher by the arm, shows his work or asks questions. She also mentions that Nuno not only uses gestures but other kinds of resources such as mimicry and sounds. Again, we can see the exchange of interactions and the linguistic resources deployed here between teacher and child.

In the next example (4.22), we witness the openness of the teacher and how Nuno responds to her using Portuguese (Nuno's heritage language⁸⁶) as another linguistic resource. Nuno is also teaching his teacher, adopting a different footing to the one of a "typical" student, and the teacher goes along with it. There is also the non-verbal communication between both actors, Nuno's use of his fingers as a resource not just for maths, but also for communication between himself and the teacher.

Excerpt_4_22

TE : En math il utilise aussi ses doigts et il dit pas par exemple il dit en portugais le nombre, et moi je dit en luxembourgeois il le répète et moi je le répète aussi en portugais, comme ça il est très content de, oui, d'apprendre et alors il me montre, comme ça, avec les doigts, oui.

In the following excerpt Claire underlines the fact that they often resort to translation

⁸⁶ See (i.e.) Valdés (2001) for an overview of the term and use of Heritage Language: "Foreign language educators use the term to refer to a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language, and who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English (Valdés, 2000a, 2000b). For these educators, the heritage language student is also different in important ways from the traditional foreign language student. This difference, however, has to do with developed functional proficiencies in the heritage languages." (p. 2)

as a resource for Nuno to understand the classroom directives. She explains that Nuno belongs to the community which speaks the Brazilian variety of Portuguese whereas most of the Portuguese-speaking children in the classroom speak the peninsular (continental) variety of Portuguese⁸⁷. The different varieties may lead to confusion, so that what is supposed to help the newcomer may result in the contrary.

Excerpt_4_23

TE : [...] donc pour ça la traduction ne se fait pas souvent, avec les autres, ils sont d'origine portugaise sont, ils ont des problèmes (de) comprendre parce que je crois leur langue est quand même un peu différente.

Excerpt_4_24

20081113_Interview_Foyer_teacher

Remarks made by Julie converge with those of Claire. Nuno tries to communicate with his hands and feet and learn some words in Luxembourgish very quickly so he can choose his food and manage his basic needs. As we can see Nuno manages so far to use all the potential verbal and non-verbal resources.

TF : Oui, il parle plutôt le portugais avec les enfants aussi quand il veut dire quelque chose parle avec les mains et les pieds parce que moi je comprends pas le portugais et je ne parle pas, et, quand on se comprend pas avec les mains et les pieds et je dis à un enfant tu peux lui dire ça en portugais ou il demande à un autre enfant, eh, mais il parle déjà des mots en luxembourgeois et quand il vient chercher, eh, son repas c'est toujours la même chose qu'il faut dire ça il peut déjà dire parce que c'est tous les jours la même chose.

In the following example, Julie makes reference to Nuno's advantage concerning reading skills. Nuno had already attended the first year of primary school back in

⁸⁷ At the end of the school year there were two other Brazilian speakers in the main classroom besides Nuno. Only for some lessons a Cap-Verdean speaker came in from time to time. There was a similar proportion in the science in Portuguese lesson, namely a majority of peninsular Portuguese speakers and a minority of Brazilian speakers.

Brazil before he came to Luxembourg. His reading skills are therefore more advanced than those of the average child in the first year of primary school. This fact may constitute an important resource for him. At first Julie thought that he knew a lot of vocabulary when she was showing and asking him words from a book in Luxembourgish. Some time later she realized Nuno could actually read the words. This led her to hide the words and just show Nuno the drawing when asking him questions relating to specific vocabulary.

Excerpt_4_25

TF: ça c'est un livre qui s'appelle mes premiers mille mots en luxembourgeois, et c'est toujours une grande image et autour il y a des petites images avec le nom en luxembourgeois en dessous, et alors on fait parfois (des jeux) ou il faut les chercher dans la grande image, et alors il faut le dire en luxembourgeois ou moi je lui dit en luxembourgeois et après il répète, mais j'ai remarqué au début qu'il qu'il lit toujours les mots, je ne savais pas qu'il sait déjà tellement bien lire, et parce qu'il est dans la première, eh, (année)

RE: (année)

TF: oui, eh, parce que au brésil il est... était déjà dans une fois dans le première, dans la première

RE: je le pense, oui, qu'il l'a fait déjà

TF: ah oui, oui parce que je

RE: mais je suis pas sûre

TF: j'étais vraiment étonnée qu'il qu'il sait tellement bien lire, au début j'ai pensé, oh il sait déjà bien parler le luxembourgeois et connaît les mots, et après j'ai remarqué qu'il a lu, eh, les mots alors, je dois toujours faire comme ça ou mettre un papier pour qu'il lit pas ((laughs)), oui

RE: (ça c'est intéressant)

TF: et tous tous les thèmes, l'hôpital, le médecin, l'école, et ici il y a derrière, les, les couleurs, les les chiffres, il y a vraiment tout, le sport, oui

Excerpt_4_26
Maths_20081111_8_55_Camera_1
1_Eine minuta (One minut[a])
'18:23-'20:09
Background information.



Claire started the lesson with a mathematical activity in one corner of the classroom. The pupils were counting several numbers on the carpet. Afterwards, they worked at their desks. In this excerpt, Claire is working directly with Nuno. During this interaction there are several words in Portuguese, which are repeated by a number of the classroom members surrounding Nuno, including the teacher. This repetition game could ultimately lead to being approved of to a certain extent by those pupils who happen to be nearby. Such approval could eventually support the newcomer's becoming a full participant, even when the resources to participate are not the typically "legitimate" ones. The newcomer's use of language in a frontstage space has positive consequences for him.

4_26a.

001 NUN: ((getting up and speaking aloud) fertig joffer!)
 ((getting up and speaking aloud) done / teacher!)

002 STE: ((writing with his finger raised) fertig joffer)
 ((writing with his finger raised) done / teacher)

003 MAR: (tu tas) (inaudible)
 (you have) (inaudible)

004 TEA: ((correcting Nuno's paper))

005 MAR: <<approaching Nuno and the teacher and whispering>
 <<approaching Nuno and the teacher and whispering>

006 (inaudible) uma coisa>
 (inaudible) one thing>

007 TEA: ((to Nuno) wir lesen mal die zahlen) ((pointing))
 ((to Nuno) let us just read the numbers) ((pointing))

008 NUN: nul / eent
 zero / one

009 TEA: <<German> eins>

<<German> one>

- 010 NUN: eins / zwei / drei / vier / f(u)nnef
one / two / three / for / f(i)ve
- 011 TEA: sehr gut / super! ((looking at Nuno now and pointing)
very good / super! ((looking at Nuno now and pointing)
- 012 schwierig?
difficult?

In the first line, Nuno is telling the teacher that he has finished his work, although he is saying it aloud and not looking directly at the teacher. We have observed that Nuno sometimes behaves as though he were taking part in a competition. It seems to him that finishing earlier than the others proves that he has won or is the best in the class. Soon afterwards, while the teacher is correcting Nuno's paper (line 4), he also receives help from Maria. Maria is Nuno's main "assistant" in the classroom at the moment and as she speaks Luxembourgish and Portuguese, she has the appropriate symbolic capital and linguistic resources. Maria tells Nuno in Portuguese that something is missing (lines 3 & 5). She is therefore another resource for Nuno so far. Then Claire asks Nuno to say the numbers aloud (line 6) and Nuno counts although he clearly mixes some of the Luxembourgish numbers with their German counterparts, and the teacher corrects him (line 8). Then Claire gives a good evaluation of Nuno's counting.

4_26b.

- 013 NUN: ja
yes
- 014 TEA: ja?
yes?
- 015 SAR: [joffer / fertig!
[teacher / done!
- 016 SUN: [joffer / fertig!
[teacher / done!
- 017 STE: ((raising a finger) fertig!)
((raising a finger) done!)

018 FAB: alles fertig
everything done

019 SAR: joffer fertig!
teacher / done!

020 TEA: ((looking at Nuno's paper)) <<singing> jaa / eine minute
((looking at Nuno's paper)) <<singing> yes: / one minute

021 bitte>
please>

022 NUN: <<singing> eine minuta>
<<singing> one minut(a)>

023 OTH: <<singing> eine minuta>
<<singing> one minut(a)>

024 TEA: una minuta
one minut(a)

025 NUN: una minuta
one minut(a)

026 STE: ((raising his hand) ech war eichsten fertig)
((raising his hand) I was done first)

027 SUN: <<singing> una minuta / una minuta>
<<singing> one minut(a) / one minut(a)>

028 STE: una minuta
one minut(a)

029 NUN: joffer!
teacher!

030 STE: <<singing> una minuta / una minuta>
<<singing> one minut(a) / one minut(a)>

Right after this evaluative comment (line 11), the “minute” episode starts. It all starts by Claire telling to the children who have just said “done” (lines 14-18) that she needs one minute (line 19). Claire is still working on Nuno’s paper when she says this. Then Nuno repeats it but with a slight change ; “minuta”. This term, however, does not exist in Portuguese, the right word being “minuto”. It is then picked up by a child at the back of the class and then the teacher makes it look even more Portuguese by changing the indefinite article from “eine” to “una”, which is Spanish. Not only did the teacher not correct Nuno’s statement (lines 20-22), but Nuno did not correct the teacher’s, either. So, Nuno repeats what Claire has just said (line 21) “una

minuta”, although the correct version in Portuguese is “um minuto”. Two other children then continue the game in a sing-song way, repeating the “una minuta” they have just heard. None of them in fact speak Portuguese (lines 25-30).

4_26c.

031 TEA: uhum?
uhum?

032 STE: <<singing> una minuta / una minuta>
<<singing> one minut(a) / one minut(a)>

033 NUN: <<to the teacher> gelb o rot?>
<<to the teacher> yellow or red?>

034 TEA: <<loud> gelb>
<<loud> yellow>

035 NUN: [gelb
[yellow

036 SUN: [gelb
[yellow

037 NUN: amarelo
yellow

038 STE: joffer (inaudible)
teacher (inaudible)

039 SUN: amarelo
yellow

040 NUN: ((to the teacher) amarelo)
((to the teacher) yellow)

041 TEA: amarelo
yellow

042 SUN: amarelo
yellow

043 NUN: ((to the teacher) vermelho)
((to the teacher) yellow)

044 SUN: amarelo / amarelo
yellow / yellow

045 TEA: Nuno / Nuno=
Nuno / Nuno=

046 NUN: =ja?
=yes?

047 TEA: ((pointing to the paper) zwei)
((pointing to the paper) two)

048 NUN: zwei / vier=
 two / four=

049 TEA: =((pointing) funf)
 =((pointing) five)

050 NUN: funf / null / drei / eent
 five / zero / three / one

051 SUN: amarelo
 yellow

052 NUN: drei / vier=
 three / four=

053 TEA: =gut! ok ((getting up))
 =good! ok ((getting up))

054 SUN: joffer fertig!
 done / teacher!

055 TEA: ja / ja / ja ja ja
 yes / yes / yes yes yes

056 TEA: ((getting up and talking to the class) hör mal zu / hör
 ((getting up and talking to the class) listen everyone /

057 mal zu)
 listen everyone)

Nuno asks Claire which folder he will need to put the work he has finished in (line 31). He asks about the color because depending on the subject, they use one or the other (yellow or red). Again, the teacher says “gelb” (line 32) and it is picked up by Nuno and the girl sitting next to him. Nuno then introduces the other language, Portuguese (line 35), as he did previously, repeating and changing what the teacher said. The colour “amarelo” (yellow) is then repeated by his classmate (line 37) and then by himself (line 38), then it is picked up by the teacher (line 39) and repeated again (line 40 & 42). Finally, for the rest of the interaction, from lines 43 to 53, the teacher is helping Nuno with some numbers, which he repeats aloud. In the background, a peer can be heard repeating the word “amarelo” while they are working.

The use of Nuno's mother tongue and its ratification as a valid code makes it a valuable positive resource in the classroom. To legitimize Portuguese is to legitimize its speakers, among them Nuno. Furthermore, Portuguese plays a significant role for Nuno during these first weeks as it is the language through which he understands a good part of the classroom routine with the aid of his Portuguese speaking peers. Without the Portuguese speaking community in the classroom, Nuno's situation would have been totally different. Even though the use of Portuguese in the above example involves mixing and "inventing" it, in line with what some scholars have defined as "translanguaging", it still counts as the legitimation of a different code.

This last example shows a part of what García (2007) terms "translanguaging", or what Blackledge and Creese classify as "flexible bilingualism" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010) :

« Flexible bilingualism » represents a view of language as a social resource (Heller 2007) without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction. It stresses individual agency and understands language use as predicated on using all available signs (themselves socially constituted) in the performance of different social identities. Participants' awareness of « language » or « code » is backgrounded, and « signs » are combined and put to work in the message being negotiated in hand. Flexible bilingualism captures the « heteroglossic » nature of communication in the bilingual context of complementary schools. It leads us away from a focus on « languages » as distinct codes to a focus on the agency of individuals in a school community engaged in using, creating and interpreting signs to communicate to multilingual audiences. We will look at how participants use linguistic resources to break down boundaries between languages in performing the routine activities of complementary schools. (p. 109)

This "heteroglossic" nature of communication in the case of bilingual schools and, as far as we have seen, sometimes in the case of Nuno, supports to some extent Nuno's access to symbolic resources, including Luxembourgish. Supporting such access to these resources means, firstly, supporting access to participation for Nuno, and,

secondly, supporting the development of resources for participation⁸⁸. As in bilingual schools in Hong Kong, where “Bilingual classroom practices represent the teachers’ pragmatic response to the many painful dilemmas created by the seemingly self-imposition of an English-medium education [...]” (Lin, 1996, p. 74), using and allowing multiple linguistic resources in the case of Nuno may be a temporal pragmatic response by the teacher too.

4.4.2. Interaction resources

The present section is understood as a complement to the previous one (4.3.1. “linguistic resources”). This section underlines the use of Nuno’s “interactive” resources such as non-verbal communication, sequential organization, next speaker selection, etc (Young, 2008, p. 131). The following extract provides an example of typical interactions taking place between Nuno and his nearby peers.

Excerpt_4_27
German_20081111_10_00_Camera_1
1_schwätzen Portuguesisch (speak Portuguese)
'34:23-'35:20
Context description.



The children are working on a literacy activity involving two letters: the capital letters “M” and “L”. At first, they practice writing these letters in the air with their fingers, and then with a stick of chalk on the blackboard. Once they have all written these letters on the blackboard, the teacher gives them a handout to work on individually.

⁸⁸ This “linguistic hybridity” is also addressed by Martín Rojo (2010): “While schools are a key site for teaching and transmitting a standard language, thus playing a significant homogenizing role, the teachers and students in those schools need *linguistic hybridity* and multilingual practices, not only to communicate, but also to gain competence and capital, to resist decapitalisation and domination.” (p. 365)

The next excerpt takes place a few minutes after the children have each received their handout.

- 001 NUN: ja joffer / ja? ((shows her a folder))
yes teacher / yes? ((shows her a folder))
- 002 TEA: hast du farbig gemalt? ((making the gesture of
have you coloured in? ((making the gesture of
003 colouring to make herself understood))
colouring to make herself understood))
- 004 NUN: ja
yes
- 005 TEA: ja
yes
- 006 MAR: nee / ((looking at Nuno's notebook) ah ah)
no / ((looking at Nuno's notebook) ah ah)
- 007 NUN: ((to Sunita)) ja? / ja /
((to Sunita)) yes? / yes /
- 008 SUN: ((nods))
- 009 NUN: ja ((takes a color from Sunita's pencil box))
yes ((takes a color from Sunita's pencil box))
- 010 TEA: ((to Sunita) rote schnellheft))
((to Sunita) red folder))
- 011 STE: fertig!
done!
- 012 TEA: ((giving instructions to all the children))
((giving instructions to all the children))
- 013 STE: fertig!
done!
- 014 SUN: ((to Nuno)) uhum? ((poking his arm))
((to Nuno)) uhum? ((poking his arm))
- 015 NUN: (ro / di?)
(ro / di?)
- 016 SUN: uhm uhm ((pointing to herself and then the notebook))
uhm uhm ((pointing to herself and then the notebook))
- 017 NUN: u uhm ((negating wih his head)) / um ((pointing to her
u uhm ((negating wih his head)) / um ((pointing to her
018 folder)) / um ((pointing to his place))
folder)) / um ((pointing to his place))
- 019 ((pointing back to her folder and getting up))

((pointing back to her folder and getting up))

020 MAR: *((to Sunita) (dora!) (inaudible))*
((to Sunita) (dora!) (inaudible))

021 NUN: *(ela tem) [(inaudible)*
(she has) [(inaudible)

022 TEA: *[(approaching) Maria / du schaffes da*
[(approaching) Maria / you work there

023 NUN: *fala para ela*
talk to her

024 TEA: *Maria*
Maria

025 SUN: *uhm / uhm (nodding with her red folder in her hand)*
uhm / uhm (nodding with her red folder in her hand)

026 TEA: *du schaffes da*
you work there

027 NUN: *((to Sunita) tu ((pointing)) tu ta ta ((pointing in*
((to Sunita) you ((pointing)) you ta ta ((pointing in

028 *another direction))*
another direction))

029 TEA: *Nuno / Nuno*
Nuno / Nuno

030 NUN: *((coming back to his place))*
((coming back to his place))

031 STE: *fertig*
done

032 TEA: *[Nuno / malen (öl)*
[Nuno / draw (öl)

033 MAR: *[(to Nuno and teasing him) tu tu ta ta)*
[(to Nuno and teasing him) you you ta ta)

034 NUN: *((to the teacher) inaudible)*
((to the teacher) inaudible)

035 MAR: *((to Nuno and teasing him) tu tu ta ta)*
((to Nuno and teasing him) you you ta ta)

036 NUN: *ela entende um pouco por português / Maria?*
she understands a bit portuguese / Maria?

037 MAR: *não*
no

038 NUN: *porquê?*
why?

039 SUN: *si / si*
yes / yes

040 MAR: ela não entende
she doesn't understand

041 NUN: ((to Sunita)) português?
 ((to Sunita)) *portuguese?*

042 MAR: nee
no

043 SUN: si
yes

044 MAR: ((to Sunita) schwätzen portugisesch?)
 ((to Sunita) *speak portuguese?*)

045 SUN: ja
yes

046 MAR: nee!
no!

047 SUN: ja! ((laughs))
yes! ((laughs))

048 MAR: nee!
no!

Throughout this excerpt we can see several interactions between Nuno and Sunita. Even though these two pupils have no language in common, at least not in the formal sense of language, they succeed in their respective communication goals. It is a very good example of how a newcomer such as Nuno can find different interactive resources to interact with his peers despite language barriers. It is also a good example for illuminating the small community of practice Nuno and Maria are creating, and for demonstrating how Maria facilitates Nuno's process of adaptation to the new school, translating for him, for example. At the end of this example, Nuno asks Maria to talk to him in their "code", that is to say Portuguese, because Sunita does not understand it. Then Sunita pretends to be able to speak Portuguese. It is interesting to note that when Nuno tries to communicate with Sunita without Maria's assistance, (making use of his own resources), he is then mocked by Maria (lines 33-35). It is as

if Maria doesn't want to lose her role as the "expert", guiding Nuno in this community.

There are four short conversations with Sunita where both Nuno and Sunita use many interactive resources (in order to communicate), such as sounds, monosyllables, pointing, or a combination of these (lines 7-9, 14-18, 23-26, 32-43). The use of these interactional or non-verbal resources shows the degree of the newcomer's agency. Nuno is able to communicate with Sunita without Maria. Maria, for her part, perceives this situation as negative, since Nuno does not ask for her support.

4.5. THE FIRST GATEKEEPING

According to Erickson (2001), "Gatekeeping situations are found as a general class of encounters between a tactically powerful person with institutional authority and expertise and a less powerful person, often a client, in situations in which certain interests of the client are at stake." (p. 165). Erickson (2001) further provides us with some gatekeeping practices in the classroom:

[...] for example when teachers embarrass students by asking probing questions of them in front of the whole class, or when physicians interrupt patients' stories of their presenting complaint by asking an abrupt question, or when job interviewers 'stop and frisk' by close interrogation the previous work history of a job applicant. These may be the 'default' conditions of gatekeeping. Moreover, there may be cultural differences in propensity to avoid face threat [...] (p. 176)

Gatekeeping practices, thus, due to their potentially subtle nature, may be very difficult to detect. Having said this, I believe that Claire has no intention of gatekeeping Nuno. On the contrary, her attitude demonstrates her willingness to support him.

Excerpt_4_28
20081029_Interview_Main teacher

TE: oui je crois, oui c'était sûrement intéressant avec les cours en luxembourgeois comment il a réagi donc, c'est toujours quand on fait de Luxembour(g) et je sais je sais déjà parce que les autres écrit déjà "sarabina" et alors il sait déjà en luxembourgeois dans le cercle, et là il ne plus jamais participe donc, je le, je le laisse toujours sur sur sa place, donc, je sais pas si c'est la meilleure idée ou pas mais je crois que je dois pas le forcer trop parce que je suis déjà contente qu'il est bien en math et qu'il travaille bien en en en allemand et je crois ça va venir aussi avec le temps [...]

In the example above Claire tells us that she does not want to force Nuno to join the group, for instance, in Luxembourgish classes. Instead, she allows him to join whenever he feels ready for it. In other words, Claire is quite satisfied with Nuno and she does not exhibit any gatekeeping practices so far. It may be, on the contrary, that Nuno is temporally gatekeeping himself from the Luxembourgish language classroom. At this early stage it is more than probable that Nuno cannot differentiate between German and Luxembourgish and is therefore probably confused about when to use one or the other. I hypothesize that this may be one of the reasons why he is so reluctant to participate at this early stage. As we will see, as soon as he manages to distinguish both languages, his problems with Luxembourgish and with the Luxembourgish language lesson cease.

4.5.1. Old-timers' gatekeeping

Gatekeeping practices are sometimes related to the legitimacy of the participants. If some students are not regarded as legitimate participants in the classroom, for whatever reason, this may induce others to gatekeep them, thereby affecting their future school success. As Martín-Rojo et al. (2010) explain:

If newcomers in particular and, in general, all students from immigrant backgrounds are not considered legitimate participants in

the classroom, their possibilities of success will be restricted, and this would have implications for their academic mobility and social integration. (p. 264)

As we have seen so far in another section (4.2. The first “conflicts” on the periphery), other members or old-timers have enough agency to resist, either implicitly or explicitly, the “introduction” of a new and active member. As Gee & Green state: “However, if we take Corsaro's perspective, this process is not a “bring them into the culture view.” Rather, members have agency and thus take up, resist, transform, and reconstruct the social and cultural practices afforded them in and through the events of everyday life.” (1998, p. 148). The negative aspect of resistance or partial old-timers’ use of agency may be illustrated by the following extract taken from a literacy lesson.

Excerpt_4_29
SEVERAL_20081114_Camera_2
'30:57 -'31:43
Background information.



Claire has just proposed a German vocabulary activity. The children bring their chairs to a corner of the classroom and form a circle. Claire then explains what the activity is about. Once they pick up a card from the floor, the children must look for the corresponding word. In this example there are three significant moments. The first significant moment is when Nuno sits next to Claire, who agrees to collaborate with him. The second moment is when (after complaining a few times) one of the pupils openly vents anger at the collaboration between Nuno and the teacher (line 24). The third and final moment is represented by Claire’s reaction to the aforementioned child’s critique.

- 001 TEA: so kennt dir ierch / könnt ihr euch noch daran erinnern
so can you remember / can you remember
- 002 wie wir letztes Mal memory gespielt haben?
how we played memory last time?
- 003 ALL: ja!
yes!
- 004 TEA: so wo ((gesturing) alle karte auf dem boden) /
so (where) ((gesturing) all cards on the floor) /
- 005 wo alle karten / wir legen alle karten auf den boden
(where) all cards / we lay all the cards on the floor
- 006 und dann müssen wir den richtigen buchstaben zu der
then we must match the right word with
- 007 richtigen karte finden
the right card
- 008 NUN: ((sitting next to the teacher and trying to get the
((sitting next to the teacher and trying to get the
- 009 cards from the teacher))((pointing) nee / da an do do
cards from the teacher))((pointing) no / there and here
- 010 do do do / joffer)
here here here here / teacher)
- 011 TEA: ((gives the cards to Nuno)) Nuno / [du an ((pointing)
((gives the cards to Nuno)) Nuno / [you and ((pointing)
- 012 do do do do)
here here here here)
- 013 MIG: [joffer / ech
[teacher / I
- 014 (fuer)
(lead)
- 015 MIG: joffer!
teacher!
- 016 TEA: ((to Miguel) ja?)
((to Miguel) yes?)
- 017 MIG: ech hun e bësschen Bauchwéih
I have a little stomachache
- 018 NUN: ((gives card to a peer instead of dropping them and
((gives card to a peer instead of dropping them and
- 019 one card drops))
one card drops))
- 020 OTH: ((to Nuno) nee!)
((to Nuno) no!)

021 TEA: ne ne ne ne ne ne nein / Nuno / ((shows Nuno how to
no no no no no no no no / Nuno / ((shows Nuno how to
022 distribute the cards on the floor))
distribute the cards on the floor))
023 NUN: ((distributes the cards on the floor))
024 OTH: fir wat Nuno?
why nuno?
025 MIG: joffer (inaudible) / hien ass neu an der schoul
teacher (inaudible) / he is new in the school
026 TEA: ja ((distributing cards))
yes ((distributing cards))
027 NUN: ((trying to get more cards from the teacher) ja?
((trying to get more cards from the teacher) yes?
028 NUN: ((approaching some other cards on a nearby table)
((approaching some other cards on a nearby table)
029 joffer!)
teacher!)
030 TEA: nein=nein=nein=nein
no=no=no=no
031 NUN: (do?)
(here?)
032 TEA: ah ja ja / genau ((approaches)) gut!
ah yes yes / exactly ((approaches)) good!
033 NUN: ((takes some more cards))

From the point of view of “explicit” gatekeeping, this sample is quite significant. There are the required factors: a newcomer, a community and, finally, there are issues related to participation and resistance. In the process of evolving from a newcomer to a full member of the community, newcomers are usually confronted with many obstacles. They will also encounter some members who will grant them access to participation. In this particular example, Claire, who is the “leader” of this classroom community, grants extra support to the newcomer by actions such as letting him sit down next to her, or facilitating Nuno’s access to participation on numerous occasions. Some other members of the classroom community may not regard this

“extra help” as something positive and in fact complain about the special treatment or support received by the newcomer, resulting in potential explicit gatekeeping.

It is also noteworthy how motivated Nuno is to seek participation even with the limited resources available to him at this early stage of schooling in a new language. Nuno makes use of gesturing, mainly pointing and also deictic pronouns in order to ask for participation (lines 8-10). Claire not only accepts his proposal, but, rather remarkably, when explaining to Nuno how he should proceed, she uses a similar language to the one Nuno himself has just used (deixis: i.e., grammatical persons such as *I* or *you*, adverbs of place such as *here* and *there*, or demonstratives such as *this* and *that*) (lines 11-12). Soon after this exchange between the teacher and Nuno, another child openly complains about Nuno’s participation in the preparation of the activity (line 18). At the moment in question, Nuno is simply distributing cards on the floor. He does so in his capacity as the teacher’s assistant; a role and change of footing he seems to enjoy (line 17). It is this type of special access to participation together with the fact that Nuno is a newcomer that triggers complaints from some of his peers. In this specific case (lines 24-25) we may speak of the explicit gatekeeping of one peer only, who is questioning the teacher’s decision to select Nuno and then explains that Nuno should not be selected as he is “new in the school”. Claire’s reaction is quite passive. By limiting her answer to a simple “yes” while continuing to distribute the cards (line 26), Claire ignores this open complaint. Right after this exchange, Nuno runs out of cards and looks for more cards in a nearby basket (line 27-28). Claire’s first reaction is to reprimand the pupil, but then she realizes that it was in fact Nuno who was picking up the right cards and she congratulates him as a way of apologizing for the previous mistake (line 32).

Excerpt_4_30**TR_MANUELS_20081112_10_50_Camera_1****1_ech joffer ech! (me teacher me!)****'06:57- '07:27****Background information.**

The pupils are having their weekly arts and crafts lesson. They are at the beginning of the lesson and the teacher has just explained the activity which must be performed individually. This episode takes place when the teacher is about to ask for a volunteer to distribute the handouts to the pupils. Nuno usually likes to distribute the handouts, as this enables him to have an active role in the classroom community. In this example, the teacher's decision to select another child to distribute the handouts provokes a conflict between two members of the classroom community and the newcomer.

((Teacher selecting two children to distribute the worksheets to all the classmates))

001 FAB: ((standing up and raising his hand) ech)
((standing up and raising his hand) me)

002 NUN: ECH! joffer ECH! ECH!
ME! teacher ME! ME!

003 AFO: ((standing up) ech (wehl och) joffer)
((standing up) I (want to too) teacher)

004 TEA: ((giving the worksheets) Jose)
((giving the worksheets) Jose)

005 MAR: ((raises hand))

006 NUN: ECH! joffer ECH! ECH!
ME! teacher ME! ME!

007 TEA: ((giving the worksheets) Miguel)
((giving the worksheets) Miguel)

008 NUN: ECH!
ME!

009 OTH: yupi!
great!

010 WAZ: <<mocking Nuno> ech! ech! ech!>
<<mocking Nuno> me! me! me!>

011 STE: ja <<mocking Nuno> ech! ech! ech!>

yes <<mocking Nuno> me! me! me!>

012 TEA: oh=oh Stephan!
oh=oh Stephan!

013 STE: emmer emmer ech ech ech
always always me me me

014 NUN: ((looking at Stephan))
((looking at Stephan))

015 AFO: eeeech
meeee

016 STE: du muss de(n) fanger weisen
you must raise your finger

017 NUN: ((stays silent))

The beginning of this episode starts with Claire asking for a volunteer to distribute the handouts. It is then that Nuno raises his hand, and shouts “ech!” continuously (line 2). Claire then selects another pupil for the task (line 4) but Nuno continues shouting (line 6). His behavior provokes a classmate to imitate him. This open imitation is a form of protest about the way Nuno asks for participation in the classroom community (line 10) and it therefore negates one of his main resources for frontstage participation. This protest is immediately picked up by another classmate who then aligns himself with the first protester (line 11). Claire, finally, puts a stop to this conflict by defending the newcomer (line 12) although she does not give any explanation.

The fact that Claire has mediated in this conflict does not stop the second classmate from keeping up his protests in a lower tone (line 13) and from where he is sitting, namely in the same area as the newcomer. Nuno’s reaction, given his limited ability to speak Luxembourgish or defend himself properly at this stage, is limited to throwing an angry glance (line 14). Then a third classmate starts mocking Nuno from the background (line 15), although Nuno does not rise to this provocation (possibly due to his lack of appropriate / legitimate resources).

Finally, there is the ‘statement’ of the classroom rules and thus the institutional discourse coming up again (line 16), but from the second classmate that protested at Nuno’s way of asking for participation. Nuno does not have many resources to express himself with, nor does he have many opportunities to access participation in a new community that is frequently hostile towards him. The classmate is now telling Nuno that he must raise his finger if he wants to participate in the classroom activities (line 16). Nuno had in fact raised his finger. However what disturbed the other classmates most was not only his shouting “ech” (me) continuously but also that he did so louder than the other classmates. Whilst shouting loudly constitutes one of the resources Nuno uses to access participation in the classroom community at this stage, it is not a very discreet form of request for a newcomer to make. As we witness, it upsets some old-timers whose mockery has the effect of creating a gatekeeping situation⁸⁹.

According to Barnard (2009), the implicit rules of classroom behavior are established by the teacher during the very first weeks of the academic year. As Nuno, who arrived in November, wasn’t there at that moment, he could not benefit from such “training”. Moreover, Nuno comes from a very different country with its own school system, which may have transmitted different patterns of classroom behaviour. In the episode analyzed above, we can see a gatekeeping situation and how the teacher supports the newcomer. What is more, we can also see how the newcomer has problems coming to grips with the rules of his new classroom.

In other words, old-timers use resources such as i) mockery and ii) complaining to the person in charge of the classroom in order to block or gatekeep Nuno from participation in the classroom routine. As we have seen, the way Nuno

⁸⁹ See Pérez-Milans (2007) for more on peer gatekeeping.

tries to access participation is not very 'conventional', but his situation is not conventional either. He uses all the resources at hand and, occasionally, receives negative treatment in exchange.

4.5.2. Teacher gatekeeping?

The teacher has a significant role in the classroom and may or may not contribute to the potential gatekeeping of the newcomer. As Wills, Mehan and Lintz (2004) state:

The language that teachers use with students is constitutive. The way in which teachers ask questions and engage in discourse with students both constrains and enables the ways in which they can display what they know. Because of the co-occurrence relationships that operate in conversation, what students can say in lessons depends on the frames established by what teachers say, the questions they ask. (p. 163)

An example of the teacher's potential gatekeeping of implicit issues, such as language variety, is brought to us by Erickson (1987). He researched the development of patterns of resistance by minority children in schools throughout the academic year. His findings prove that "In those classrooms in which the teacher, whether black or white, negatively sanctioned the children's use of black English vernacular, by the end of the year the children spoke a more exaggerated form of that dialect than they had done at the beginning of the year. The opposite was true in the classrooms in which the teacher, whether black or white, did not negatively sanction the black English vernacular spoken by the black students." (p. 347)

The following example displays both the previously mentioned power of the language of the teacher and his / her role on the whole. As Wills et al. (2004) mention, the way the language is used by the teacher constrains or enables the student. In a way, some cases may be considered as implicit gatekeeping (Erickson, 1987), depending on the example and also the effect on the student. The following

example explores this possibility. In this example Nuno is selected as the next speaker although he receives a ticking off from the teacher before he is allowed to participate. Whether Nuno understands this ticking off at this moment is unsure, but we can see that although Claire tells him off, she keeps selecting him as the next speaker and she does not gatekeep him so far.

Excerpt_4_31
GERMAN_20081110_10_50_Camera_1
1_ech ech ech ech (me me me me)
'4:58- '5:12
Background information.



The lesson starts by reviewing the spelling of some words. Then the class starts working on German vocabulary cards, classifying them according to gender on the blackboard (*der, die, das*). Throughout the lesson Claire has to reprimand Nuno because he fails to respect the talking turns. The teacher then hands out three sheets of paper containing the “Hausaufgabe” (homework) and Nuno is the first to copy the instructions from the blackboard and show these to the teacher.

001 NUN: ((imitates crying out loud with his head on the desk))
 002 TEA: ((showing a card to the students))
 003 NUN: eh / jof / ech ech ech: ech:
 eh / teach / me me me: me:
 004 TEA: Nuno! rouesch / den fanger weisen //
 Nuno! quiet / raise your finger //
 005 NUN: ((stays quiet and raises a hand))
 006 TEA: ((selecting Nuno as next speaker) Nuno?)
 ((selecting Nuno as next speaker) Nuno?)
 007 MAR: ((protesting and sitting down) jjjj)
 ((protesting and sitting down) jjjj)
 008 NUN: das
 the
 009 TEA: das / ja / komm un d'tafel
 the / yes / come to the blackboard

One of the main points I am able to infer this example is the supportive role played by Nuno's teacher, who:

- i) allows him to use different resources and thus to extend his "agency"
- ii) supports and defends Nuno explicitly and implicitly from certain old-timers
- iii) endeavours to establish a certain equilibrium between the newcomer and the community

4.6. Summary

To recapitulate I would like to sum up the main ideas illustrated by the examples provided in this chapter. From the numerous examples recorded in November, I have presented various situations where Nuno interacts either with the teacher, with the whole classroom or with some of its members. Our awareness grows of the difficulties faced by a child who does not speak the language of instruction and who finds himself in a foreign multilingual and multicultural context. Though he is a child who is very keen to participate, Nuno nonetheless encounters the occasional resistance of the old members of the classroom community.

A number of the examples demonstrate how Nuno finds resources and ways to communicate and access participation in a classroom that does not always help newcomers. Furthermore, Nuno is not a silent newcomer. We have witnessed how he likes to ask for participation and how he overcomes difficulties. He is gradually progressing from peripheral participation to full participation and these examples document moments of this process. Along this difficult path, the support of the teacher is essential as a "mediator", facilitating Nuno's use of a range of resources which enable him to participate in the classroom routine.

The next chapter of data analysis will cover the period when Nuno has already learnt some Luxembourgish and therefore has more “affinities” with the other children in the community of learners of this classroom. A significant factor over and above this linguistic aspect will also bear up his progress in this community: the arrival of another newcomer from the same origin as himself.

Chapter 5. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

- 5.1. The middle of the academic year
- 5.2. The arrival of Tiago: The quiet newcomer
- 5.3. Mocking the new newcomer Tiago
 - 5.3.1. Nuno mocking Tiago openly in the community
 - 5.3.2. Gatekeeping Tiago in exchange for full membership?
 - 5.3.3. Tiago's reaction to Nuno's behaviour
- 5.4. The conflicts continue
 - 5.4.1. New teacher, new rules
 - 5.4.1.1. New access to resources
 - 5.4.1.2. New limitations to resources
 - 5.4.2. Nuno's re-positioning in the "community"
 - 5.4.3. The teacher dealing with diversity as homogeneity
 - 5.4.2. The reaction of the different members
- 5.5. The re-organization of resources for the newcomer
 - 5.5.1. Linguistic resources
 - 5.5.2. A progressive categorization
- 5.6. More gatekeeping?
 - 5.6.1. Oldtimers' gatekeeping viewed by the daycare centre teacher
 - 5.6.2. Teacher gatekeeping?
- 5.7. Summary

5.1. THE MIDDLE OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR

“Schools are one of the arenas in which people can work to change the existing distributions of power and knowledge in our society.” (Erickson, 1987, p. 352)

In this chapter, I will comment on the second key period, namely March 2009, during which time Nuno and his environment were extensively documented. Two key factors bear upon Nuno’s classroom participation during this period. The first factor is the return of Simone, who is back from her leave of absence. The second factor is the opportunity this affords for the tightening of classroom rules and conduct. An explicit change may be identified in the way Nuno accesses participation in the classroom community. This change is attributable to the fact that Nuno already manages, to a certain extent, one of the main resources: Luxembourgish, the main language of the members of the classroom and the language of socialization. Power relations acquire a primary role in the classroom routine. The newcomer Nuno is moving along the “periphery” but there are still some conflicts or instances of resistance, not just regarding language practice in the classroom, but also behaviour and discipline.

On the important subject of access, Lave & Wenger (1991) state: "Thus access is liable to manipulation, giving legitimate peripherality an ambivalent status: Depending on the organization of access, legitimate peripherality can either promote or prevent legitimate participation." (p. 103). How this access is organized with regard to Nuno constitutes one of the main aims in this chapter. I focus on the analysis of classroom participation via semi-structured interviews with key gatekeepers in the classroom. More concretely, I focus on language and classroom practice in general in order to find out more about Nuno’s access to participation. I have so far legitimated

the importance of language in the issue of access. In this chapter I try to demonstrate this more concretely. As “[...] patterns and forms of participation are highly diverse.” (Wallace, 2007, p. 62), I take this into account in the analysis of different ways and moments in which the newcomer tries to participate.

With regard to language practice and classroom practice in relation to access, a significant change from the first period of recording, back in November, and the two other main data gathering periods in March and June, may be detected. The directives applied by the teacher (in the classroom) may have affected language practice and access, thereby ultimately affecting Nuno’s legitimate participation. As a change of teacher occurred in early January, there was also a significant change in the directives within the classroom. Certain of these new perspectives or directives were largely attributable to the fact that the change of teacher affected the pupils in diverse ways. According to my broad understanding of how the teacher manages difference and diversity in the classroom, it may be stated that, on the whole, Nuno has so far had two different types of teacher. We could classify the first teacher’s approach, Claire, (November-December) as one which was closer to an “integrative model” of culture and language whilst the second teacher, Simone, (January-July) can be seen to be closer to an “assimilative model”.

Nuno the newcomer has already spent some months at school (approximately 4 months till March) and he is quite familiar with both the vehicular language of the classroom (Luxembourgish) and with some of the rules and practices of the school. He experienced incidents when the teacher changed in January, but by March he is progressively acquainted with the new teacher’s classroom routine. The incidents were related to the new configuration of classroom rules and routines (including how to deal with the differences in the classroom). Throughout the audio-visual recordings

and the interviews, we could infer the “mixed” status of the newcomer, mainly for the second period in March, which constituted the middle of the academic year. In this period Nuno can more or less speak Luxembourgish, although he is still learning it in addition to learning another variety of Portuguese and also the German language. It is a period of transition characterised by his interlanguage and “inter-identity” and the increasing problem of his behaviour towards the group as well as towards the teacher. When Nuno reads, for example, his peers still permit themselves to correct his Luxembourgish. It appears to us that Nuno is still making efforts to be “integrated” in the classroom. Both his efforts and his competitiveness also have a negative side, and a number of his peers could use these as an excuse to exclude him from participation. Nuno is already accessing oral participation, but there are still some issues as he is not yet considered a full member and he is being slightly and progressively relegated to the role of the “naughty” member of the group, even though his academic achievement is one of the highest in the class. Later, we will also see how Nuno allows himself to mock another newcomer, Tiago, in a similar way to the one he was previously subjected to. This “mocking” is part of the reproduction of the system that Nuno has probably interpreted as something inherent to school. I will explore this in depth later as it could be part of the means of reproduction for the classroom community.

To sum up, then, Nuno has so far spent around four months in this school and his linguistic performance has clearly improved. Not only his linguistic knowledge has progressed, but also his own identity, particularly in relation to the community surrounding him. In line with Wortham (2004a) and his explanation of the “ontological” approach to learning (i.e., learning changes not just what the learner knows but also who the learner is) Lave and Wenger (1991) note: “Learning thus

implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations. To ignore this aspect of learning is to overlook the fact that learning involves the construction of identities.” (p. 53) Nuno is becoming a different person, which suggests he is learning, despite the fact that the system of relations surrounding him configures his access to participation and therefore his learning.

5.2. THE ARRIVAL OF TIAGO: THE QUIET NEWCOMER

The new year brings along several changes, including, as already mentioned, a change of teacher. The arrival of Tiago, a “new” newcomer, is another significant change. The newcomer came to school at the beginning of January 2009. Like Nuno, the newcomer Tiago, is originally from Brazil. Tiago’s family had a close relationship with Nuno’s own family, and apparently, came to Luxembourg thanks to the support of Nuno’s family.

Tiago is described by most of his teachers (and by myself) as a quiet, sensible seven-year-old boy, with a personality which seemed inherently calm, although this was probably also induced by the teacher’s disciplined control. Like Nuno, he had no previous knowledge of the vehicular language(s) of the school. It seemed to us (field notes) that Tiago did not draw as much attention to himself as Nuno did when he first arrived. The arrival of Tiago, a “quiet newcomer”, did not significantly change the structure of the classroom. Tiago seemed to accept the “status quo” of the classroom along with the opportunities and resources the teacher and the other agents in the classroom offered him.

5.3. MOCKING THE “NEW” NEWCOMER TIAGO

Despite his limited resources to access participation, Tiago seemed to deal with the situation in a different manner to Nuno. The teacher gave the impression that she treated him like the other pupils and she used other resources (Portuguese, translation, gestures, etc) when she wanted to be sure that Tiago was following the lesson. Tiago barely uttered a word during the first days at his new school, be it in Luxembourgish or German. By the time he began to learn and speak these languages, he was confronted with factors restricting his participation, his access to resources, and ultimately, to learning in the new community.

5.3.1. Nuno mocking Tiago openly in the community

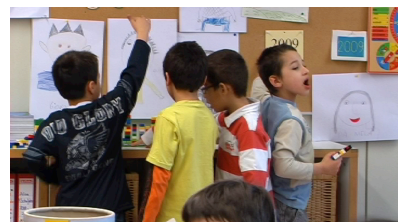
Laughter, overlaps, changes of language, and other discourse phenomena can be used for different purposes. As I was able to document, Tiago’s “movement” and “empowerment” in this community, at the beginning of his learning process, was marked by the influence of a previous newcomer from the same origin: Nuno. The ‘old’ newcomer established an apparent double or “mixed” relationship with Tiago. On the one hand, Nuno appeared to be quite close to Tiago in the first weeks. On the other, once Tiago had become increasingly self-sufficient, the relationship changed. By March Nuno had attended school for approximately four months whereas Tiago had attended for only two. By then Tiago was becoming more autonomous and this fact may have had some influence on the opportunistic laughter and mockery instigated by Nuno. Nuno probably viewed Tiago as a “threat”, which is how oldtimers tend to see newcomers (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The use of mockery, is one

of the main critiques levelled against the idea of communities of practice as homogeneous and welcoming entities. As Fuller et al. (2005) state:

Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 36) recognise that communities of practice are social structures involving relations of power, and acknowledge that the way power is exercised can make legitimate peripheral participation either an ‘empowering’ or ‘disempowering’ experience. Furthermore, they acknowledge that newcomers pose a threat to ‘old timers’ thus creating a dynamic tension between continuity (of the community) and displacement by the young of the old as, ‘each threatens the fulfillment of the other’s destiny, just as it is essential to it’ (p. 116). However, in most if not all of the examples they give, communities are described as rather stable, cohesive and even welcoming entities. (p. 53)

I mention Fuller et al. (2005) here with the purpose of stressing their last lines, their critique of Lave and Wenger idea of “welcoming” communities of practice. Many of the examples to be presented in this chapter could be classified under an “unwelcoming” community of practice such as Fuller et al. (2005) criticize above. I will analyze this issue further in relation to various incidents documented in my data. Following is a sample taken from the free practice time of a Maths lesson.

Excerpt_5_1
MATHS_20090306_8_00_Camera_1
2_drrei (thr[r]e)
‘50 :22-‘50 :42
Background information.



After the lesson the pupils have some free time and some of them gather around the “lego” place at the back of the classroom where they usually keep their lego pieces. Sergio, Nuno and Tiago count their pieces of lego in order to know how many they have and can exchange for future presents in accordance with the rules of classroom practice and discipline. The “new newcomer”, Tiago, counts his pieces out loud even though he still has a Brazilian accent when he speaks German.

001 TIA: eins / zwei / drei [...]
 one / two / three [...]

002 NUN: ((smiling to Sergio) er sagt drrei / drrei drrei)
 ((smiling to Sergio) he said drrei / drrei / drrei)

003 SER: ((going back to his place))

004 NUN: ((to Sergio) tia / tia / tia / Tiago (huet gesot))
 ((to Sergio) tia / tia / tia / Tiago (has said))

005 ((with an accent and smiling) drei drei)
 ((with an accent and smiling) drrei drrei)

006 SER: ((imitating accent) drrei)
 ((imitating accent) drrei)

007 TIA: ((looking at them, silent))

As soon as Tiago counts his lego pieces in German (line 1), Nuno mocks Tiago's Brazilian accent when speaking German (line 2). Even though Sergio returns to his place after hearing Nuno (line 3), Nuno comes right after him and continues the mockery (lines 4-5) till Sergio finally joins in (line 6). Tiago's reaction to the mockery is silence, probably due to the fact that Sergio can't understand Portuguese, the only language Tiago can communicate in, which is why he cannot defend himself properly in this situation.

Tiago here is practising German (line 1); he is trying to speak it and be just another pupil in the classroom. Tiago could have used Portuguese, as they were in a backstage space (in Goffman's terms; see also Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001) and Simone was out of earshot, but he did it in German. It is worth noting that even in those backstage areas Tiago is daring to practise German, the language they are currently using for Maths. In this way, the use of German is contextually bound, as opposed to the potential use of Portuguese, which might possibly have attracted Nuno's sympathy.

It is remarkable how Nuno, at this stage, mocks another newcomer. By mocking Tiago, Nuno is reproducing the system that he had himself previously experienced as my analysis in the previous chapter demonstrated, Nuno enjoyed the support given by his teachers and by a number of his peers, irrespective of how certain other old-timers limited him. The ‘system’ consists in marginalizing newcomers and leaving them on the periphery of classroom membership and routines. The newcomers, who speak non-legitimated linguistic varieties, see their access to participation and resources limited in the classroom interactions. We think that Tiago may associate his attempt at participation with the mockery or laughter and this fact may have potential implications for his agency, his willingness to participate and therefore his learning in his new “community”, although in order to demonstrate this fact more (longitudinal) research is required.

Excerpt_5_2
SEVERAL_20090303_04_05_Camera_2
2_neunchen (nine[ch]een)
‘11 :22- ‘11 :42
Background information.



This example is similar to the previous one. It takes place during a Maths lesson. The children are lining up in two rows in a one-to-one competitive game. Simone stands up and asks questions on additions and subtractions in German. The faster of the two pupils in line at that moment wins. At this moment Simone proceeds to write the numbers on the blackboard because Tiago is lining up so he can understand the calculation (line 1). Both Nuno the “old” newcomer and Tiago are at the heads of their respective lines in this particular round of the game, therefore they compete on a one-to-one basis.

001 TEA: aufpassen / ich schreibe die Rechnung auf
 quiet / I'll write the sum

002 MIG: ((hitting Nuno))

003 NUN: hal op!
stop it!

004 MIG: (inaudible)

005 TEA: ((telling them to be quiet) shshsh) ((writing on the
((telling them to be quiet) shshsh) ((writing on the

006 blackboard))
blackboard))

007 NUN: [((raising an arm and opening his mouth))

008 TIA: [((beating Nuno / with an accent) neunzig)
[((beating Nuno / with an accent) nineteen)

009 TEA: gut!
good!

010 NUN: ooh / ((repeating and making fun of the accent in his
ooh / ((repeating and making fun of the accent in his

011 way at the end of the line) neunchen?)
way at the end of the line) ninecheen?)

012 MAR: ((repeating and laughing) neunchen)
((repeating and laughing) ninecheen)

013 SER: ((repeating and laughing) neunchain)
((repeating and laughing) ninechain)

014 NUN: ((laughing))

015 TIA: ((silent))

Tiago beats Nuno (lines 7-8), even though he speaks German with an obvious Brazilian accent. One of Nuno's first reactions is to imitate and mock Tiago's accent in front of his classmates (lines 10-11). Then, two more classmates join in the mockery while Tiago remains silent (lines 12-15). Simone does not react to this mockery as it mainly occurs in a backstage space. Having said this, she had already helped Tiago, taking into account his limited understanding of German and, therefore, writing the mathematical operation on the blackboard explicitly for him (line 1). Nuno begins mocking Tiago on his way back to the end of one of the two lines of pupils for the next round. The other "mockers" who follow Nuno's lead are also situated at the

end of the line. This backstage space is optimal for the development of other discourses such as this, which escape the teacher's control.

This excerpt exemplifies once again (1) the continuation of a system that Nuno has to a certain extent experienced himself, (2) how Nuno seizes an opportunity to distinguish himself from the other Brazilian newcomer, and to thereby transform himself more into an old-timer, using spaces such as the backstage for his personal goals, and (3) the possibility of the newcomer being perceived as a threat (Lave & Wenger, 1991), hence Nuno's "mixed" behaviour towards him.

Excerpt_5_3
MATHS_20090303_8_55_Camera_1
2_zwanzig (twenty)
'15:15- '15:25
Background information.



One further example taken from a Maths lesson, conducted in the same way as in the previous sample (excerpt 5.2), corroborates the emerging picture even further. Both Nuno the "old" newcomer and Tiago are at the heads of their respective lines, they both compete on a one-to-one basis in this maths game, although Tiago seems quieter and more concentrated on the teacher's writing on the blackboard, while Nuno is more distracted, looking at other peers.

```

001  TEA:  ((writing the mathematical operation on the blackboard))
002  TIA:  ((with Portuguese accent) zwanzig!)
        ((with Portuguese accent) twenty!)
003  NUN:  zwanzig
        twenty
004  TEA:  ((to Tiago) gut!)
        ((to Tiago) good!)
005  OTH:  (inaudible)
006  TEA:  ah ja / zu langsam

```

- ah yes / too slow*
- 007 NUN: ((moving to the end of the line))
- 008 TEA: ((to all) aufpassen)
((to all) quiet)
- 009 NUN: ((mocking Tiago and imitating his pronunciation)
((mocking Tiago and imitating his pronunciation))
- 010 zwanzig! puf)
twenty! puf)

This example, almost identical to the previous one, differs in one significant aspect:

Nuno finds no other old-timers to support him this time in his mockery of Tiago.

Excerpt_5_4
LUXEMBOURGISH_20090303_11_40_Camera_1
2_wald (forest)
'09 :40- '10 :06
Background information.



In the following excerpt the pupils are having their weekly Luxembourgish lesson. The teacher selects Tiago as the next speaker and Nuno is going to participate in the conversation between the teacher and Tiago. Simone asks Tiago a word although it is Nuno who answers (in a low tone) ahead of Tiago. Once the “new” newcomer has answered correctly, Nuno overtly, in front of the whole classroom community, mocks Tiago’s Brazilian accent.

- 001 NUN: ((shouting))
- 002 TEA: ((selecting Tiago as the next speaker) Tiago)
((selecting Tiago as the next speaker) Tiago)
- 003 NUN: ((openly) ein schwer (inaudible))
((openly) a difficult (one))
- 004 TEA: ((picking up from Nuno) ein schweres für Tiago /
((picking up from Nuno) a difficult one) for
- 005 grammairer!)
Tiago / grammar!)
- 006 NUN: komm hei Tiago
come here Tiago

007 TEA: ((to all) aufpassen!)
 ((to all) be attentive!)

008 NUN: ((shouting as if surprised at seeing the vocabulary
 009 vocabulary card))

010 TEA: ne=ne=ne=ne=ne / lesen
 no=no=no=no=no / read

011 NUN: ((low voice) wald)
 ((low voice) forest)

012 TIA: <<with an accent> wald>
 <<with an accent> forest>

013 NUN: ((low voice) wald?)
 ((low voice) forest?)

014 TEA: gut!
 good!

015 NUN: ((laughing and looking at Maria) wald!)
 ((laughing and looking at Maria) forest!)

016 MAR: ((laughing and looking at Nuno) wald!)
 ((laughing and looking at Nuno) forest!)

017 NUN: <<Portuguese> baleia>
 <<Portuguese> whale>

018 TEA: ((to Tiago) geet et?)
 ((to Tiago) are you alright?)

019 TIA: uhum
 uhum

020 TEA: gudd / emdréinen / die aaner kucken
 good / turn around / the others watch

I would like to comment on several moments in this excerpt. First it is Nuno who proposes to give a difficult question to the newcomer (lines 3-4) and Simone apparently follows the recommendation. Then, once the question is asked, Nuno answers it before the newcomer (line 11), albeit in a low tone. Finally, Nuno mocks Tiago on three consecutive occasions (lines 13, 15, 17), but Simone continues the lesson without reacting at all. Interestingly, Simone tells Tiago that he has done well (line 14) and even asks him if he is fine (line 18).

Again, Nuno is overtly mocking the “new” newcomer and therefore reproducing the “natural” system he himself had partially “suffered” from upon his arrival at the new school. The terms “natural” or “normal” are meant from an emic viewpoint, thus they refer to the system such as Nuno may have interpreted it when he first arrived at this school and became a part of it. The “continuation and change” in this classroom community is essentially manifested in this and the previous examples in two ways: (1) Nuno is “continuing” the system by reproducing the mockery towards newcomers, therefore making more difficult Tiago’s access to participation and its resources in the classroom community; and (2) “change” is personified by Nuno himself as it seems from the examples that he may believe that part of the process of becoming an old-timer includes mocking another newcomer.

Excerpt_5_5
SCIENCES_20090313_15_10_Camera_1
2_grosse (big)
‘17:45- ‘18:06
Background information.



After the pupils rearrange their desks to form a circle, Simone explains the main activity for this lesson: the researcher, myself, is going to be interviewed in Luxembourgish by the pupils. After this, Simone and I share some cake with the pupils which I have brought for them. Then there is the weekly "lego- present" give away, and finally Simone returns the pupils’ corrected notebooks. The following extract shows Nuno mocking my Luxembourgish accent, as he had done with Tiago.

- 001 TEA: Stephan / wat wells du dann wëssen?
 Stephan / what do you want to know then?
- 002 STE: wars du eemol op engem boot?
 were you ever on a boat?
- 003 RES: ich habe ein brot?
 I have a bread?

004 STE: wars du eemol op engem boot?
were you ever on a boat?

005 TEA: op engem boot / eh / ship
on a boat / eh / ship

006 RES: ah by boat / eh / ja / kleine boat / nicht nicht grosse
ah by boat / eh / yes / small boat / not not big

007 NUN: ((imitating accent) grosse)
 ((imitating accent) big[g])

008 RES: ((laughs))

The current excerpt resembles previous ones in which Nuno overtly mocked Tiago in front of the classroom community. I am also a “kind of newcomer” to the community, with limited skills in both German and Luxembourgish, even though I am an adult. I try to answer the questions put by the children although I have a ‘strong’ accent when I talk (line 6). Even though the whole classroom community is clearly aware of this accent, only one member explicitly makes fun of my ‘linguistic’ performance: Nuno (line 7). Probably Nuno sees me as an “outsider”; a “full non-participation (outsider)” (Wenger, 1998, p. 167). Clearly, I have little linguistic capital in the classroom “market” and this fact does not escape Nuno, who reacts in a similar fashion as with the other newcomer, Tiago.

Excerpt 5_6
SCIENCES_20090313_15_10_Camera_1
2_fro emol (ask once)
‘16:32- ‘17:01
Background information.



This extract comes from the same lesson as above. Nuno, acting upon the teacher’s request, is going to be the linguistic support for Tiago. At the end of the extract Simone positively evaluates my performance in Luxembourgish.

001 TEA: oder / eh / Tiago / hues du verstan? eh / ((poking
 or / eh / Tiago / have you understood? eh / ((poking

002 Nuno)) fro hie emol / op hien vlaicht eng fro huet
 Nuno)) ask him once / whether he maybe has one question

003 fir sie ze stellen / eine frage so mol dem Tiago
 for him to ask / one question so ask Tiago

004 NUN: (se tens algo que queres falar com ele?)
 (if you have something you want to talk to him about?)

005 TIA: ((shaking his head) no no)
 ((shaking his head) no no)

006 TEA: nee ((laughs))
 no ((laughs))

007 RES: podes dizer o / português
 you can say in / portuguese

008 TIA: ((shaking his head))

009 TEA: [nee?
 [no?

010 RES: no tens nenhuma pergunta?
 you don't have any questions?

011 TIA: ((nodding negatively) no)
 ((nodding negatively) no)

012 RES: ((laughs))

013 TEA: mais den Fabio huet awer eng / wat wels da soen / froen/
 but Fabio had one / what do you want to be / ask /

014 kuck gesidd der wei gudd den Roberto lëtzebuergesch
 look how good Roberto speaks

015 schwätzt
 Luxembourgish

016 NUN: ((looking up the teacher) nee! (inaudible))
 ((looking up the teacher) noo! (inaudible))

The end of this extract is of particular interest. Once the teacher positively evaluated the researcher's (my own) performance in Luxembourgish (lines 14-15), Nuno is the only one in the classroom in open contradiction with Simone, and who negates my competence in Luxembourgish (line 16). After that, the lesson continues normally and no one makes any reference to Nuno's comment.

From my perspective and probably from Nuno's, I am also a newcomer in that community. Even though I am an adult, I share two important characteristics with the

“early” Nuno or current Tiago: (1) I do not speak Luxembourgish fluently and (2) I am an outsider and newcomer who arrived in November (and who comes from the outside). By treating the researcher as he did Tiago, i.e., negating his competence, Nuno perpetuates or reproduces the system he had experienced and had been part of (newcomer-oldtimer). In so doing, he places the researcher on the “periphery”, which allows Nuno to adopt a superior position; one that confers upon him a role closer to an “old-timer” than to a “newcomer” in this community.

5.3.2. Gatekeeping Tiago in exchange for full membership?

As discussed above and elsewhere, Nuno himself occasionally adopts the role of gatekeeper. The pressure and mockery Nuno imposes upon Tiago by his behaviour may eventually affect Nuno as well. A possible explanation for such behaviour is that by placing others on the periphery, Nuno positions himself as a more experienced member. In any case, Nuno’s behaviour contributes even more to his being classified as “naughty”. His classification as “naughty” positions him on the periphery, yet again, and whilst Nuno’s behaviour towards Tiago makes him look “cool” in the eyes of some of his peers, it also makes him look “naughty”, in the eyes of others. What is more important, it positions him as ‘naughty’ in the eyes of the different teachers.

5.3.3. Tiago’s reaction to Nuno’s behaviour

Throughout the data, Tiago’s behaviour, especially vis-à-vis Nuno is frequently documented. Tiago, described as a quiet, intelligent and sensible child, has performed well at school so far, and has no trouble with his behaviour. Tiago tends to respect the rules and follows the different directives of his teacher. In this sense Tiago is not as

“dynamic” as Nuno, since he does not rebel against the system and his role in it. Tiago has had some interactions with Nuno. As we have seen, some of them have not been very satisfactory, although in other cases Nuno has also helped Tiago. Where mockery is concerned, Tiago tends to seem submissive; he neither answers back nor complains about Nuno, which may be partly due to the fact that he does not fully understand what is being said. In any case, Tiago seems generally tolerant and keeps talking to Nuno whenever they are able to.

5.4. THE “CONFLICTS” CONTINUE

In the previous chapter, I studied the “conflicts” in which Nuno was involved, and which arose mainly because of his status as a newcomer and due to his limited linguistic capital at that stage. By the middle of the academic year, these conflicts have yet to be resolved as they are part of all classroom communities. These conflicts vary mainly according to the agents and the resources at stake. As I have previously mentioned, there are two main new agents during this new period of time: i) the new teacher Simone who, in general, is much stricter than the previous one, and ii) a “new” newcomer Tiago who, even though he seems quiet in comparison to Nuno, is still an agent as his presence has an effect in the classroom. We must also take into account the progress that Nuno himself has already made in this classroom community. He already manages to speak Luxembourgish and has no problems accessing participation. The roles are going to be exchanged. Just as the other old-timers used to limit Nuno’s access to resources, now it is he who will limit others. At the same time we have to take into account that Nuno is also being limited by the conflicts due to his “active behaviour”.

5.4.1. New teacher, new rules

The following example illustrates the view of Nuno as a “problematic” member of the classroom community. Nuno, finally, has the linguistic capital. His behaviour, however, is now a new element that may obstruct his access to participation. As the teacher changes from January on, some of the rules change too; even the desk arrangement in the classroom changes to a more individualistic one. The new teacher, Simone, brings along new rules and these rules, perceived as stricter than those of the previous teacher (Claire), bring along a restructuring of classroom relationships and power. Nuno is revolting against some of these changes that place him in a less “advantaged” position, and reduce him to simply being one more child in the classroom. This revolting, together with his active behaviour, will motivate the others to categorize him as a “problematic” child in the new classroom community. The teacher may be considered by some of the children as a newcomer, as she is totally new for them. The difference with the “newcomer aspect” of Nuno or Tiago is that the new teacher speaks Luxembourgish, she is familiar with the school and she is an adult with authority. In the excerpt below, recorded in March, the current teacher, Simone, tells us about Nuno’s disrespect for the rules.

Excerpt_5_7

2_INTERVIEW_Main teacher_rules

20090309_Interview_main_teacher

TE: so, but he is, eh, always let's say being nice like saying ah, hi, teacher, nananana, and then when you turn your back around, he is like picking on other people or he is like falling off from his chair so that's (what) he is doing with me and that's the same he did with Claire, and, I just had this one incident with him, where he was really really nasty, where he like hit me, but it was quite one of the only incidents we had, so, he, eh, oh yeah, it's not, it was better in the first two weeks than it is now, because he, doesn't want to always be told, no, you don't do that, no you sit down, you only have to, show, whatever, so, he is he is not liking rules that much, he is always trying

to, avoid them, or, doing what he wants to do instead of following what you said

RE: it is interesting that I noticed also that he likes telling the others the rules like be quiet

TE: yeah, being a teacher, I always yeah, I always tell him that he is not the teacher of the class, but he sorts of likes telling them when I when I say, you have to sit down so, he, if they don't do it he is just like oh! Sit down, like if he would be second teacher, yeah, you know

The above example shows very clearly the opinion the teacher has of Nuno's recent behaviour. From Simone's perspective, Nuno is not a child who likes and respects the rules of the classroom. At this time of the year and given his knowledge of the vehicular language (Luxembourgish), there is no more benefit of the doubt from the point of view of the teacher. Nuno understands the teacher's rules but he simply doesn't respect them. Simone also remarks how Nuno behaves differently when he is in different spaces or stages. Whenever he is "frontstage" he is nice with her, but "when you turn your back" or he understands he is in a "backstage" space, then his behaviour apparently changes, and he becomes "naughty". Simone also mentions and negatively evaluates the fact that Nuno likes "being a teacher".

As documented, during Nuno's first period at this school his first teacher, Claire, frequently used the strategy of assigning him the role of "teacher's assistant" as a means of integrating him into the classroom routine and compensating for his linguistic weaknesses. During this time Nuno's understanding advanced enormously but then the class teacher changed. Nuno's former active role as assistant is no longer needed, but it seems that he is having some trouble relinquishing this role. Nuno's attachment to this former role and probably his "active" character is seen not only by Simone but also by a number of his peers as a lack of respect for the rules and as naughty behaviour. The problems Nuno has in participating, due both to his status as

newcomer and to his lack of linguistic and cultural capital, have been mitigated by a change of role in his evolving process of membership. Therefore Nuno's abilities to access participation may, at this stage, be seen as illegitimate. Consequently the community, including the teacher, proceeds to be more defensive and they change their position with respect to Nuno and access issues. Unfortunately for Nuno, his new teacher does not seem to take advantage of his active behaviour and even seems to constrain him into adopting a negative role. Nuno's telling the rules to others seems partly the negative role left for him by the teacher. It seems as if Nuno is transmitting the pressure he feels on to others. Telling the rules should not be an issue; the issue for Simone is that Nuno is the one doing it. It seems as if the teacher does not want Nuno to be integrated as he is, an active child, but wants him to assimilate the role of a more passive pupil.

5.4.1.1. New access to resources

Due to the arrival of a new teacher the new classroom configuration, both physical (desk arrangement) and in terms of rules and regulations, changes the access to resources for the children in the classroom, including Nuno. This new access and participation are more linguistically constrained than before. "Linguistic" constraints may be taken to mean that the valid or "legitimate" resources for participation in the classroom have been reduced and, for example, Portuguese may no longer be a legitimate resource for participation. As Wallace (2007) states about the legitimacy of participation and knowledge: "In situated learning, however, issues about language... may well have more to do with legitimacy of participation and access to peripherality than they do with knowledge transmission." (p. 58).

Excerpt_5_8

LUXEMBOURGISH_20090303_11_40_Camera_1
2_ne portugisech schwätzen! (don't speak
Portuguese!)

'41:42- '41:56

Background information.



This short extract originally comes from the end of a Luxembourgish language lesson, just before the lunch break. Even if it is extremely short, it provides insights into the new classroom routine, its rules, and its valid or legitimate resources. The last part of the lesson was dedicated to homework and then one of the Portuguese-speaking children speaks in Portuguese in a low voice to his classmate, not far from where Nuno is sitting. The reaction of a nearby pupil is immediate.

001 AFO: ((talking to Maria in Portuguese in a low voice))

002 MIG: ((loud to Afonso) ne portugisech schwätzen!)
 ((loud to Afonso) do not speak Portuguese!)

003 TEA: ((continuing the lesson normally))

The pupil who objects openly to the murmurs in Portuguese is sitting next to the children concerned. The most surprising fact is that nobody contradicts or complains about this behaviour. Even the teacher continues with the lesson quite normally. From the reaction of the classroom community, it seems that similar situations may have arisen before, so that what this pupil is verbalizing may simply be part of the implicit (or even explicit) language policy of the teacher Simone. A strict language policy such as this one may discourage Nuno as well as other Portuguese-speaking newcomers such as Tiago (who arrived in January) from legitimate participation in the only language Tiago knows up to this moment. With such a policy in place, both newcomers, Nuno and Tiago (among other Portuguese speakers), may be discouraged from using a potentially valuable resource in the classroom such as their mother

tongue, which in turn, prevents legitimate participation and therefore a better and swifter move from the periphery, especially during the first weeks. Simone herself confirms this “no-Portuguese” language policy in an interview in that very same week, which will be commented upon on later in this chapter.

Martín Rojo (2003) describes this assimilative model, stating that eliminating diversity in order to achieve equal opportunities may result in inequality. She also addresses the linguistic dimension, stating that to eliminate the language of origin of some students in favor of the vehicular language may provoke not only low self-esteem, but also hinder integration, thereby rendering the learning process even more difficult for these students:

En este sentido, hemos observado que algunas teorías consideran preciso eliminar toda forma de diversidad para conseguir la igualdad de oportunidades, de acceso, etc. Sin embargo, ignorar estas diferencias, supone que son las formas y los usos de la mayoría los que se exigen y son considerados como el canon de medida y el punto de referencia; lo que incrementa notablemente las asimetrías y las situaciones de desigualdad. La dimensión lingüística pone nítidamente de manifiesto estos efectos, ya que la exigencia de la lengua vehicular, cuando entraña, además, la invisibilidad y la supresión de la lengua de origen, se hace más costosa, debilita la autoestima de los estudiantes y su integración en los centros, y dificulta el propio proceso de aprendizaje.⁹⁰ (p. 234-235)

Excerpt_5_9
SCIENCES_20090313_14_00_Camera_1
2_mir schwatzen lëtzebuersch (we speak
Luxembourgish)
'05:14- '05:29
Background information.



⁹⁰ My translation: “In the same line, we have observed that some theories consider it necessary to eliminate any form of diversity in order to achieve equal opportunities, access, etc. However, to ignore these differences means to claim the forms and uses of the majority and to consider them as the canon, measuring unit and point of reference. This increases the asymmetries and the situations of inequality and the linguistic dimension clearly reveals these effects. The claim of a lingua franca that implies the invisibility and suppression of the language of origin demands an increased effort, undermines the students’ self-esteem and their integration in the centres, and hinders the learning process.” (p. 234-235)

The conclusions drawn above are further substantiated by the following example. It takes place on a Friday afternoon during a Science lesson. At the beginning of the lesson Fabio, tries to talk to myself in Portuguese. Usually I speak Portuguese with the children, as it is the only language we have in common. None of the teachers have ever complained about the use of Portuguese in this school as long as it was used backstage. In the next example one of the Portuguese-speaking children, closely related to Nuno, tries to start a “frontstage” conversation with me and the teacher interferes by openly stating that Fabio should speak Luxembourgish, even though the teacher is perfectly aware that my understanding of Luxembourgish is limited.

- 001 FAB: Roberto! sabes]
 Roberto! you know]
- 002 TEA: [mir schwätzen Lëtzebuersch / nee Fabio!
 [we speak Luxembourgish / no Fabio!
- 003 FAB: ech hunn / zwanzig / e / e / e euros
 I have / twenty / e / e / e euros
- 004 OTH: eh / nee zwanzig euros
 eh / no twenty euros
- 005 NUN: zehn
 ten

This example, which reaffirms the language policy practiced in this classroom and the “assimilatory” policy that Nuno has had to follow at least since January, makes it unequivocally clear to me that Portuguese is no longer permitted (line 2). Nuno may only use it “backstage”, which he occasionally does, especially with Tiago. It is precisely this kind of language policy and assimilative model that make a difference in the way access is configured. The teacher is definitively one of the most important factors with regard to the pupils accessing participation in the classroom. Such an assimilative teaching method makes access for the newcomer(s) difficult.

Unfortunately, the issue of the teaching factor has not been sufficiently covered by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). Martín Rojo (2003), however has mentioned it in her book on assimilation or integration:

A pesar de ello, hemos observado asimetrías en cuanto a la participación y también cómo se produce, en ocasiones, una señalización jerárquica de la diferencia por parte de los estudiantes autóctonos, ya sea anticipándose a un desconocimiento o señalándolo o amonestando por él a sus compañeros (por ej. «Ibrahim no sabe leer»). La participación de los estudiantes de origen extranjero en el aula resulta menos activa. Desde la posición del profesor estos señalamientos jerárquicos pueden equilibrarse, nivelando tanto la participación, como las representaciones de la diferencia cultural y lingüística.⁹¹(p. 222-223)

As the above citation makes clear, the teacher has the necessary power to balance the salience of the cultural or linguistic differences in the classroom, especially for newcomers. Unfortunately, the last example does not show any positive balance from the teacher to the Portuguese-speaking community when the teacher immediately prohibits any conversation in Portuguese within her classroom.

5.4.1.2. New limitations to resources

In the following extract we are provided with an opportunity to explore the “assimilatory” policy partially explained by Simone. Even though part of the policy entails speaking predominantly Luxembourgish (and German) to the exclusion of all other languages, the Luxembourgish some of the children speak is not considered “fully” as Luxembourgish. This is linked to the children’s own identity; to their not being considered “fully Luxembourgers”, even though they were born in Luxembourg

⁹¹ My translation: “In spite of it, we have observed asymmetries regarding participation and how it is produced, on some occasions, a hierarchical marking of the difference by the local students, be it by anticipating, pointing to or denounce lacks of knowledge in front of the peers (f. ex., «Ibrahim can’t read»). The participation of foreign students in the classroom becomes less active. From the teacher’s stance these hierarchical markers can be equilibrated by levelling both the participation and the representation of cultural and linguistic difference.” (p. 222-223)

and have lived in Luxembourg all their lives. This policy therefore, may be considered as yet another limitation to potential resources that could be used in the classroom.

Excerpt_5_10

2_INTERVIEW_Main teacher_language use

20090309_Interview_main_teacher

RE: what about the communication with the other kids, what language does he use?

TE: Luxembourgish, because, except with the other Brazilian kids, he is speaking Portuguese, but normally, the, the big advantage here, eh, advantage here, is that you have so many different, eh, so many different, eh, nationalities

RE: yeah

TE: that the only language that they have in common is Luxembourgish so that's why they are speaking in Luxembourgish, well their Luxembourgish, most of the time, yeah

RE: and he, if he for example speaks some, eh, Portuguese, is is that ok for you or? Would that be ok?

TE: well, no, it wouldn't. Well, I, I've really sort (of) forced them to speak Luxembourgish, [talking to the children. Max talking to her in German and she answering in Luxembourgish]

Simone recognizes that Nuno usually speaks Luxembourgish although she states that he speaks Portuguese with the other Brazilian pupils (of which there are three in total in the classroom, including Nuno). This last fact is quite important for Tiago, the “new” newcomer, as he is still moving along the periphery, hence Nuno may constitute one of the main access keys for this movement. Both have not simply the language but also the country of origin (Brazil) in common. Nuno is more experienced and therefore accesses participation more easily. He, finally, is a more legitimized member at the classroom than Tiago, despite his increasing behavioural “problems”.

To return to the interview, Simone furthermore explains why Luxembourgish is so important at school. She states that it is a kind of lingua franca, the only language the pupils have in common. She also categorizes the children's Luxembourgish as "their Luxembourgish", thus as a corrupted form, deviating from the norm. Finally, Simone admits to discouraging the children from speaking Portuguese, in favour of coercing them to speak Luxembourgish (even though they speak it "incorrectly"). Bearing this language policy in mind, we can begin to understand why other children, such as Miguel, as we saw earlier, censor the use of Portuguese in the classroom (i.e., section 5.4.1.1. example 5.8). Miguel may just be following what the authority and model in the classroom, the teacher, dictates, either explicitly or implicitly. Once again, this type of "assimilative" policy could well limit access to participation for any of the newcomers as it may prevent legitimate peripherality as a means of promoting legitimate participation in the classroom.

Martín Rojo (2003) recorded a similar phenomenon in interviews conducted with teachers in schools in Madrid. She interviewed some teachers who told her that newcomers who used their mother tongue (other than native Spanish) in the classroom, were fooling around, bothering the others or speaking their native language to deliberately exclude the Spanish-speaking majority :

[...] «es trampa», dicen los entrevistados, o «lo hacen para molestar o para que no se les entienda». De confirmarse esta tendencia, nos encontraríamos con que se da prioridad a la sensibilidad de los profesores sobre las necesidades comunicativas de unos alumnos que se ven impelidos a abandonar su lengua vernácula, en ocasiones su único instrumento para relacionarse con el medio y para comprender.

⁹² (Martín Rojo, 2003, p. 195)

⁹² My translation : "[...] «*They cheat*», say the interviewees, or «*they just want to annoy and to exclude*». This tendency favors the teachers' sensibility over the communicative necessities of some students, who are brought to abandon their vernacular language, which sometimes is the only tool at their disposal for relating to the social field and for understanding." (Martín Rojo, 2003, p. 195)

The above citation indicates well that teachers' sensitivity to students' language obligations is prioritized over the students' mother tongue, sometimes their only resource for relating to and understanding others. This "assimilative" tendency leads to "decapitalization" (Martín Rojo, 2008; 2010), which has already been discussed, and which results in a loss of resources for the newcomer:

Madrid's educational programmes aimed at foreign students, such as the compensatory and bridging classes, in fact, separate the students and establish a different logic than the 'normal' classes. Students' cultural and linguistic resources are presented as deficient or non-existent; and this translates into decapitalization since their languages and knowledge are not recognized as such. This decapitalization has an effect on power relationships between students and also between students and teachers: students are divided between 'good' and 'bad', 'competent' and 'incompetent', 'ours' (from Spain) and 'the immigrants'. (Martín Rojo, 2008, p. 51)

5.4.2. Nuno's re-positioning in the "community"

Nuno's active behaviour has continued in a similar way since his very first day of classes. His first teacher "translated" his active behaviour into something positive, while his second teacher is constraining him to take another position, hence his "resistance". Other factors have changed too: a "new" newcomer arrived in January and Nuno can access legitimate participation without the need to shout or request external help (e.g. translation). Whether voluntarily or not, Nuno's positioning in the new community is changing and continuously evolving. We could say that Nuno, at this stage, has a "mixed" or "inter" status as he possesses the capital although he is still having some trouble in the classroom.

This mixed status may be illustrated by the extract which follows (5.11). Nuno already has a certain knowledge of Luxembourgish and German, nonetheless some of his peers still believe they have the right to correct Nuno, the newcomer or novice. The greater knowledge Nuno possesses modifies his access to participation in the

community. Nuno can read German and can communicate effectively in Luxembourgish without having recourse to gesturing as before. Nuno had previously progressed along the periphery, however the arrival of a new teacher has moved Nuno “back” along this periphery and he can be seen to resist such re-positioning. He still encounters resistance due to the way access is organized. On the importance of access organization Lave and Wenger (1991) stated: "Thus access is liable to manipulation, giving legitimate peripherality an ambivalent status: Depending on the organization of access, legitimate peripherality can either promote or prevent legitimate participation." (p. 103)

Excerpt_5_11
MATHS_20090304_10_00_Camera_1
2_sinn d (are [e])
‘13:21- ’13:34
Background information



The following example is taken from a Maths lesson conducted in German. The children are reading some sentences in German, which have been written on the blackboard in preparation for an activity they will complete on a handout later on. Nuno is reading the last sentence aloud in front of his peers.

001 TEA: <<lux.> sou / also dann kann den Nuno> / <<ger.> jetzt
 <<lux.> so / thus Nuno can / <<ger.> now

002 liest du uns den satz noch einmal> / <<lux.> an
 read the sentence once again to us> / <<lux.> and

003 dann sin mir ferdeg>
 then we are done>

004 NUN: ((reading from the blackboard) neun / vogel / sinn d?
 ((reading from the blackboard) nine / birds / are [e]?

005 ((looks at the teacher for approval on his last word))

006 TEA: [ja
 /yes

007 MAR: [sinT

[are [d]

008 NUN: auf de(m) ast
on the branch

009 TEA: gut
good

This last example illustrates very briefly the “mixed” or “hybrid” status of Nuno in this community at this point in time. It starts by the teacher giving instructions, which Nuno follows (lines 1-3). As Nuno has a doubt regarding the ending of a verb (lines 4-5), he looks at Simone, who then answers although at almost the same time, a close peer, Maria, emits her version of the answer (lines 6-7). Maria is openly and clearly correcting Nuno, although both Nuno and the teacher continue the lesson without reacting to Maria’s feedback (lines 8-9). It is also true that Maria reacts to Nuno’s indirect petition (to the teacher) for confirmation of his grammatical uncertainty.

Excerpt 5_12
GERMAN_20090304_8_00_Camera_1
2_Tony? (Tony?)
'31:52- '32:10
Background information.



This following extract, part of a German literacy lesson, provides a salient example of the teacher’s open support for Nuno, who has read correctly, yet who is being treated by certain of his peers as someone who cannot. He continues reading and receives the teacher’s support in this. Excerpt 5.12, again, is a representative example of Nuno’s mixed status at this point in time. Some of his peers are eager to doubt his skills because he is a former newcomer (and probably also because he is increasingly “naughty”), nonetheless Nuno has improved and most of the time he answers correctly.

001 TEA: und Nuno der letzte satz
and Nuno the last sentence

- 002 NUN: Isa und Tony essen]
Isa and Tony eat]
- 003 MIG: [Tony?
[Tony?
- 004 NUN: ein
one
- 005 TEA: tony das (ist) richtig
tony that (is) correct
- 006 NUN: ((looking at the teacher) eine ananas)
((looking at the teacher) a pineapple)
- 007 TEA: gut / ((to all) ich habe gesagt ich würde
good / ((to all) I have said that I would
- 008 zwei sätze an die tafel schreiben)
write two sentences on the blackboard)

Again, we can see that Nuno's peers (line 3) openly question his knowledge, even though he is right again in this case and the teacher legitimates his answer (line 5).

Excerpt_5_13
MATHS_20090304_10_00_Camera_1
2_röte und blauen Indianer (red and blue Indians)
'25:33- '26:17
Background information.



This example, in line with the previous one, illustrates, among other issues, how a classmate questions Nuno's pronunciation. Nuno obviously has some difficulties pronouncing the "r" sound in Luxembourgish, possibly because of the difference with his first language, Brazilian Portuguese. Simone helps him to pronounce it correctly and Nuno modifies his pronunciation accordingly (lines 6-7). In spite of this, a classmate continues to criticize him, asking what "röte" is (line 8).

- 001 TEA: [...] und Nuno / lies mir mal die dritte aufgabe / awer
[...] and nuno / read once the third exercise / but
- 002 die anner lauschteren ganz ganz gudd no
the rest of you listen very very well now

- 003 NUN: ((reading slow) drei ei)
((reading slow) three eggs)
- 004 TEA: also / dritter punkt an dann geht los / Ein
then / the third point and then we get started / One
- 005 NUN: ein hase malt zehn (r)ote
one hare paints ten (r)ed
- 006 TEA: ((showing how to pronounce the R sound) r r r)
((showing how to pronounce the R sound) r r r)
- 007 NUN: rote ((looks at the teacher))
red ((looks at the teacher))
- 008 MIG: (r)ote? ((to the teacher) was ass dat (r)ote?)
(r)ed? ((to the teacher) what is that (r)ed?)
- 009 TEA: rot
red
- 010 NUN: indianer
indians
- 011 TEA: indianer
indians
- 012 NUN: und zehn blauem indianer
and ten blue indians
- 013 AFO: [blauen
[blue
- 014 NUN: [wie viele / wie viele / indianer / malt der hase
[how many / how many / Indians / does the hare paint
- 015 ((looks at the teacher))
((looks at the teacher))
- 016 TEA: ja / also da gibt es eine hase und er malt
yes / thus there is one hare and he paints
- 017 NUN: ((raises his finger again))

On the one hand we can see how Nuno has vastly improved his linguistic abilities since he came in November. On the other hand, his movement along the periphery is not yet completed and some community members are either still questioning Nuno openly or correcting him, even though this is not something directly promoted by the teacher. Therefore we can see how both the social organization of the classroom community and the control exerted over the resources still affect Nuno. As Fuller et

al. (2005), quoting Lave and Wenger (1991), remark about access to resources:

Lave and Wenger propose that ‘peripherality, when it is enabled, suggests an opening, a way of gaining access to sources for understanding through growing involvement’ (1991, p. 37). They go on to acknowledge that the extent and quality of such access relates to the ‘social organisation of and control over resources’. (Fuller et al., 2005, p. 56)

Excerpt_5_14
GERMAN_20090303_10_50_Camera_1
2_Ech hu kee poquen (I don’t have any zits)
‘13:18-’13:43
Background information.



The present excerpt of classroom interaction is taken from an episode that took place when Simone was momentarily absent from the classroom, her absence creating a sort of free time and backstage space. Nuno was having a difficult time that week because he had just had the chickenpox, as his stepfather will tell us in the next interview. In this clip we can see how Nuno, who has almost totally recovered, tries to show off his illness to all his classmates.

- 001 NUN: ech hu keen (poquen)! ((raises his t-shirt / shows his
I have no (zits)! ((raises his t-shirt / shows his
- 002 *body to the other peers - who don't have his former*
body to the other peers - who don't have his former
- 003 *illness- and looks at the camera))*
illness- and looks at the camera))
- 004 OTH: ah
 ah
- 005 NUN: ((smiling) ahh // ((touches his chest)) // Sergio?
 ((smiling) ahh // ((touches his chest)) // Sergio?
- 006 SER: ((doesn't look))
- 007 NUN: ((singing) ah ah ah ah)
 ((singing) ah ah ah ah)
- 008 AFO: kuck meng / kuck ((showing his leg))
 look mine / look ((showing his leg))

009 NUN: Sergio / Sergio
 Sergio / Sergio

010 AFO: kuck / kuck da kuck
 look / look there look

011 NUN: ((approaching Sergio) wat ass dat?)
 ((approaching Sergio) what is that?)

012 SER: pokemon
 pokemon

013 NUN: ((talking to Sergio))

014 SER: ((talking to Nuno))

Other classmates actively participate in the interaction above. Afonso, right next to Nuno, interrupts the conversation (lines 8 and 10) twice in order to draw attention to himself, showing his leg, which apparently also shows signs of his having recovered from some illness. Nuno's illness may in fact give us a hint about his worries regarding his place in the community. Nuno does not like to be different in the sense of being inferior.

In an interview, Nuno's stepfather, Rui, told us that this illness had been quite traumatic for Nuno. At a certain level, having this illness made Nuno different from the rest, even "inferior", as Rui will explain in the next excerpt. Being different or inferior is something that Nuno doesn't seem to like. He is an active newcomer and as he has shown in the past, he is able to overcome difficulties and move on. The "chickenpox" example is just a manifestation of one of the difficulties the newcomer may experience when considered different or inferior to those around him or her. In the case of the newcomer, one of the most obvious "handicaps" is not being able to speak the language of the classroom community.

Excerpt_5_15**2_INTERVIEW_Father_competitivo****20090303_Interview_father**

FA: es muy competitivo, muy competitivo, memo esto de la doenza que, que le ha pasado, para él es una, una cosa, que le, que le hace, que le hace mucho daño psicológicamente, porque no sabía qui todos los niños tienen una doenza como el ha tido, para él, se creía que él era, era, defici, quasi como deficiente, porque tenía aquella doenza, cuando le hemos explicado que es normal, que yo la tengo, todo toda la gente lo tene, bueno se ha ha, se calmó porque creía que era diferente de los otros, que que, por tenerla era era, un handicapé

FA: he is very competitive, very competitive, ev[e]n this il[l]ness that, that happened, for him it is, it is a thing that makes him, that hurts him a lot psychologically, because he didn't know tha[t] all children have an il[l]ness as he has had, for him, he thought that he was, was, defici, almo[s] as deficient, because he had th[a] il[l]ness, when we explained to him that it was normal, that I have it, al[l] all people h[a]ve it, well he has has, calmed down because he thought that he was different from the others, that that, for having it he was was, a handicapped

As we can see from the stepfather's statement, Nuno was hurt psychologically because of a "simple" case of chickenpox (not so "simple", in fact, for Nuno). It was only after Nuno's stepfather had told him that everyone has had this illness that Nuno managed to calm down. Rui stressed the fact that his son regarded himself as being different or even "handicapped" because of this illness. Later on in the same interview, Nuno's stepfather even revealed that they allowed Nuno to phone a friend in order to ask her if she had also had this illness, just to reassure him that it was something quite common. After all these clear proofs, Nuno gradually managed to calm down.

Excerpt_5_16**TR_MANUELS_20090304_10_50_Camera_1****2_Joffer, Tiago wëll och (Teacher, Tiago also wants to)****'02:58- '03:38****Background information.**

The following excerpt belongs to the beginning of the arts and crafts lesson, during which the teacher is going to help the children to select a drawing from the computer before printing it out in order to colour it. Nuno is one of the first children to receive such a printout, which he then shows off to the newcomer Tiago.

- 001 NUN: ((shows the print-out to Rui dancing and singing) ta
((shows the print-out to Rui dancing and singing) ta
- 002 ta ta ta)
ta ta ta)
- 003 CEL: (das ass mein)
(that is mine)
- 004 NUN: eu falei com a professora / qual é o que queres?
I talked to the teacher / which one do you want?
- 005 TIA: ((inaudible) não sei)
((inaudible) don't know))
- 006 NUN: ((pointing) (inaudible) o mesmo?)
((pointing) (inaudible) the same?)
- 007 TIA: ((nodding))
- 008 NUN: <<loud> joffer Tiago wëll och / eine dat>
<<loud> teacher Tiago wants one too / one thing>
- 009 TEA: hei / nee / dir kennt deen zesammen kucken
here / no / you can look at yours together
- 010 CEL: kann ech och mat do goen?
can I go with you too?
- 011 NUN: ((looking down) jo)
((looking down) yes)
- 012 CEL: Nuno / kann ech och (do goen)?
Nuno / can I (go) with you (there) too?
- 013 NUN: ((looking at his paper) jo)
((looking at his paper) yes)
- 014 CEL: ((going away skipping and comes back later with her
015 chair))

This extract gives evidence of the role currently adopted by Nuno within the classroom community. After being categorized as a newcomer in November and assigned the role of “teacher’s assistant” to facilitate his access to participation, he has now moved along the periphery and learnt the language, among other things. Nuno’s re-positioning from teacher’s assistant to considering himself a kind of expert or old-timer for newcomers like Tiago seems to please him too, especially since he has the chance to do so very rarely. Nuno is now the one who is speaking Portuguese and some Luxembourgish, enough to assist Tiago. Interestingly, a third child, Sandra, joins in, interacting with Nuno in a manner that substantiates his role as expert or teacher (lines 10-15).

This, I would argue, is one positive example of “continuity and change” in the classroom community. Nuno’s progress in Luxembourgish and his knowledge of Portuguese allow him to establish a constructive connection between the newcomer Tiago and Simone (lines 4, 6, 8). This continuation and change is documented in this specific extract in numerous ways. First and foremost, by acting as a mediator between the teacher and the newcomer, Nuno is re-positioned as an old-timer and thus closer to “full” participation than Tiago. Secondly, the support Nuno offers Tiago reproduces the linguistic support he himself had received from Maria when he first came in November. Finally, but by no means any less significant, the roles originally adopted by Maria and Nuno have now been reversed; I observed that Nuno is now the one offering Maria support. Even though Nuno tries to help Tiago to get another drawing, he does not succeed. Where he does succeed is in communicating directly to the teacher and securing not only her full attention (along with that of his classmates) but her recognition of his role as a capable “agent”, which he does by speaking both Portuguese (backstage) and Luxembourgish (frontstage). Examples such as this one

during classroom interactions re-position Nuno, day by day, bringing him closer to an “old-timer” than a “newcomer”. Celia’s behaviour (lines 10-15) with regard to Nuno is also indicative of the hierarchy Nuno is creating around him. Celia treats Nuno as a superior by asking for his permission to join their group activity. Nuno, for his part, treats her as “inferior” in the classroom hierarchy. He answers her twice (lines 11 and 13) as he continues to draw, but without even looking at her. Clearly, he has adopted a different ‘footing’ (in Goffman’s terms) and is no longer the “innocent” newcomer documented in November.

5.4.3. The teacher dealing with diversity as homogeneity

Differences in the teaching styles exhibited by Nuno’s first (Claire) and second (Simone) teachers have already been addressed (section 3.6.2). Some obvious changes have to do with seating arrangement, classroom rules, and the use of other languages as supportive linguistic resources. From the first day on, the new teacher is going to change the dynamics of the classroom, converting it into a more traditional, individualistic space. With Claire, the pupils worked in small groups of four. Simone changes this dynamic by rearranging the desks into two rows. Collaborative working is not supported by the teacher, who prefers the children to work individually. If a pupil has a question, the new guideline is to ask the teacher first. The use of other languages, mainly Portuguese, is neither supported nor welcomed in the classroom as previously demonstrated (section 5.4.1.1). For all these reasons, one is led to conclude that Simone wishes all her students to be similar, or be treated as such, so that diversity is reduced to homogeneity. Where Claire attempted to tailor her approach to the pupils’ individual needs (for example in Nuno’s case), Simone’s behaviour clearly indicates her unwillingness to give any special treatment to any child, as all deserve

the same treatment. The two teachers' basic ideal of equity therefore is based upon different teaching philosophies, with their commensurate effect on classroom dynamics.

5.5. THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF RESOURCES FOR THE NEWCOMER

With the arrival of a new teacher (Simone) and a newcomer, some of Nuno's resources are going to be reorganized. His own progress is also a major element that configures the new organization of his resources. According to his teachers, Nuno is able to speak decent Luxembourgish while the use of Portuguese in the classroom is being limited to backstage spaces. Even the Brazilian variety is sometimes marked as different or invalid, thus Nuno also has recourse to the continental variety. In what follows, I would like to explore some of the resources that have been used and (de)legitimized during this period of time⁹³.

⁹³ I am aware of other exhaustive classifications of linguistic knowledge and interactions skills, i.e., the following: "The following outline summarizes the broad range of shared knowledge that is involved in appropriate communication. From the ethnographer's perspective, this inventory also indicates the range of linguistic, interactional, and cultural phenomena which must ultimately be accounted for in an adequate description and explanation of communicative competence (see also Gumperz, 1984; Hymes, 1987; Duranti, 1988).

1 Linguistic knowledge

- (a) Verbal elements
- (b) Nonverbal elements
- (c) Patterns of elements in particular speech events
- (d) Range of possible variants (in all elements and their organization)
- (e) Meaning of variants in particular situations

2 Interaction skills

- (a) Perception of salient features in communicative situations
- (b) Selection and interpretation of forms appropriate to specific situations, roles, and relationships (rules for the use of speech)
- (c) Discourse organization and processes
- (d) Norms of interaction and interpretation
- (e) Strategies for achieving goals

3 Cultural knowledge

- (a) Social structure (status, power, speaking rights)
- (b) Values and attitudes
- (c) Cognitive maps/schemata

5.5.1. Linguistic resources

Nuno is now able to speak Luxembourgish and follow the lessons like any other child in the classroom. According to his teacher, Nuno is even progressing faster than some other children who have been attending this Luxembourgish school from the beginning of the school year. His progress in Luxembourgish and German repositions him on the classroom map and changes his whole identity. As Saville-Troike states (2003): “In multilingual societies, linguistic competence may be recognized only insofar as it is demonstrated in the official prestigious language of the dominant group.” (p. 266). Applied to our context, “official prestigious language” refers to Luxembourgish (in addition to German) as it constitutes the main linguistic capital that Nuno lacked in the past. Another change in the classroom routine concerns Portuguese used by Nuno and other children as a valid resource in the past, it has now been constrained to a backstage space. The following extract from an interview with Nuno demonstrates the re-evaluation, and negation of Portuguese as a legitimate linguistic resource in the eyes of the current teacher.

Excerpt 5_17

2_INTERVIEW_Nuno_Portuguese use in the classroom 20090326_Interview_Nuno

The interview, conducted by myself, was part of a drawing activity which took place during a Portuguese “éveil aux Sciences” lesson. First, all the children attending “éveil aux Sciences” in Portuguese had to draw themselves at school. They then had to explain their drawing to me. Being unable to interview all the children (twelve in total), I told them that I would interview some of them randomly. Three children in

(d) Enculturation processes (transmission of knowledge and skills)” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 20)

total were interviewed, including Nuno⁹⁴. So far attention has been paid to the use of Portuguese in the classroom mainly according to the teacher's policy. The extract presented here shows how this "assimilation policy" is received by the children in the classroom and bears upon their access to participation, thus ultimately upon the legitimization of the periphery, especially for newcomers.

RE: [...] *mas no foyer tens que falar luxemburguês (não é)?*
 [...] **but in the day centre you must talk Luxembourgish**
(mustn't you)?

NU: *é, ali não falo português, não*
yes, I don't talk Portuguese there, I don't

RE: *não podes?*
You're not allowed to?

NU: *não posso, (inaudible) escondido, de ela*
I can't. (inaudible) hidden, from her

RE: *um, eh, gostas mais de joffer Claire ou joffer Simone?*
um, eh, which teacher do you like more Claire or Simone?

NU: *(a a professora) Claire*
(the the teacher) Claire

RE: *qual gostas mais?*
which one do you like the most?

NU: *ai, a professora Claire*
ah, the teacher Claire

RE: *Claire, sim? Porquê?*
Claire, yes? Why?

NU: *porque ela é muito boa*
because she is very good

RE: *((laughs) é muito boa)*
((laughs) she is very good)

NU: *uhum*
uhum

⁹⁴ Nuno was not the first one to be interviewed. Therefore Nuno was feeling very impatient to be interviewed, although once the researcher selected him as the next speaker, he turned out to be quieter than he appeared some minutes before.

RE: *sim, é mais, é mais simpática, ou?*
yes, she is more, she is nicer, or what?

NU: *mais simpática*
nicer

RE: *sim, e com joffer Simone também gostas algumas coisas ou?*
yes, and do you like some things about teacher Simone or?

NU: *um, não gosto muito (de ela não)*
um, I don't like (her)so much

RE: *não, não muito. Ela ela gosta do português ou não muito?*
no, not much. She she does like Portuguese or not so much?

NU: *não não gosta, de Nada do português*
no, she doesn't like, ANYthing Portuguese

The excerpt starts with questions relating to Nuno's language use in the "foyer de jour", a daycare centre. During the interview Nuno admits that Portuguese is not allowed in the daycare centre unless spoken secretly; "hidden", as he says, or backstage. I then take the opportunity to ask Nuno directly about his impression or preference regarding the two teachers (Claire and Simone) he has had during the present academic year. So far he had Claire for almost two months and Simone for two and a half months. Nuno's answer is very straightforward; he prefers his former teacher, Claire, who used a more 'integrative' teaching model that took advantage of Nuno's active role. She was the one who facilitated Nuno's access to participation, not only actively but in diverse ways, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. Nuno concretely defines his first teacher as "boa" (good) and then, upon further probing, as "simpática" (nice).

In contrast with this positive evaluation of his first teacher, Nuno confesses in a statement that reveals his sincerity and trust that he doesn't much like his current teacher, Simone, and continues by answering a question about language use in the classroom, in particular the use of Portuguese, one major linguistic resource for him,

especially during the first weeks. Nuno is, yet again, quite sincere, stressing the word “nada” (not at all) when referring to Simone’s dislike of Portuguese. The issue of language use in relation to questions of access, however, goes even further. Nuno is not always acknowledged as a valid speaker of Portuguese. We must take into account that the majority of children in the Portuguese Science classroom are not only from continental Portugal, but to be more precise, speak a variety from a northern region (Trás-os-Montes) of Portugal. Even though the children don’t speak the standard variety of Portuguese, supposedly spoken by their Portuguese teacher, Izabel, they still speak a continental variety of Portuguese, therefore closer to the standard in that classroom than the Brazilian variety.

Furthermore, the Brazilian variety is quite new for them. They probably had the chance to interact with only one Brazilian speaker previously (Maria). Due to these circumstances, Nuno’s movement along the periphery is made even more challenging, since he belongs to neither of the two main communities; neither the main classroom community with Luxembourgish as the main language, nor the Continental Portuguese community, which constitutes the vast majority in the “éveil aux Sciences” lesson in Portuguese. Below is a brief extract on this issue, taken from an interview with the Portuguese Science teacher.

Excerpt 5_18

2_INTERVIEW_Portuguese teacher_ici c’est pas banheiro (here we don’t use that word “bathroom”)

20090305_Interview_portuguese_teacher

TP: oui, souvent les autres ils comprennent pas, des mots qu'il prononce

RE: et ça c'était plutôt au début de l'année

TP: qu'il dit, oui, plutôt début, maintenant il y a pas de problèmes, non non non non

RE: *non non, pas de problème mais*

TP: *mais ils savent ils savent distinguer les enfants, même entre eux ils savent qui qu'il a beaucoup des nuances qui c'est différent, au début il disait, même c'était un autre enfant l'année passée qu'il disait, eh, maîtresse, il parle différent de nous, c'est pas portugais; quand il est venu un autre enfant, parce que, au Portugal on dit, posso ir à casa de banho*

RE: *si*

TP: *en brésilien*

RE: *“o banheiro”*

TP: *ils disent “posso ir ao banheiro”. Qu'est que c'est le “banheiro?” ils se questionnaient les autres, c'est*

RE: *mais maintenant il continue à dire le “banheiro?” Mais tous comprennent (ce que) veux dire?*

TP: *non il(s) di(sent) “casa de banho”*

RE: *il dit “casa de banho?”*

TP: *il dit “casa de banho”, e a Maria também, Maria aussi elle est brésilienne et ils ont dit, parce que les autres ils les corrigent. Ici c'est pas “banheiro” ((laughs)) é “casa de banho”*

Izabel was especially concerned about equity of treatment in her classroom whenever I asked her a question about the different varieties of Portuguese. My goal was not to make explicit the different origins of the children or to seek controversy. On the contrary, my intention was to understand the differences within the classroom community, especially regarding Nuno. Speaking the continental Portuguese variety was regarded as a potential factor (potential as Nuno does not ‘fully’ speak this variety) and valid linguistic resource for Nuno’s legitimate participation in the Portuguese-speaking community at that school.

We can see, from the extract, how the children themselves work as a community which believes it has the right to judge and state openly what is good and what is wrong. Unlike the previous example, we are not dealing with the views of a single child, but, as the teacher’s comments make clear, the whole group and community. It

seems as if the majority of the children have a different understanding to the one expressed by their Portuguese teacher. So far it seems that Izabel supports an opposite view concerning language and variety in the classroom. As she tells us in the interview above, she is not the one correcting other varieties of Portuguese, on the contrary; the children are the ones correcting Nuno and therefore they are the ones validating or legitimating, or not, the linguistic resources in the classroom.

A similar phenomenon happens in another ethnocentric culture, as reported in Madrid by Martín Rojo (2003). Martín Rojo documents the presence of different varieties of Spanish, and how this impacts upon how the majority behaves towards the minority:

La falta de tolerancia que desde los sectores dominantes se manifiesta hacia otras lenguas y hacia otros usos y variedades lingüísticas, con frecuencia desencadena actitudes desfavorables. Estos comportamientos tan normativos hacia la presencia de otras lenguas y hacia los usos propios de Latinoamérica no son testimonio de apertura ni de incorporación de otras formas.⁹⁵ (p. 232)

In the Spanish context, it is the peninsular locals as a community who align against the American-Spanish speaking community and who therefore decide upon the linguistic resources to be validated in the classroom. This is another challenge that the newcomer must overcome on his/her way to full participation and membership in the classroom and in the different communities in which (s)he is involved. Excerpt 5.19 demonstrates how Nuno learns more vocabulary and uses it as another linguistic resource to become a member of the local community. Nuno himself even recognizes

⁹⁵ My translation: "The lack of tolerance of the dominant sectors regarding other languages and other uses and linguistic varieties by the dominant sectors, frequently gives rise to unfavourable attitudes. These extremely normative behaviors towards other languages and language uses that are characteristic of Latin America are neither a proof of openness nor of incorporation of other forms." (p. 232)

this identity and language paradox in a spontaneous conversation with a Brazilian peer during the Portuguese Science lesson, as the next sample shows.

Excerpt_5_19
PORTUGUESE_20090305_10_00_Camera_1
2_eu sei falar muito português e brasileiro
(I can speak Portuguese and Brazilian a lot)
‘38:29- ‘38:52
Background information.



The lesson consists in reviewing the days of the week in Portuguese with the aid of a comic story. Once they have reviewed them, the pupils work in a small circle, telling the others about their weekly routine. After that, they go back to their desks and colour a copy of the comic they initially used for reviewing the days of the week. During the colouring activity, Nuno spontaneously asks Maria a question about their language preferences.

- 001 NUN: ((to Maria) eu (inaudible) falar em luxemburguês
 ((to Maria) I (inaudible) speaking Luxembougish
- 002 Maria / gostas?)
 Maria / do you like?)
- 003 MAR: ((writing) eh / não)
 ((writing) eh / no)
- 004 NUN: eu prefiro falar português
 I prefer talking Portuguese
- 005 MAR: eu também (inaudible)
 me too (inaudible)
- 006 NUN: eu sei falar muito português e brasileiro / e alemão
 I can talk Portuguese and Brazilian a lot / and German

In the above conversation the two Brazilian speakers may align when they state that they don't like speaking Luxembourgish (lines 1-3). The verb is, in fact, inaudible but one may infer the dislike from the context. Nuno goes even further when he says that

he prefers speaking Portuguese, a preference Maria shares (lines 4-5). Nuno then openly recognizes that he can talk “a lot” in Brazilian, Portuguese and German (line 6). We may take this statement as confirmation that Nuno has already learnt some words in continental Portuguese and that he recognizes the different varieties. It must be a similar process to the one he went through regarding Luxembourgish (and German), although in the case of Portuguese, there are some slight differences. Nuno already spoke the language, thus viewed himself as a legitimate speaker of the language, that is before discovering that the continental-Portuguese speaking majority laughed openly at his pronunciation and / or his vocabulary. Furthermore, we must take into account his recent personal circumstances, losing his Brazilian father and getting a stepfather from continental Portugal.

5.5.2. A progressive categorization

The re-organization of classroom resources may be affected not only by new agents, but also by the teacher as much as by peer perception of Nuno’s behaviour. The progressive categorization of Nuno has been addressed in different sections of this thesis, as it is connected with several issues at stake. So far we have seen that Nuno is shedding his status as a newcomer in the community and is progressively given another main role; that of the “naughty member”. That is to say, during the first months Nuno counted on the support of the teacher and of those classmates who felt some empathy for him. As soon as he was learning Luxembourgish, his “active” behaviour was increasingly perceived as “naughty”. A similar phenomenon happened to Maurice, another “naughty” student whom Wortham (2004a) followed for an academic year as well. Wortham (2004a) studied the interrelation between social identification and learning by closely following one student from a ninth grade

classroom. The researcher focused on the construction of this student's social identity in the same type of conversations regarding aspects of the curriculum. Even though Maurice was a keen participant at the beginning of the year, he ended up being an outcast:

From the start of the year Maurice participated actively in class discussions. He was regularly one of the half dozen students most actively contributing to discussion, and he made intelligent contributions to most of the classes he attended. From September through December, both teachers and students identified Maurice as a valued participant. [...] After being just another good student early in the year, however, Maurice's identity became more complicated around December. (p. 8)

Wortham goes on to study the relationship between identity and learning, a similar concern to my own. He explores the advantages and disadvantages of developing an identity in the classroom as in the case of Maurice, who developed a "naughty" tag or identity. This had negative consequences for his academic achievement.

Thinking of oneself as a "good" or "bad" math student can be a salient aspect of identity, and the development of such an identity may also influence how much a student learns. Second, some argue that identity-driven interactional patterns can shape opportunities for students in classroom activities, and that access to such activities can influence how much students learn. (p. 30)

Hence the importance of identity in the learning process at stake. As it seems, Nuno's identity, the resources and agents around him and his learning are interconnected and therefore bear directly upon each other.

5.6. MORE GATEKEEPING?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Erickson (2001) explains the implicit forms of gatekeeping which can take place in classroom daily routines. These forms of

gatekeeping, however implicit, may have very significant consequences for the future of the person affected, as Saville-Troike (2003) states:

The social implications are especially significant in education because gatekeeping encounters between students and school officials (or institutionalized extensions) often determine access to career paths, and thus to future social opportunities; they can segregate students for socialization and limit transmission of knowledge in some areas to a chosen few. (p. 266)

5.6.1. Oldtimers' gatekeeping viewed by the daycare centre teacher⁹⁶

Finally, I would like to present a small part of the interview conducted in March with Julie, the person in charge of the “foyer” where Nuno spends his afternoons after school. Bearing in mind Rui’s remarks about his stepson’s “competitiveness”, we see that a different view of ‘competitiveness’ may be held to the one expressed by Julie. Furthermore, as may be gleaned, she does not have a positive opinion of Nuno’s family. In this excerpt, Julie affirms that Nuno is well integrated although she believes the other children no longer want to play with him because Nuno is very “egocentric”. Julie’s belief that some peers no longer want to play with Nuno has some implications, which may include gatekeeping practices by the classroom community or the daycare teacher.

Excerpt 5_20

**2_INTERVIEW_foyer_teacher_plus jouer avec lui (no more playing with him)
20090309_Interview_foyer_teacher**

RE: toujours la même chose, ok. Sa relation avec ses collègues, il est bien intégré au groupe?

TF: il est bien intégré, mais, des autres enfants, eh, ne veulent plus jouer beaucoup avec lui parce que, il embête les autres pour que moi

⁹⁶ Martín Rojo (2010): “few of these studies focused on the context of schools. One that did was the analysis by Pérez-Milans and Martín Rojo (2007), who showed that in the classroom, peers may assume the role of gatekeepers, obliging their classmates to speak standard Spanish and that this communicative behaviour is linked to the students’ perception of nationality.” (p.63)

je regarde seulement sur lui, et les autres enfants le remarquent et c'est pour ça qu'ils n'aiment, plus beaucoup jouer avec lui

From the point of view of Julie, most of Nuno's peers don't want to play with him in this centre anymore, due to his egocentric character. In any case, Julie does not seem willing to intervene in the apparent conflict between Nuno and the rest of the children.

5.6.2. Teacher gatekeeping?

I have previously discussed Simone's, the current main teacher's, understanding of diversity and homogeneity. I believe the practices affected by this ideology may have a gatekeeping impact on Nuno, especially with regard to his "behavioural problems". Some teachers, along with a number of his peers, also categorize Nuno as a problematic child, as seen in the previous sub-section. Even so, Izabel, the Portuguese teacher, seems to remain positive regarding Nuno. In a later interview, presented below, she gives us her own interpretation of Nuno's current behaviour (March).

Excerpt 5_21

2_INTERVIEW_Portuguese teacher_explication agressivité 20090305_Interview_portuguese_teacher

TP: il est, il vient de brésil oui. ((silence)) Et, bon, quand j'ai reçu Nuno j'ai vu qu'il avait déjà un comportement tout à fait différent des enfants qui viennent du Portugal, pourquoi? Parce que, c'est déjà le climat qui a beaucoup d'influence, eh, même son père m'a affirmé que il était habitué à être plus, plus dehors, il jouait beaucoup des heures à l'extérieur, eh, ici, le climat ça le permet pas et déjà le l'appartement est, au brésil je crois qu'il habitait dans une villa, alors c'est déjà tout différent, il se voit ici enfermé, et à l'école bien sûr que, c'est aussi le programme, tout est différent, j'ai vu que ça l'a rendu beaucoup de stress, il est (de)venu même souvent agressif vis-à-vis des autres

Izabel's statement may be understood not as an excuse, but as an attempt at an empathic explanation of the changes in Nuno's life and the consequences these have

had. It seems that even though Izabel has noticed Nuno's difficult behaviour lately, she feels more empathy for him than Simone ever felt. The main difference is that Izabel tries at least to look for explanations for Nuno's "aggressive" behaviour, whether these explanations are the right ones or not.

The next excerpt has been taken from a German literacy lesson and shows Nuno asking his teacher Simone a number of questions. The way in which Nuno may request and receive assistance has also changed from the first to the second teacher. With the first teacher, Claire, I observed much more teamwork and when the children had a question, sometimes they assisted each other without the teacher's direct intervention. Peer assistance fits very well with the model proposed by Lave & Wenger (1991) where they suggest, leaning on Vygotsky (1978), that the newcomer learns by contact with other more experienced members. Extending this idea of learning from each other, Lave and Wenger reject the traditional dual roles of observation and imitation because, as Wallace (2007) states: "[...] 'legitimate periphery... crucially involves participation as a way of learning - of both absorbing and being absorbed in - the 'culture of practice'." (p. 58).

Lave and Wenger, in line with Corsaro (1997) and his model of child development, argue that the newcomer is an active entity. Although differing from Lave and Wenger (1991), Fuller et al. (2005) state that newcomers are no "tabula rasa" with no knowledge at all of the new situation, but bring with them their previous knowledge and experience, as exemplified by the case of a music teacher at school:

His existing knowledge of how to teach, learned elsewhere, helped him to establish himself reasonably quickly. [...] This process of existing community members learning from skilled newcomers is not covered by Lave and Wenger's theory. (p. 61)

Fuller et al. (2005) stress the fact that learning can happen in both directions, that is to say, an experienced member can also learn from a newcomer. The same scholars criticise the way Lave and Wenger (1991) dismiss the importance and the role of teaching in the communities of practice. In line with this role, the next example shows how Nuno's teacher blocks the assistance or teaching offered Nuno by an experienced member of the classroom, and how this situation becomes, therefore, a potential implicit incident of gatekeeping.

Excerpt 5_22
GERMAN_20090304_8_00_Camera_1
2_hand (hand)
'55:12- '55:45
Background information.



The class is working on reading and writing German. After having all worked together, the children complete an activity individually on their own handouts. In this example Nuno is going to ask the teacher for assistance and the teacher is going to help him. Meanwhile, a peer sitting next to him wants to join in and help Nuno as well, but Simone blocks this assistance on two consecutive occasions.

- 001 NUN: joffer?
 teacher?
- 002 TEA: ((approaching))
- 003 NUN: ((looking at his handout) e / e / ech kennt net / ech
 ((looking at his handout) e / e / I can not / I
- 004 ech kennt net kucken (den) ((pointing))
 I can not look (the) ((pointing))
- 005 TEA: (nee) das (ass) net do / eh / dat ass awer do /
 (no) that (is) not there / eh / but that is there
- 006 ((gesturing) hand)
 ((gesturing) hand)
- 007 NUN: ((looking at the handout and pointing) hand / ech
 ((looking at the handout and pointing) hand / I

008 kucke hand)
 look hand)

009 TEA: genau
 exactly

010 AFO: ((looking at Nuno's paper and getting up) inaudible)
 ((looking at Nuno's paper and getting up) inaudible)

011 NUN: (ech) (inaudible) (gewunt)
 (I) (inaudible) (lived)

012 TEA: uhum // ((telling Afonso to sit down))
 uhum // ((telling Afonso to sit down))

013 AFO: ((pointing at Nuno's paper) das (inaudible)
 ((pointing at Nuno's paper) that (inaudible)

014 TEA: ((stopping Afonso) te te te te)
 ((stopping Afonso) te te te te)

015 NUN: (und) dat joffer? (ass do?) ((pointing at his paper))
 (and) teacher /that?(is there?) ((pointing at his paper))

016 TEA: ((pointing) dat / (herz)
 ((pointing) that / (heart)

017 NUN: ((writing and looking up at the teacher for approval))

018 TEA: uhum // ((going away))
 uhum // ((going away))

Although Simone 'blocks' Afonso's attempt to assist Nuno, she is in fact trying to encourage Nuno, as she has done repeatedly in the past, i.e., she tries to get him to work on his own without the assistance of others. From the point of view of Lave and Wenger (1991), "It seems typical of apprenticeship that apprentices learn mostly in relation with other apprentices." (p. 93). From the point of view of Fuller et al. (2005) too, the teacher may have acted according to the rules of the system or according to her own teaching philosophies, but in fact not for the good of the newcomer. Teaching is not the exclusive prerogative of the teacher. Other community members can or should become involved, for the potential benefit of the whole community, as Fuller et al. (2005) state:

Lave and Wenger (1991) are overly dismissive of the role ‘teaching’ plays in the workplace learning process and of learning in off-the-job settings. Overall, the research is beginning to show that employees in a variety of workplaces are involved in ‘teaching’ a wide range of knowledge and skills. This finding extends Lave and Wenger’s work in two ways. While it supports their conception of learning as participation and as a social enterprise, it also draws attention to the role of teaching in the workplace learning process, and signals that apprentices as well as more experienced employees may have areas of ‘knowledgeable skill’ which they are capable of sharing with others. (p. 65)

Although the above citation applies to the world of business, it may help us too. The teacher, even if she is unaware of it, may gatekeep the newcomer (as well as other students) very implicitly (Erickson, 2001). The result of this is to hinder not only Nuno, but also the other children.

5.7. Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have addressed the second or middle period of Nuno’s academic year in his new school. We have seen how there has been some continuity and some changes in and for Nuno, especially regarding the main two new external factors or agents in the classroom: a “new” newcomer from Brazil and a new teacher. I have also explored the ways Nuno laughs and mocks the “new” newcomer, Tiago, in front of the whole classroom community, and how the new teacher deals with classroom diversity, especially with regard to Nuno. I have also looked at the new organization of valid or legitimate resources for participation in the classroom and how various linguistic resources may end up being used in a backstage space. Finally, I have demonstrated how Nuno’s active behaviour becomes categorized as “naughty” by certain teachers. Such an evaluation or labelling stands in sharp contrast with his academic achievement, and constrains him to a negative role within the classroom

community. Such labelling, however, may eventually limit his access to resources and end up affecting his academic achievement, thus his future career.

CHAPTER 6. MEMBERSHIP

- 6.1. Approaching the end of the academic year
- 6.2. The re-organization of resources for the newcomer
 - 6.2.1. Linguistic resources
- 6.3. Categorization
 - 6.3.1. The “naughty” one
 - 6.3.1.1. New access and limitations to resources
 - 6.3.2. The teacher dealing with diversity as homogeneity
- 6.4. Recognizing “full” access to some “community” resources
 - 6.4.1. Linguistic resources
- 6.5. The end of gatekeeping?
 - 6.5.1. Oldtimers’ gatekeeping
 - 6.5.2. Teacher gatekeeping?
- 6.6. Summary

6.1. APPROACHING THE END OF THE ACADEMIC YEAR

“De tanto oír de sí mismos que son incapaces, que no saben nada, que no pueden saber, que son enfermos, indolentes, que no producen en virtud de todo esto, terminan por convencerse de su ‘incapacidad’.”⁹⁷ (Freire, P., 1970, p. 60)

In the previous chapter we emphasized what we call the “mixed” or “inter” status of Nuno and the new configuration of resources at his disposal. We have seen how he reproduced an oppressive system when he mocked the newcomer Tiago, especially when Tiago tried to participate, but also how Nuno supported Tiago in the middle of the academic year (March). At this point in time (June), Nuno had been in the school and in the country for almost eight months and Tiago for about six. Tiago’s need for constant assistance has passed and the end of the academic year is approaching.

In the present section, whilst keeping our focus on Nuno, we shift our time frame. This last period corresponds to the month of June, two weeks before the end of the academic year. The majority of the significant samples selected from this period correspond to the progressive identification or classification of Nuno by the teacher and his peers as an “outcast” or “naughty” member of the classroom. This labelling could be taken as a kind of evidence or recognition that Nuno is a member, albeit a problematic one. The classification as “naughty” may eventually place him again on the periphery in terms of participation. One of the risks of being on the periphery as an “outcast” is that he may end up “marginalized”, as Wenger (1998) explains:

⁹⁷ My translation: *“By constantly being confronted with evaluations of themselves as being incapable ignorant, disabled, ill, lazy, unproductive, they end up convincing themselves of their ‘inability’.” (Freire, 1970, p. 60)*

From this discussion emerges the notion of a range of forms of participation with four main categories, as illustrated in Figure 7.1: full participation (insider); full non-participation (outsider); peripherality (participation enabled by non-participation, whether it leads to full participation or remains on a peripheral trajectory); and marginality (participation restricted by non-participation, whether it leads to non-membership or to a marginal position)." (p. 167)

Therefore, if Nuno continues to be labelled by the teacher and his peers as an "outcast", all his efforts to access resources and to progress in the classroom community may be at stake. He may be repositioned within peripheral spaces and have his access to resources and participation blocked, which will, ultimately, affect his learning process and future trajectory within the community. Wortham (2004b) states that we know more about typical and individual participation in classrooms but we know less "about how individuals' trajectories can deviate from the typical ones in complex ways." (p. 164). Wortham's observation is of direct relevance to the analysis being conducted here.

The present chapter, hence, focuses on the third and last period of Nuno's first year of primary school. The main recordings and interviews took place in the third week of June, approximately two weeks before the end of the academic year. Nuno was still getting excellent grades and in that sense his teachers were very pleased with him. Other issues have evolved since March and therefore the situation has changed for Nuno. Among the main changes, it is worth emphasizing the evolution of the "former" newcomer Tiago, who arrived in January, six months ago. The "former" newcomer can get along in the classroom community without the direct assistance of Nuno (as previously required). Another significant change concerns how the teachers perceive Nuno. The opinion of the majority of the teachers regarding Nuno's

behaviour is becoming more fixed, and increasingly negative, as time goes by; an impression shared not only by his teachers, but also by his peers.

6.2. THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF RESOURCES FOR THE NEWCOMER

The resources, especially those related to participation, are now progressively constrained by Nuno's behaviour, which affects how Simone views him. His supporting role for Tiago is no longer required, since the latter already manages the different school languages (Luxembourgish or language of socialization and German or language of literacy). Nuno's main trouble at this stage is his own behaviour. The issue of his behaviour may eventually obscure his brilliant academic achievement, which according to Simone, is amazing for a newcomer. Therefore among the main negative consequences of Nuno's behaviour are not only its effect on his teachers, but more significantly, how it may contribute to the possible re-organization of resources available to him. Even though Nuno now has the necessary linguistic capital, the consequences of his behaviour on his "perceived" identity may re-organize other important resources (including legitimate access to participation) with possible negative consequences for him.

6.2.1. Linguistic resources

Among the different languages and changes of code that Nuno has practiced in this last period, I would like to focus on his use of Portuguese. This language has had a "mixed" or "inter" status for Nuno throughout the academic year. On the one hand, it has been constrained to a backstage space in the classroom by the main teacher since her arrival. On the other hand, it used to be a useful resource during the first weeks at school (partially thanks to the support of Claire) and it is still a valid and legitimate

resource in the “éveil aux Sciences” lesson in Portuguese. Nuno has had issues regarding the difference of variety, especially when he first arrived back in November. Nuno’s adaptation to the continental variety demonstrates how Nuno is a very active agent in his new personal and professional environment and how he takes advantage of all the resources he can access in order to achieve his goals.

Excerpt_6_1

3_Father_continental portuguese

20090626_Interview_father

RE: pero también está como aprendiendo un poco de la variedad, de continental, del portugués, ¿cómo, cómo lo ve? ¿ha notado usted algo, algún cambio en su vocabulario? ¿si dice alguna cosa?

but he is like learning a bit of the variety, the continental, Portuguese, how, how do you see it? Have you noticed any change in his vocabulary? If he says anything?

FA: sí sí, (ha cambiando) ha cambiado algunos, algunas palabras porque, como sabe, el el el, la lengua portuguesa en brasil tiene algunas palabras que son un poquito diferentes del portugués continental, ¿no?

yes, yes, (he has chan[n]ged) has changed some, some words because, as you know, the the the, the Brazilian Portuguese has some words which are a little bit different from the continental Portuguese, doesn’t it?

*RE: uhum
uhum*

FA: y él ha, yo creo que ha pegado algunos termos del portugués continental, (poque) se habitúa también conmigo porque yo yo aquí a casa, le hablo el portugués continental, (normalmemo)

and he has, I think has taken some terms from continental Portuguese, (beca[ul]se) he has got to use it here with me because I I here at home, I talk to him in continental Portuguese, (usua[lly])

*RE: uhum
uhum*

The example above is taken from an interview with Rui in June. Nuno’s stepfather wanted to have the interview in Spanish, even though his Portuguese heavily

influences his Spanish. In this interview I asked him, among other things, about the change in Nuno's use of Portuguese. Rui's point of view is that Nuno has learnt new words in continental Portuguese thanks to him. It is here documented how far Nuno has adapted his own Brazilian Portuguese variety and learnt the vocabulary of the continental variety when interacting with the new "agents" in his new life: his stepfather and his peers. Concerning the issue of learning the continental Portuguese variety, Izabel provides us with a fuller answer, presented in the next section.

Excerpt_6_2

3_Portuguese_teacher_continental Portuguese 20090626_Interview_Portuguese_teacher

RE: et avec les, parce que je vous avez demandé plusieurs fois mais c'est pas important, c'est juste une curiosité, parce qu'il avait appris de vocabulaire aussi de Portugal de péninsulaire, ça il a il a toujours?

TP: oui, oui, oui oui oui oui, il a toujours, oui oui, parce que, il change énormément de, il arrive même il essaye de transformer, et de, (inaudible) parce que le copain de sa mère il est portugais, alors je crois que à la maison il entend aussi beaucoup le

RE: oui, le portugais oui du Portugal

TP: oui continental

RE: oui

TP: le portugais, c'est pas seulement ici (dans les deux heures) mais en même temps tous les copains que, la plupart c'est aussi des portugais

RE: um, ah oui c'est vrai, oui, la communauté plus forte au Luxembourg c'est de, cont, de Portugal continental

TP: oui oui oui oui oui oui, (d'accord), c'est l'influence, oui, ça se voit que,

RE: alors il a progressivement adapté un peu son vocabulaire, il a appris un peu de vocabulaire aussi de Portugal, eh

TP: oui oui

Nuno's movement in this community includes being open to the Portuguese variety of the majority and using all the linguistic resources around him. We have seen how the classroom community has mocked him and how his progressive reaction to such mockery or difference has been to "acclimatize" his vocabulary. Izabel also refers to Nuno's exposure to continental Portuguese, not simply during the "éveil aux Sciences" in Portuguese, but during other activities too.

We may better understand the above excerpt in the light of Moyer and Martín Rojo's (2007) observations on the homogenization of language varieties at school: "Non-standard speech, including accented or semi-grammatical expressions, is often the basis upon which migrants are categorized and excluded from participation in citizenship." (p. 143) We see now why Nuno progressively adapted his speech to the continental variety, not only because he learnt some from his stepfather, but also probably to avoid being mocked, categorized negatively and excluded from participation.

6.3. CATEGORIZATION

Being categorized as a "good" or a "normal" student at school sometimes depends on being closer to the culture, knowledge and behaviour that is legitimated and validated in the classroom (Martín Rojo, 2008, p. 50). We could say that the contrary, being categorized as an "outcast" or the "naughty one" in the classroom would then depend on being far from the culture, knowledge and / or behaviour that is legitimated and validated in this space. This categorization may influence the learning process, as Wortham (2004a) states in his article about the interdependence of social identification and learning: "[...] some argue that identity-driven interactional

patterns can shape opportunities for students in classroom activities, and that access to such activities can influence how much students learn.” (p. 30).

6.3.1. The “naughty” one

Nuno’s active behaviour is being misinterpreted or probably exaggerated as different or “unusual” behaviour. Apparently, most of his peers and teachers think of him as a problematic child in terms of conduct. Julie already pointed out this representation of Nuno’s behaviour to us in March. She was very disappointed with Nuno’s behaviour, as much towards his peers as towards herself, and by and large she was against our study, as she believed we were to blame for Nuno’s behaviour. That was the main reason why we decided not to interview this teacher in the third and final period (i.e., June).

This progressive identification of Nuno as a “naughty” or “outcast” child in the classroom is part of a process Holland and Lave (2001) define as the “thickening” of identity. As Wortham (2004b) also explains, “When an individual comes consistently to be identified in one way, in an institutional context that also solidifies as individuals get identified [...]” (p. 165). We could say that the “thickening” of Nuno’s identity has progressed since the beginning of the second half of the academic year. It is now in June that this thickening is becoming more obvious for the different agents around Nuno. The protests related to Nuno’s behaviour are now part of the discourse of Nuno’s stepfather too. As we will see in the next example, Nuno’s stepfather acknowledges Nuno’s linguistic progress, although he stresses the new challenge for Nuno: his behaviour.

Excerpt_6_3

3_INTERVIEW_Father_habla la lingua pero comportarse
20090626_Interview_father

FA: *me creo que que esta muy contento eh, le gusta, que aprende bien, a a a, en este momento habla la lingua [Luxembourgués]*

I think that that he is very happy eh, he likes, he learns well, at at at, at this moment he speaks the language [Luxembourgish]

RE: *sí*
yes

FA: *eh, creo que habla que habla muy buen la lengua, eh, creo que va bien, excepto exceptuando la question del comportamiento, ¿no? porque no eso no es de agora, no es la primera (pieza) que que la profesora lo lo me hace que me llamaba que me llama a la escola para hablar que por veces, hay que castigarlo porque no se comporta bien*

eh, I think that he speaks he speaks the language very well, eh, I think he is doing well, with the exception of the question of behaviour, isn't it? Because that is not now, it is not the first (time) that that the teacher does, that she called me she calls me to the school to talk and sometimes, one has to punish him because he does not behave well

RE: *sí, usted habla luxemburgués, por cierto?*
yes, do you speak Luxembourgish, by the way?

FA: *no no, no, no,*
no no, no, no,

As Nuno's stepfather says above, Nuno can speak the language, but he has other problems now. Rui tells us it is not the first time the teachers have drawn his attention to these behavioural problems. He is aware of the apparently "naughty" behaviour of his child. I don't want to claim that Nuno is a quiet child. Nuno may be a bit naughty, as are many children of his age. The salient issue, however, is the potential impact this behaviour may have for some agents at school and how this may be used against him.

6.3.1.1. New access and limitations to resources

It could well be that Nuno's bad behaviour is being used as an "excuse" to "exclude" him or marginalize him from the rest of the classroom members. This so-called exclusion "contaminates" Nuno's brilliant academic achievement. This progressive "negative" role left for Nuno re-configures the access he has to certain classroom and participation resources. As Nuno cannot play an "active" and "positive" role in the community, he is progressively "cast out" by his peers who limit the access Nuno has to participative resources. The new access to resources is much more centralized in the figure of the teacher than was previously the case. Hence Nuno's control over participation and resources has to have the teacher's approval. Being negatively categorized by the teacher directly affects the access to these resources.

After the different informal conversations held with Nuno's current teacher, Simone, some details remained in our recollection and ethnographic notes. Simone spoke of her immediate intention to move to a remote school in the north of the country for the following academic year. Her main reason for doing this, she told us, was her boyfriend, who was currently living in the north of the country, and working on a farm. Other reasons, as she then mentioned, off the record, related to the kind of school she was teaching in at the moment. Simone stressed the enormous amount of foreigners at that school, particularly the high number of Portuguese speakers. Her comments clearly revealed that she did not have much sympathy for the Portuguese community, be it within the institutional context or Luxembourgish society at large. Claire (in November) had already made similar comments, although these comments originally came from some of her friends, as she positioned herself differently (more positively) regarding immigration. Nuno's first teacher, Claire, told us, off the record, that many of her friends continually asked her why she was teaching in that school

full of foreigners and problems and wanted to know why she was not teaching in another school in a small village where most of the children are “Luxembourgers”. Claire told us that she chose Nuno’s school because she wanted to have a “challenge” while she was still young and that she had enough time in the future to teach in the “easier” environment of a village school.

I consider this initial positioning towards foreigners and diversity as a basis for different potential behaviours within the classroom. Having an implicit disapproving stance towards immigrants and teaching a class full of, “children of immigrants”, may have consequences, especially for those children. As Erickson (1987) states: “In the cultural politics of pedagogy in the early ages one route to maintaining trust and earning the learner’s assent to learn is to adapt instruction in the direction of the students’ home cultural communication style.” (p. 354). If Nuno’s teacher (in June) has a predisposition towards “assimilation” and “erasing” any characteristics which make a child different, then her teaching style probably will reflect this: any use or mention of Portuguese language or culture in the classroom may be forbidden. Any form of resistance by the child would then be penalised and the child potentially marginalized from the rest of the classroom community. Nuno’s attitude would then constitute a kind of resistance to some of the implicit teaching philosophies and rules, therefore his identity continues to “thicken” (Holland & Lave, 2001; Wortham, 2004b) to the point of hindering Nuno’s access to resources. What follows is an extract from an interview held with Nuno’s teacher, Simone, in June. During this interview Simone describes Nuno’s behaviour from her “assimilative” point of view.

Excerpt_6_4
20090622_Interview_main_teacher

*RE: eh, (could you tell me) how the kid behaves with the others?
 How do you see him interacting with the others?*

TE: yeah, well I think is the same thing as I said, already last time, yeah? Ok well, it's not getting better, it's even getting worse, because the girls (used to) play with him, but now they just stopped it, because he is always like cheating when they are playing, he is always taking their things away, he always wants to be first, because he just (know) himself, so it's, really, getting, he he he's losing his friends, and sometimes he is often quite alone, and last time he was just (tell you) was crying and he said 'oh I don't have friends anymore' and I said well, perhaps you should ask yourself why, but he didn't see that he is just oh the others did and they did and they did, but I was nice and so, um, well no, he is not, and that's why they just leave him and they don't want to play with him.

We must keep in mind that, so far, Nuno is very successful academically⁹⁸. Moreover, he is a very active child with lots of initiative and motivation. Some teachers may react either positively or negatively when confronted with him. Nuno's first teacher, Claire, on the whole, handled it positively and with lots of patience, rather than imposing an extra limitation upon Nuno's development. Generally Nuno's second teacher, Simone, confronted his behaviour and initiatives, as her teaching style was not only stricter but tended towards "assimilation". Therefore any initiative coming originally from Nuno, even if positive for the whole community, may constitute a counter-example and be used as a resource to "thicken" Nuno's identity as "naughty" or "outcast" even further. As Wortham (2004b) states: "[...] teachers and students use multiple resources to thicken this student's identity over the academic year." (p. 165).

⁹⁸ Martín Rojo (2010): "Under compensatory logic, categorisations tend to focus more on behavioural and personal features than on academic ones, and expectations are very low. The students who suffer most from this are those who are grouped in the Attention to Diversity Programmes, mainly descendants of migrants." (p. 349)

How Nuno behaves and how he is classified by the different parties, contributes towards his shedding the role of a newcomer and taking another position within the community, one that is closer to the “problematic” old-timer or “naughty” member of the classroom community. By this time Nuno has demonstrated that he now has more than the minimal linguistic and cultural capital required for participation in the classroom routine. Other challenges have come his way.

6.3.2. The teacher dealing with diversity as homogeneity

In the section on “new access and limitations” (6.3.1.1) we already mentioned the ideology expressed by the teacher, especially “off the record”. These kinds of comments were made from time to time, particularly in the informal conversations between the teacher and myself. The teacher represented the “values” and by extension the “community” of the Luxembourgers by opposition (polarization) to the “otherness” of the foreign or Portuguese-speaking community. It is a sort of “us” versus “them” (Martín Rojo, 2008; Martín Rojo et al. 2010): the “others” in the classroom are those children who were mostly born in Luxembourg, but have one or both parents of non-Luxembourgish origin. This is a categorization which has not been made by me, but by “assimilative” members of the society.

There is no space here to analyze in detail the different teaching techniques of the teacher when confronted with diversity in the classroom, diversity in the sense of having children with different family backgrounds (countries, languages, cultures, etc). What can be demonstrated, based on Simone’s behaviour in the classroom and on her (particularly off-the-record) comments, is that she did not regard the diversity experienced in her classroom as a positive fact. What is more, my understanding is that she viewed these children as having a “deficit” (Martín Rojo, 2003) that

“assimilation” or “uniformity” into the Luxembourgish language and culture may eventually redress. Her treatment in the classroom hence, was very strict rather than tailored to individual needs. It seems that Simone took all these children to be “foreigners” and treated them accordingly. Within the category of “foreigners”, there could be those who resist and those who don’t. Those who resist and therefore make trouble would then be the “naughty” ones or the “outcasts”. Judging by Nuno’s behaviour, he had all the chances of becoming one of these.

6.4. RECOGNIZING “FULL” ACCESS TO SOME “COMMUNITY” RESOURCES

At this point I would like to explore the recognition of access to resources by the different agents in the classroom. I would like to focus in particular on Nuno and his teacher Simone. I am aware of the myriad of resources in the classroom; of their variability and complexity. Wortham (2004b) explores the different resources drawn on by the different parties (students and teachers) to create “local identities”:

Over an academic year in a classroom, for example, students sometimes become recognizable types of people. Such local identities emerge as teachers and students draw on institutional resources, habitual classroom roles, the curriculum, and other resources to position students in recognizable ways. (p. 165)

The different resources serve to position and identify students within the community. In the case of Nuno, the linguistic resources are of great importance due their strategic value both for academic achievement and identity recognition. Recognizing “full” or potential access to these linguistic resources may have important implications for Nuno’s identity and position. This recognition may come originally from different parties, be they the teacher, the peers or Nuno himself.

6.4.1. Linguistic resources

It is commonly known that the different languages in the Luxembourgish educational system have different values as they serve different purposes. These languages have a different value not only in the school but also by and large in the whole society. They constitute a resource in themselves as Heller (2001b) states:

Language is a principal means for regulating access to the social networks and situations in which value is assigned to resources and in which those resources are produced and distributed (and through this function, language itself becomes a resource which is more or less valued by speakers and non-speakers of relevant language varieties).
(p. 214)

Language thus, is both a means of obtaining access to other resources and a resource in itself⁹⁹. Being recognized as a proficient or a “good” speaker of a certain key language may constitute an open recognition of access to other resources in the community. This recognition may of course be explicit or implicit, depending for instance, on the teacher’s behaviour. As demonstrated by the following extract from an interview with Simone, Nuno’s use of and progress in Luxembourgish is acknowledged. Simone recognizes Nuno’s proficiency in Luxembourgish and that he has been “assimilated” as he talks naturally in Luxembourgish most of the time, even more than some other children. This fact is explicit in Simone’s discourse, as well as her prohibition of the use of Portuguese in her classroom.

Excerpt_6_5
20090622_Interview_main_teacher

RE: for languages, eh, yeah the language he uses usually is Luxembourgish? Or?

TE: in the foyer scolaire? Yeah

⁹⁹ On this issue see also Martín Rojo (2010, p. 352).

RE: *what about in the school?*

TE: *in school too, yeah, mostly Luxembourgish because some other kids like switch to German, when they talk to me, but he stays normally in Luxembourgish so, he is improving really well in Luxembourgish and in German too*

RE: *what about Portuguese, do you do you see...*

TE: *I don't know*

RE: *him using it?*

TE: *yeah, they sometimes do with Tiago and, Afonso, kind of (stuff) Portuguese people together but I always like, they are not allowed to do that,*

RE: *ok*

TE: *so he is, normally he is not that, quick switching (type), normally he stays in Luxembourgish until the other one, (inaudible) begins, and then he switches to Portuguese too, but normally he still stays in like German or even Luxembourgish*

As for Nuno, he is also proud of his achievements so far this year. He seems proud and keen to show off in front of his peers, as documented in the next excerpt, which provides an instance of Nuno's spontaneous and open auto-recognition or appraisal.

Excerpt_6_6
PORTUGUESE_20090618_10_00
3_eu sei falar tudo (I can speak everything)
'10:58- '11:27
Background information.



The lesson starts with the teacher showing a Portuguese plant and talking about it, including different religious festivities. Then the teacher gives the children paper to draw how they each see their own school. Finally, they sit down in the form of a circle and explain their drawings to the rest of the classroom. The following extract takes place just before Izabel starts to explain the drawing activity.

001 TEA: ((talking to another child) então aqui o Sebastião /
 ((talking to another child) then here o Sebastian /

002 o o Nuno)
 o o Nuno)

003 NUN: ((with his hand raised) eh um / não consigo falar)
 ((with his hand raised) eh um / I am not able to talk)

004 TEA: ((telling the other children to stay quiet) shh / o /
 ((telling other children to stay quiet) shh / o /

005 oo) / vamos ouvir o Nuno
 oo) / let's hear Nuno

006 NUN: eu consigo falar aos filhos do / do duque em
 I get to talk to the children of / of the duke in

007 alemão / à mulher e el(es) não me entendem
 German / to the woman and the(y) don't understand me

008 TEA: muito bem / já estás contente que já sabes
 very good / you are happy because you finally know

009 alemão / não é verdade?
 German / aren't you?

010 NUN: ((nodding) já sei falar (inaudible) / eu sei
 ((nodding) I can speak at last (inaudible) / I can

011 falar TUdo)
 speak EVERYthing)

012 TEA: ótimo / olha mas para mim não fales nada porque
 good / look but for me you don't speak anything because

013 eu não sei nada de nada (mas mesmo) nada de alemão
 I don't know anything at all in German

This is one of the most representative samples to be found in the data from June concerning auto-recognition and linguistic resources. The extract starts as Nuno is asking for participation (lines 1-5). When he finally accesses direct participation and both his peers and the teacher are listening to him, he tells them something about him being able to talk in German to the duke's son and he says that they don't understand him (lines 6-7). Immediately Izabel rephrases this statement and states openly to the community that Nuno is happy because he can speak German (lines 8-9). Then Nuno emphasizes the fact that he can speak everything (all the different languages used at school) (lines 10-11). It is an honest statement and one which is probably addressed

not only to the teacher, but to the whole classroom community. He has had some difficult times during the academic year. By now he may be relieved that he has moved closer to the centre and may consider himself a member of the classroom community. At least he has the same linguistic capital as his peers and he does not have to feel different in the sense of inferior. Izabel's reaction (lines 12-13) is also remarkable. At first sight it looks as if she is congratulating Nuno because he can speak German. However, she goes on to state that Nuno's ability to speak German means nothing "para mim não fales nada" as she does not speak German at all. She therefore recognizes that she does not speak a language that Nuno knows now (German) but on the other hand she is telling Nuno that his statement is not very appropriate as they are in a Science lesson in Portuguese. Nuno's pride seems to be out of context but even so, Izabel gives him another reason to be proud (she cannot speak German and Nuno can). Izabel, by her comments, relativises Nuno's pride in his linguistic resources.

6.5. THE END OF GATEKEEPING?

Showing the end of gatekeeping, either implicit or explicit gatekeeping (Erickson, 2001) is a difficult task. Nuno can manage in the classroom without explicit help, like any other regular child. As we have seen in a previous section (i.e., 6.3), Nuno's behaviour is his new limitation and may potentially be a new cause for gatekeeping situations. Having said this, the fact that he is a proficient speaker of different languages and also an extremely motivated student may counteract the potential effects of such gatekeeping. Those who "keep the gates" of some of the resources in the classroom are, primarily, the teacher and secondly, his peers. The following extract is an example of open support given to Nuno by some of his peers. It is also

part of a competitive activity. Despite the fact that Nuno is being positioned as “naughty”, he still enjoys the sympathy of a number of his peers. This “sympathy” may have a potential effect on future gatekeeping practices as Nuno continues to progress academically. As such, it may partly redress Nuno’s negative categorization and the consequences thereof.

Excerpt 6_7
MATHS_20090619_14_00
3_Math contest celebration
'03:10- '03:31
Background information.



The lesson starts with a competitive game in which two children are selected to sum up two numbers. The one who provides the answer first is the winner. The following extract is taken from the first one to one competition.

- 001 TEA: ((pointing to Nuno and Fabio) sieben plus drei)
 ((pointing to Nuno and Fabio) seven plus three)
- 002 NUN: zehn!
 ten!
- 003 ALL: ((celebrating) ehhhh!)
- 004 AFO: ((getting up and saying something to Fabio and hugging
 005 Nuno) in the same team)
- 006 OTH: ((celebrating))
- 007 NUN: die (vanqueur)
 the (winner)
- 008 TEA: et ass / T'ass net schlemm / Afonso // mir man eng
 it is / that's not bad / Afonso // let's have a
 revanche
 revanche¹⁰⁰

In the example above, the children are split into two groups. The extract shows Nuno giving the right answer before the other team’s representative (lines 1-2). The reaction

¹⁰⁰ In the sense of “give a chance to the other team”.

of all the team members is of complete celebration; even one of the classroom members gets up and hugs Nuno in front of his peers (lines 4-5).

I think that if Nuno overcomes the “naughty” categorization and becomes fully accepted by his teachers and peers, he will be a full member of the community and therefore, he will have the same opportunities for success as the other classroom members. However, this categorization is external, therefore besides modifying his own behaviour, an external change, mainly with regard to the teacher’s opinion, should take place.

6.5.1. Oldtimers’ gatekeeping

Even though Nuno already has the necessary capital for participating legitimately in the classroom, there is still some confrontation from a number of peers. As it is impossible to reproduce all the confrontations here, I will limit myself to a single representative example (excerpt 6.8). It is my belief that Nuno is frequently affected by the explicit or implicit gatekeeping practices of certain oldtimers during this last period of time, especially due to the “thickening” of his identity as “naughty”. Therefore there may be issues related to Nuno’s behaviour, but this is maybe more explicit in the relationship between Nuno and his teachers.

Excerpt_6_8
GERMAN_20090619_15_10
3_Hal op Nuno! (Stop it Nuno!)
'19:01- '19:15
Background information.



The children are finishing a “cut and paste” activity from the last lesson. They then start an activity in German with a dice and the support of the blackboard. Later, each child has his / her own dice and has to write ten sentences in the same way they did

collectively on the blackboard. Finally, those who finish can exchange their "lego pieces or points" for presents. The children get one piece of lego for a good day of work and behaviour. They can also be refused a piece if they have not behaved well, or even lose a piece if they have behaved badly. The following excerpt is taken when the children are rolling one dice in turns and then reading a sentence in German.

001 MIG: ((rolls the dice too forcefully and it spins for
 002 very long time))
 003 NUN: ((blows from the distance, trying to stop the dice))
 004 MIG: hal op! hal op Nuno!
 stop it! stop it Nuno!
 005 FAB: ((puts out his hand to stop the blowing) inaudible)
 ((puts out his hand to stop the blowing) inaudible)
 006 TEA: ((to Miguel) hien mecht jo naischt)
 ((to Miguel) he is not doing anything)
 007 MIG: ((to the Teacher) hien bleist!)
 ((to the Teacher) he is blowing it!)
 008 NUN: ((turns to the teacher now) meng blos geht net
 ((turns to the teacher now) my blow does not reach
 009 *bis do)*
 that far)
 010 MIG: drei!
 three!

Miguel is being a bit naughty during the task he is accomplishing. Miguel is the one rolling the dice and he chooses to roll it very hard so it would roll for a long time whilst the whole class watches and waits for the dice to stop (line 1). Nuno decides to take the initiative to try to stop the dice, no doubt so the whole class wouldn't have to wait so long and lose extra time (line 3). Miguel's reaction is immediate and overt: he shouts, ordering Nuno to stop blowing (line 4). Then one of Nuno's close classmates, Fabio, puts his hand before Nuno's face to stop him from blowing (line 5). The teacher also reacts to this complaint by defending Nuno. Simone says that Nuno is not

doing anything to him (line 6) but Miguel keeps on protesting (line 7). Then Nuno is the one defending himself, as he faces the teacher (lines 8-9) and says that his blowing doesn't reach as far as Miguel's desk. Finally, the dice stops and Miguel reads the number (line 10).

As we may see in this sample, Nuno doubtless had no malicious intention when he tried to stop the dice. We have also seen how Simone defends Nuno and how Nuno can defend himself well enough in Luxembourgish. Nuno is becoming a bit like "Maurice" (Wortham, 2004a), whose identity as a member of the classroom is worsening, partly due to the curriculum. Nuno has progressed academically and his identity has changed, although some members of the classroom still react negatively to his interactions in the classroom, even when he is not being malicious. In any case, situations such as this, where Nuno is active and where a confrontation is involved, may not benefit Nuno's reputation. On the contrary, they may even make his reputation worse, as such situations may be misunderstood.

Even though this classroom interaction sample was taken in June, we must still take into account that learning and identity processes take a long time to develop. As Wortham (2004a) states: "There are 'ontogenetic' patterns, which develop over months and years." (p. 6). We could think that, due to the nature of Nuno's apprenticeship and the short time he actually has to adapt to the new situation, this process Wortham mentions could be accelerated. Therefore Nuno's "mixed" status, which was referred to in the previous chapter, is still predominant although, unfortunately for Nuno, the new categorization is becoming increasingly salient.

6.5.2. Teacher gatekeeping?

I have so far explained the different opinions that Nuno's teachers have about him. His two main teachers in the classroom, Simone and Izabel, both seem to have slightly different perceptions of Nuno. It is true that Simone has spent many more hours with him than her Portuguese colleague. Even so, they have diverse views on Nuno's behaviour, or at least they answer differently in their respective interviews with me. What follows is an extract from the interview with Simone. In this extract Simone comments on and describes Nuno's behaviour, although she does not try to explain her "reading" of Nuno's "problematic" behaviour.

Excerpt 6_9

3_Main teacher_nasty and nice

20090622_Interview_main_teacher

RE: um, what do you think about the relationship with you?

TE: the thing is, I think he sort of really likes me, but because he is always getting on my nerves really much, ((laughs) sometimes), sometimes he is just, even if he doesn't do anything I just know that he is going to do something, he's going to annoy me or he's going to make me angry so, he is, he can be really really nasty, at one point, and then be really really nice on the other point, but he is just like, yeah he is too much like ((mimic) oh yeah) which already annoys you again, he just, yeah he has this kind of character who just makes you go crazy sometimes

Simone describes Nuno as an extremely unpredictable character, capable of being "really really nasty" and then "really really nice". She does not try to understand the reason why Nuno's behaviour is apparently as it is, but simply gives her point of view on her classroom experience with Nuno. This is an example of an unhelpful perspective on Nuno and therefore this teacher is more likely, for example, to ask "probing questions" of Nuno in front of the whole classroom (Erickson, 2001, p. 176), thereby constituting a "face-threat" (Goffman's sense of "face work", 1967) for Nuno.

In order to demonstrate that a completely different view may be held of Nuno to the one expressed by Simone, I have selected two pieces from the interview with Izabel in June. In the following extract the Portuguese teacher “justifies” Nuno’s behaviour and at the same time she is sincere about the progress of the “new” newcomer, Tiago.

Excerpt_6_10

3_Portuguese_teacher_il le manque la concentration

20090626_Interview_portuguese_teacher

RE: il a un rapport spécial ou non, pas pas vraiment?

TP: pas vraiment pas vraiment, je crois que c'est un comportement d'un enfant que que vient d'arriver, tout à fait normal, bon, il y a un copain qu'il est arrivé plus tard et, il est déjà plus avancé que lui je crois, parce qu'il le manque la concentration, c'est un peu ça

The opinion of the Portuguese “éveil aux Sciences” teacher interviewed in June contrasts with the answers provided in the same month by Simone. Izabel thinks that Nuno’s behaviour is totally normal for a newcomer. She also recognizes that there is another newcomer (Tiago) who arrived later and she thinks that he is already more advanced than Nuno. Finally, Izabel states that Nuno’s problem is that he lacks concentration, not that he is “naughty” or even “disloyal”. In the next excerpt, Izabel continues her explanation and expresses the hope that Nuno will succeed in school.

Excerpt_6_11

3_Portuguese_teacher_son comportement

20090626_Interview_portuguese_teacher

TP: mais il fait des efforts

RE: il fait des efforts

TP: (inaudible) mais je crois que c'est, aussi l'émotionnel, il le manque quelque chose, au début il pleurait, il venait ici, il me parlait de son père, eh, ça c'est l'émotionnel qu'il qu'il qu'il, qu'il le manque quelque chose et qu'il arrive pas, seul à maîtriser, mais je crois qu'il va accompagner normalement une scolarité sans problèmes, qu'il a des capacités pour ça,

RE: oui, oui

TP: c'est juste changer un peu son attitude par rapport à, à son comportement et, et ça il doit comprendre, je crois que, avec quelques mois encore de l'école, qu'il va comprendre ça

In the first excerpt, Izabel stresses Nuno's lack of concentration as his main problem. In this excerpt, the same teacher makes reference to Nuno's first moments at school and provides reasons for the academic and personal changes in Nuno's life (e.g. missing his father). Izabel also stresses that Nuno will need to rethink his behaviour, but feels sure that he will achieve this in the near future. This teacher has followed Nuno's progress for eight months already and her attitude towards both his learning and his future in this Luxembourgish school remains positive. Her stance does not represent any gatekeeping threat for Nuno. On the contrary, as it seems, Izabel has developed some kind of empathy for Nuno and his personal circumstances, which she takes into account in her attempts to support him as well as the rest of the children. Her attitude is closer to Nuno's first main teacher, Claire, (November and December). Back then Claire also commented that Nuno used to talk to her in Portuguese (probably about his concerns) at the beginning of the school day. Unfortunately for both of them, Claire could not understand Nuno.

6.6. Summary

The previous pages have been dedicated to exploring Nuno's third and last period in his first year in a Luxembourgish primary school. The new organization of his

resources has been tracked, along with his progressive labelling as “naughty” or “outcast”. Different teaching philosophies and their possible impact on Nuno’s categorization and behaviour have been identified and explained. Another important issue addressed is the recognition, either auto-recognition or external recognition, of Nuno’s “capital” or “resources”. Finally, the various gatekeeping practices Nuno may have encountered within his daily routine in the classroom community were exposed and addressed.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis is the ‘short story’ of a process; one which unfolds from the moment a newcomer arrives at a particular school. His arrival, as is often the case, is not trouble-free and he must make use of all he can think of in order to progress in this new community. A conflict between ‘agentivity’ and ‘structure’ takes place, with all that this entails (e.g., gatekeeping). In the end the result or aim is membership of a particular community of practice. What clearly emerges from this thesis is that a community of practice is in a state of permanent construction and it is not perfect. A community of practice entails conflicts, categorizations and gatekeeping practices. Approaching the centre of a community of practice may be very difficult and may take a considerable amount of both time and effort. It has also its own risks, as I have shown with regard to the possibility of being “marginalized”.

I have also shown a link between interactional practices and social processes. Identity plays a key role in the configuration of both, as well as access to resources and participation. The ‘conflict’ between agentivity and structure is reflected in the conflict for accessing resources (and eventually ‘capital’). Having more resources and participating regularly in the classroom interaction facilitates the movement between the “periphery” and the “centre” of a community of practice. Thus, it also facilitates learning and **the progression of one’s identity** from “newcomer” to “old-timer”. The “resources” as well as the equal distribution thereof are, thus, the basis of any community of practice.

The characteristics of a member and the capital that is brought by him or her to a community are crucial. Of equal importance is the value attributed to such capital by the newcomer’s teacher(s) and peers. A negative evaluation of this capital may result in “decapitalization” (Martín Rojo, 2010) of the child, thereby rendering the

child's learning path in the new community more difficult. We have also seen the contrast between certain teachers' negative evaluations of specific types of capital (i.e., speaking Portuguese) and the positive use of this capital in the school routine (i.e., facilitating understanding of the different tasks). This contrast exemplifies the 'conflict' between agentivity and structure which a newcomer is confronted with and must surmount, almost alone, in a new community of practice.

This study has confirmed the difficulties a newcomer experiences in a new school; if new elements are brought into play (i.e., different language for teaching materials), then the possibility of these newcomers succeeding is even smaller. Furthermore, these 'romanophone' children are already experiencing a higher proportion of school failure (Cf. Chapter 1) than the average children at Luxembourgish schools.

Other issues regarding children speaking a Latin language (including the 'romanophone' newcomers) relate to the children's socialization and development in this new environment. The "deterministic" and the "constructive" models are both linked to the 'conflict' between agentivity and structure mentioned above, such that the "constructive" model correlates with agentivity and the "deterministic" model with structure. Thorne (1993) believes that the more powerful socialize the less powerful, but children can "act, resist, rework, and create; they influence adults as well as being influenced by them." (p. 3). Thus, in terms of socialization, it is possible to resist those who are the most powerful. By the term "resistance" I mean a 'positive' resistance as opposed to a negative one. Examples of positive resistance can be found in this work, e.g., when some peers or teacher(s) try to block the newcomer or limit his use of Portuguese, but Nuno uses it nonetheless.

We have also seen in this thesis the implications of a change of teacher and / or teaching philosophies. During Nuno's process of becoming a 'member', or a kind of 'member', a fortuitous change of teacher takes place. This change was very significant not just for the whole classroom community, but for the newcomer in particular. As the analysis of the discourses and classroom interactions in general have made clear, having a newcomer in the classroom harbours further implications for the teacher. Whilst this work is not the appropriate place for enunciating and expanding upon the teaching 'methods' regarding newcomers, it nonetheless draws attention to the necessity of doing so.

Participation in classroom practice is not free, as we have seen, but is 'controlled' and it allows (or not, as the case may be) access to group resources. Without these resources "full participation" becomes nearly impossible. Defining "full participation" is also a complicated matter in that it depends upon several perspectives (e.g. those of the teacher, the student, the peers, or the researcher). Identifying some of the limitations to "full participation" (e.g., gatekeeping practices) allows us to determine where exactly a specific member is located along the path to full participation.

New members, or even newcomers, in the classroom community will have implications for the research as well as for the community itself. A comparison between the practices regarding former newcomers and newer ones allows us to extend the scope of the study. Studying how the system reproduces itself (or not) enriches the implications of the research. When a former newcomer 'mocks' the 'new' newcomer, (s)he is reproducing an oppressive system or structure. Reproducing such an oppressive structure has positive and negative consequences for the actors involved. The former newcomer (Nuno) oppresses the newer newcomer (Tiago). In so

doing, the former newcomer may be seen, and clearly considers himself, as an old-timer. Being an old-timer amounts to already being a member, and therefore, being closer to full participation and membership. These conflicts reflect the intricate nature of participation and the level of control exerted by community members.

Another significant social process studied in the classroom is the progressive categorization of / between its members. In this thesis, I demonstrate how the newcomer's identity process is also linked to a categorization process that takes place at the same time. Categorization has serious implications in the classroom, bearing amongst other things, upon learning and academic success (Wortham, 2004a). Nuno is a 'victim' of the negative aspects of such categorization. Nuno's 'strong' agentivity in the new system is progressively categorized or 'marked' as 'naughty' behaviour. Whilst this may provoke the sympathy of certain peers in high school, it is my experience that, in primary school it has the opposite effect. Being 'naughty' is being marked, which, concomitantly, means being progressively "marginalized" by the teacher(s) and one's peers. It obviously has not only immediate effects, but may also have long-term effects, modifying the student's learning and academic achievement. Such categorization, furthermore, reveals the negative outcomes of the 'structure' on the 'agent'.

One of the 'risks' of both the categorization and the identity processes in the classroom is "marginalization" or "periphery". A progressive categorization may serve as a gatekeeping practice, either explicitly or implicitly. The newcomer becomes an old-timer and a member. Although (s)he has the necessary capital, the fact that (s)he has been negatively categorized means that his/her access to participation, and thus to resources, is being restricted. Such restriction renders the newcomer a 'marked' member of the classroom; a member, yet a 'kind of' member,

whose problematic status may eventually force the former newcomer into “marginalization”, with its corresponding effect on learning and academic success.

Furthermore, the membership process studied in this thesis already points to potential future studies which may extend and complement the present findings. Clearly more research on newcomers is needed in order to confirm the results presented here. Other case studies, either single or multiple, may be conducted with the aim of shedding more light upon what is evidently a complex process; complex, fascinating and so worthy of study that I have made it the focus of the present thesis.

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Appendix A: Consent Form for the study



UNIVERSITÉ DU LUXEMBOURG

Faculté de Lettres, Sciences Humaines, Arts et Sciences de l'Education

Unité de Recherche LCMI – **Ph.D. candidate Roberto Gómez-Fernández**

Walferdange, le 12 novembre 2008

Chers parents,

Mon nom est Roberto Gómez-Fernández. Je suis assistant à la Faculté des Lettres, Sciences Humaines, Arts et Sciences de l'Education à l'Université du Luxembourg. Mon projet de recherche s'intitule :

Développement du Langage et de la Participation dans un milieu multilingue et a pour objectif mieux comprendre le développement langagière des enfant pour améliorer éventuellement le procès d'apprentissage.

Dans le cadre de mon projet de recherche à l'université, je voudrais observer le développement du Langage et de la Participation dans le Foyer scolaire. Je ferais le possible pour ne déranger pas le cours normal au Foyer scolaire alors mon rôle serait d'un observateur scientifique. Mon travail consisterait à observer le déroulement du cours, ainsi comme à prendre des notes. Si nécessaire, j'aurais besoin de aussi enregistrer le cours dans de format audio et/ou vidéo. Ces enregistrements seraient faites de la façon la moins intrusive possible. Ces observations auraient lieu dans deux périodes pendant l'année scolaire : un jour au milieu et un jour à la fin.

La collection de données a des buts purement scientifiques, avec l'objectif final d'une amélioration de la qualité du système éducatif et donc des bénéfices pour tous, spécialement pour l'éducation et pour la société. Les données seront traitées et analysées de manière anonyme et ne seront accessibles – outre les titulaires de la classe de l'école concernées – que 'à mon directeur (Prof. Jean-Jacques Weber) et à moi, de l'Université du Luxembourg. En tant que parent, vous pouvez solliciter la visualisation (pas de copie) de ces donnés au sein de l'Université du Luxembourg.

Toutes les données seront tenues strictement confidentielles. Des extraits totalement modifiés (audio et/ou vidéo modifié impossible d'identifier l'informant) pourront être inclus dans des cours, des conférences et des publications. Mais dans tous les cas, le nom de l'école, votre nom, celui de votre fils/fille, ainsi que toute caractéristique pouvant vous identifier ne seront jamais divulgués. Si vous avez des questions ou des suggestions n'hésitez pas à me contacter lors de la réunion parentale ou avant / après à l'aide des coordonnées indiquées ci-dessous. Le service pédagogique de la ville de Luxembourg connaît et soutien ce projet et il sont et seront informés du développement et des conclusions.

Dans l'espoir de vous voir contribuer à la recherche au sein de l'Université du Luxembourg, je vous remercie de votre collaboration.


UNIVERSITE DU LUXEMBOURG

Faculté de Lettres, Sciences Humaines, Arts et Sciences de l'Education
Unité de Recherche LCMI – **Ph.D. candidate Roberto Gómez-Fernández**

Veuillez agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

Roberto Gómez-Fernández

Ph.D. candidate Roberto Gómez-Fernández
Campus Walferdange; Route de Diekirch
L-7201 Walferdange; Luxembourg

roberto.gomez@uni.lu
Tel.: +35 2 – 46 66 44 – 95 16
Fax: +35 2 – 46 66 44 – 65 13

Merci de écrire votre nom (père ou mère) dans cette lettre pour indiquer votre accord:

Nom:

Date:

Si vous êtes intéressé à lire d'éventuelles publications, veuillez indiquer votre adresse ici (email préféré):

.....
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UNIVERSITE DU LUXEMBOURG

Faculté de Lettres, Sciences Humaines, Arts et Sciences de l'Education
Unité de Recherche LCMI – **Ph.D. candidate Roberto Gómez-Fernández**

Walferdange, le 8 décembre 2008

Cher personnel du CAPEL,

Mon nom est Roberto Gómez-Fernández. Je suis assistant à la Faculté des Lettres, Sciences Humaines, Arts et Sciences de l'Education à l'Université du Luxembourg. Mon projet de recherche s'intitule :

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**UNIVERSITE DU LUXEMBOURG**

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Veillez agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

Roberto Gómez-Fernández

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Campus Walferdange; Route de Diekirch
L-7201 Walferdange; Luxembourg

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Tel.: +35 2 – 46 66 44 – 95 24
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Roberto Gómez Fernández

PDF PRINT EMAIL

Contact Information:

Qualifications: M.A. Linguistics & M.A. Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language
 Title: University Assistant (Director/Advisor: Prof. G. Ziegler)
 Faculty: Faculty of Language and Literature, Humanities, Arts and Education (FLSHASE)
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 Mailing Address: University of Luxembourg; Campus Walferdange; P. O. Box 2; L-7201 Walferdange
 Email: roberto.gomez (a) uni.lu, rg229 (a) georgetown.edu
 Phone: +352 46.66.44 9516
 Skype: robertogf



Research Interests:

Basically I am interested on the social side of language learning in multilingual and multicultural contexts, specially in primary schools. At the moment I am researching on case studies about monolingual children coming to multilingual contexts such as Luxembourg. I use Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis as tools.

Research Projects:

Ph.D. project: Collaborative language learning in plurilingual learning environments.

Educational Background:

- 2006-10 Ph.D. at [Université du Luxembourg](#) (Luxembourg)
- Ph.D. at [Universidad de Alcalá](#) (Spain) (working cotutelle)
- 2005-06 "Chargé de cours" at [Université Paul Verlaine-Metz](#) (France)
- 2005-06 "Assistant Linguistique" at [Lycée Technique des Arts et Métiers](#) (Luxembourg)
- 2004-05 Ph.D. seminars at [Georgetown University](#) (USA)
- 2002-04 M.A. Linguistics at [Bowling Green State University](#) (USA)
- 2001-02 C.A.P. (Teaching Certificate) at [Universidad Complutense de Madrid](#) (Spain)
- 2001-03 M.A. Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language at [Universidad de Alcalá](#) (Spain)
- 2000-01 Erasmus at [Université Paul Verlaine-Metz](#) (France)
- 1997-01 B.A. Modern Languages at [Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha](#) (Spain)

Publications:

1. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto. (2005). Motivation and Exchange of emails between students. Proceedings of the Third Internacional Conference on Multimedia and Information & Communication Technologies in Education, Universidad de Extremadura, Cáceres. ISBN Vol. II (13): 978-609-5996-1/ ISBN Vol. II (10): 609-5996-1.
2. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto. (2001). Traducción de The Sniper de Liam O'Flaherty aparecida en el N° 2 de Callope (Revista de Alumnos de Filología Moderna de la Facultad de Letras de Ciudad Real, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha).
3. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & al. (2001). Soy árabe. Traducción de un poema en árabe. Callope: Revista de Alumnos de Filología Moderna. Vol. 2. UCLM.

Papers presented:

1. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & Curiel Fernández, María del Prado (2008). The Development of Participation in Dyadic Interaction: A Case of Multi-lingual/cultural Children. Poster presented at the ISCAR Conference on Ecologies of Diversities: Contexts, Complexities, and Collaborations, San Diego (USA), 8-13 September.
2. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & Curiel Fernández, María del Prado (2008). Language use and multilingual interaction among young people with different migration backgrounds in Luxembourg. Poster presented at the ISCAR Conference on Ecologies of Diversities: Contexts, Complexities, and Collaborations, San Diego (USA), 8-13 September.
3. Gómez-Fernández, R. (2008). Collaborative literacy and task construction at primary level in a multilingual classroom. AILA 2008: Multilingualism, challenges and opportunities. Essen (Germany), 24-29 August.
4. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & Curiel Fernández, María del Prado (2008). La participación interactiva en diadas: Un caso de niños multilingües. The Enkido Summer Conference 2008: Storytelling, Memories and Identity Constructions, focus on "Border cultures, Multi-Culturalism, Diasporas and Cosmopolitanism", México City (México), 3-7 July.
5. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & Curiel Fernández, María del Prado (2008). El uso del lenguaje e interacción multilingüe entre adolescentes de origen inmigrante en Luxemburgo. The Enkido Summer Conference 2008: Storytelling, Memories and Identity Constructions, focus on "Border cultures, Multi-Culturalism, Diasporas and Cosmopolitanism", México City (México), 3-7 July.
6. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto & Ziegler, Gudrun (2008). Collaborative activities & language learning in multilingual interactions: A vocabulary task. CODI meeting, Université de Neuchâtel (Switzerland), 22-23 May.
7. Gómez-Fernández, Roberto (2007). Task Construction & Interaction among Multilingual Children. Poster presented at Summer School SSG/SSL 2007 'First Language Acquisition', Universität Basel, Basel (Switzerland), 3-7 September.
8. Gómez-Fernández, R., Cerezo, L. & Ram, B. (2005) Frequency of exposure, Task Complexity and L2 Development: A Computer-based Study. AATSP Annual Meeting, New York (USA). 28. July-1 August 2005.


UNIVERSITÉ DU LUXEMBOURG

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Walferdange, le 8 décembre 2008

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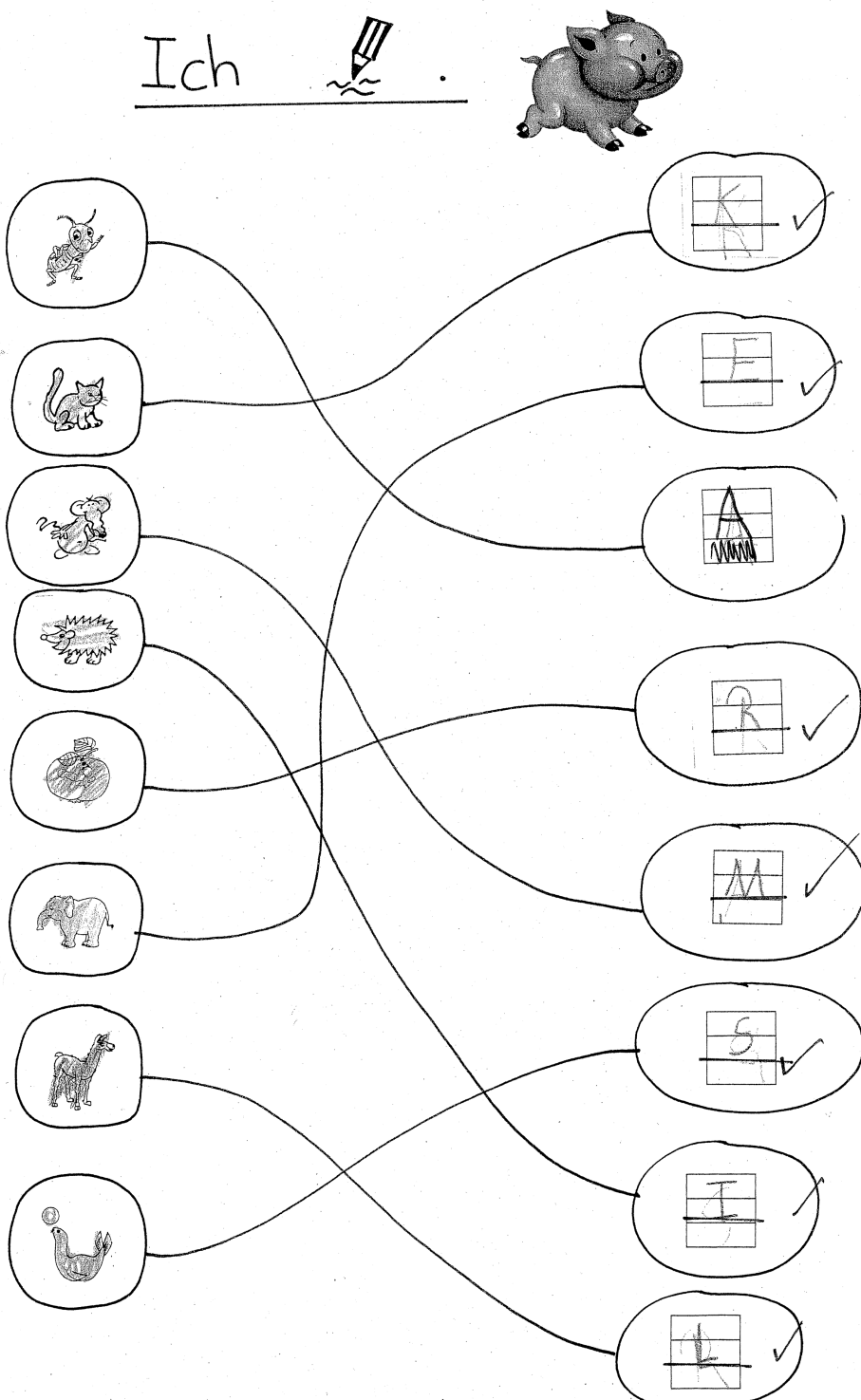
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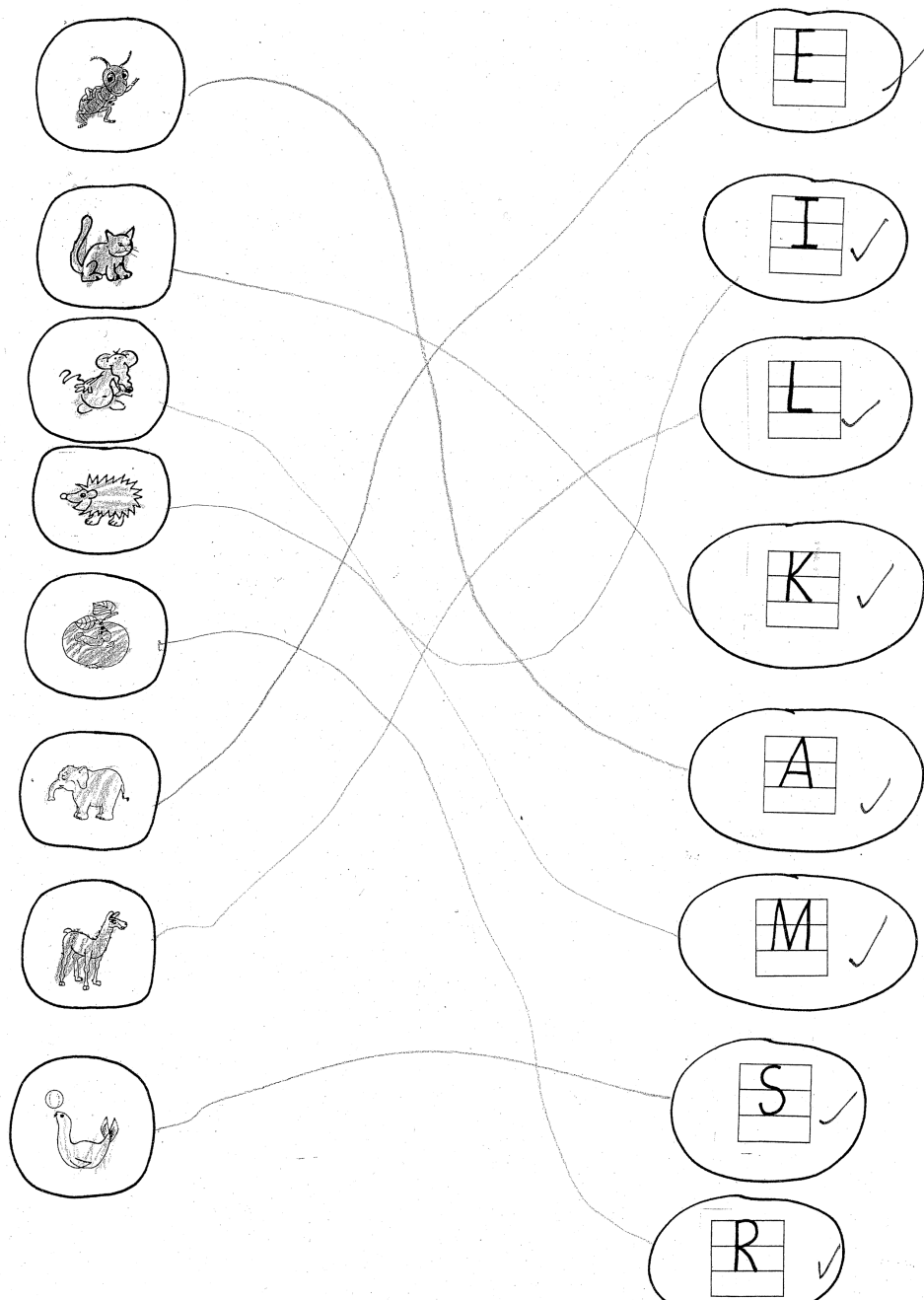
Toutes les données seront tenues strictement confidentielles. Des extraits totalement modifiés (audio et/ou vidéo modifié impossible d'identifier l'informant) pourront être inclus dans des cours, des conférences et des publications. Mais dans tous les cas, le nom de l'école, votre nom, ceux des enfants, ainsi que toute caractéristique pouvant les identifier ne seront jamais divulgués. Si vous avez des questions ou des suggestions n'hésitez pas à me contacter lors de la réunion parentale ou avant / après à l'aide des coordonnées indiquées ci-dessous. Le service pédagogique de la ville de Luxembourg connaît et soutien ce projet, ainsi comme les professeurs concernées et il sont et seront informés du développement et des conclusions.

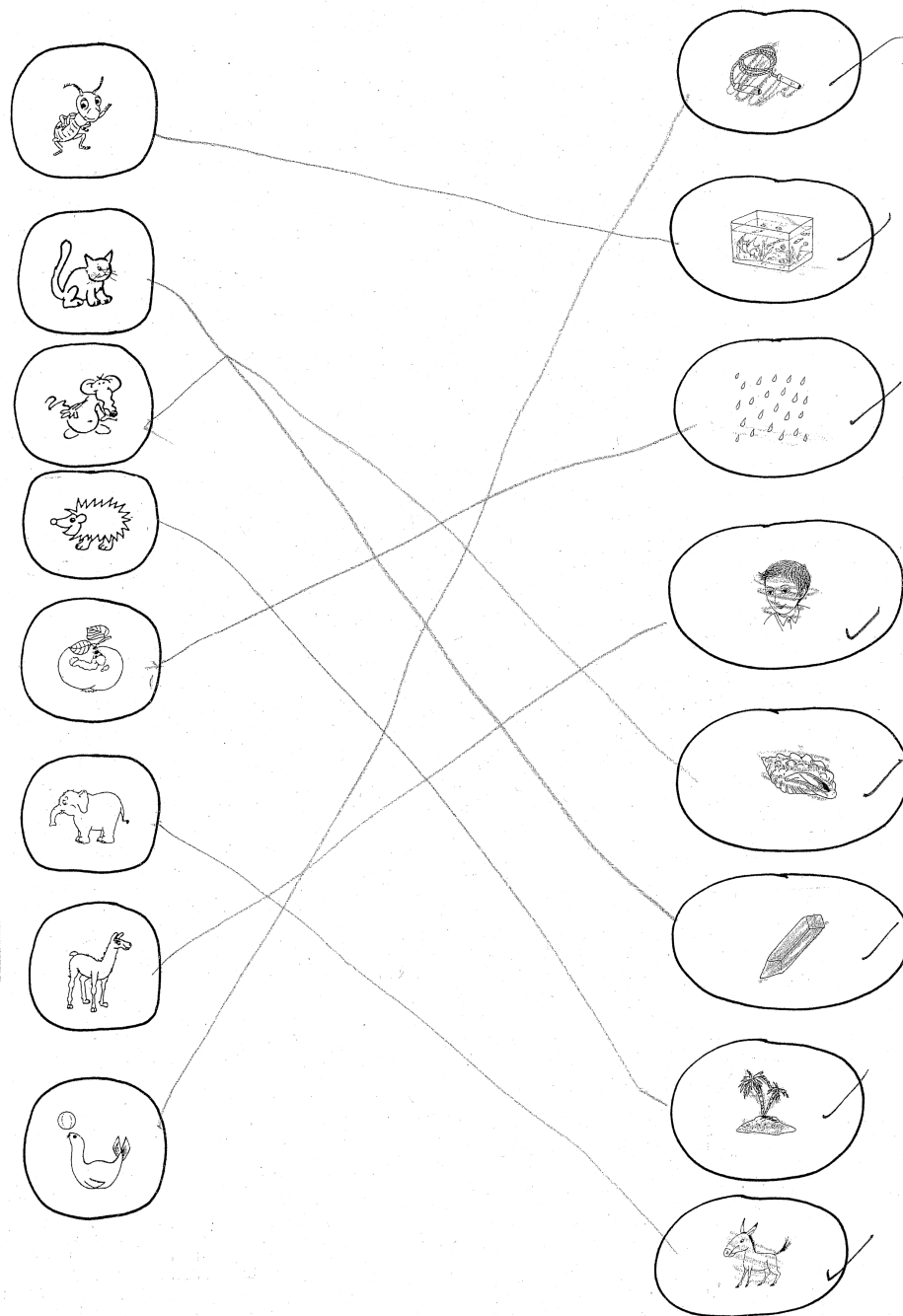
Dans l'espoir de vous voir contribuer à la recherche au sein de l'Université du Luxembourg, je vous remercie de votre collaboration.


Appendix B: Relevant materials produced by Nuno

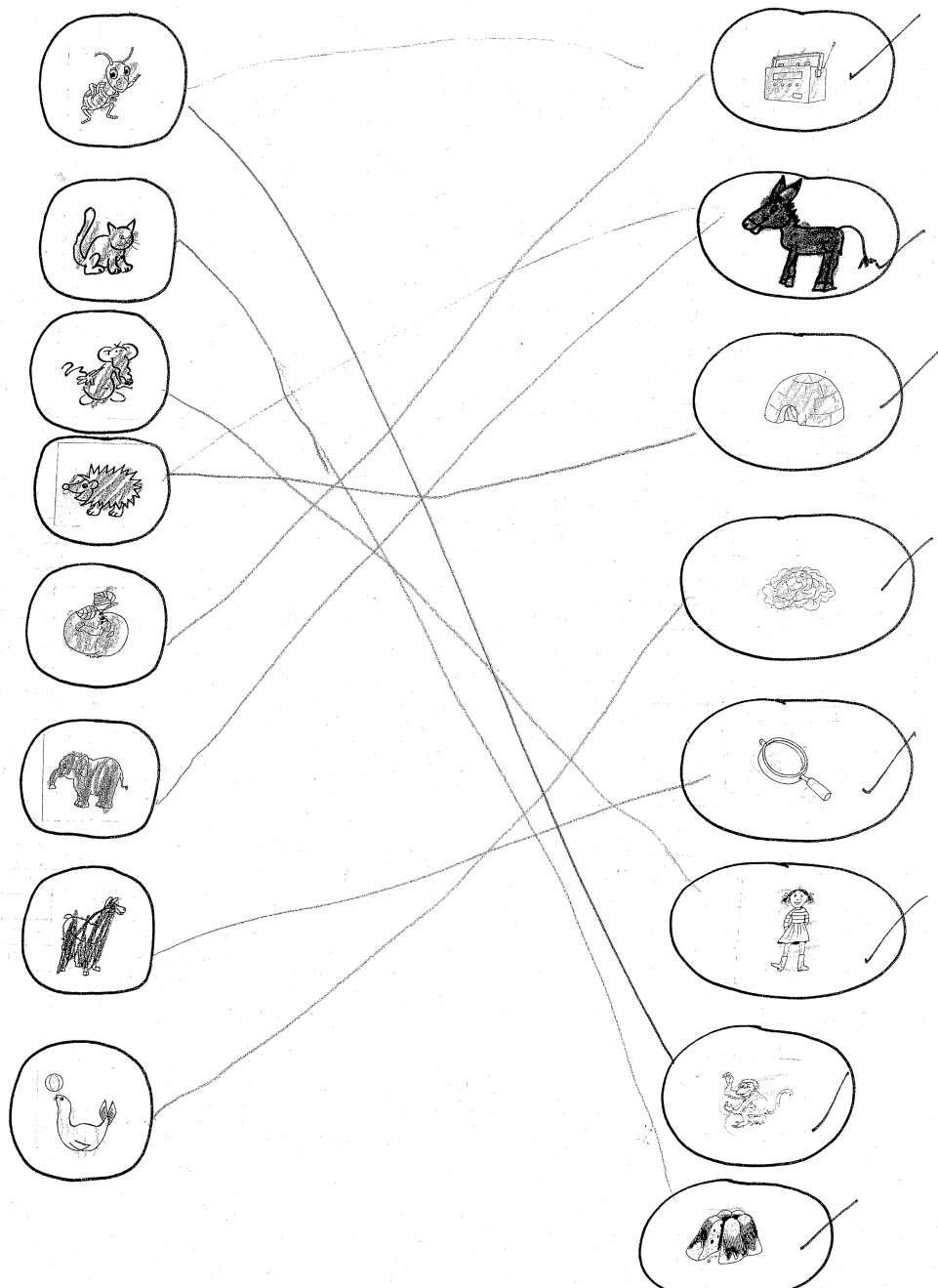


Ich  o.  .  I

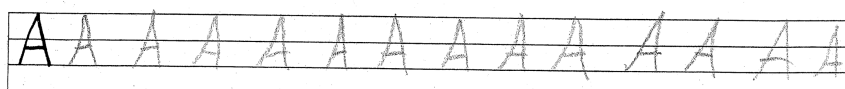
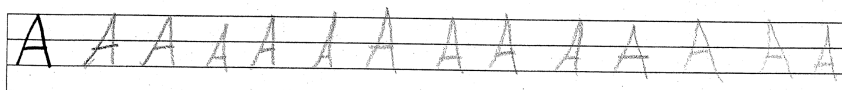
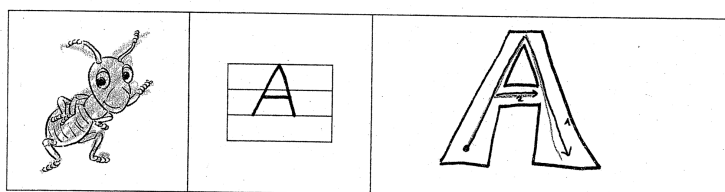
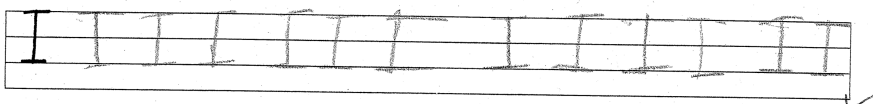
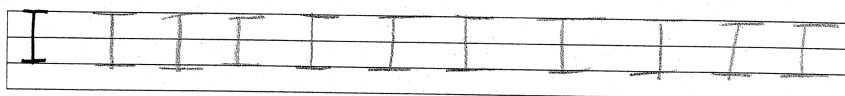
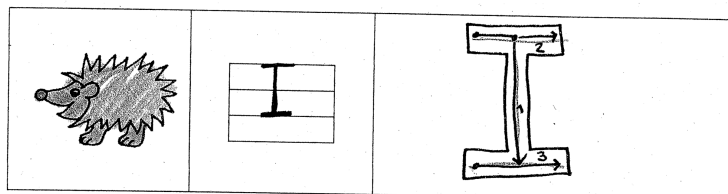




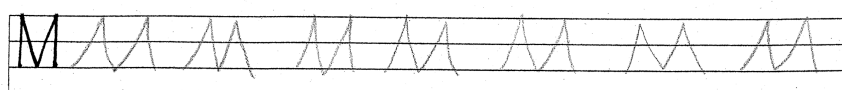
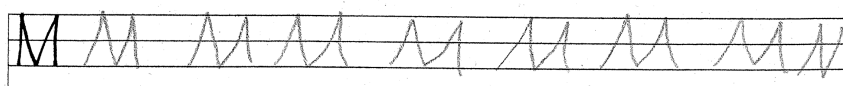
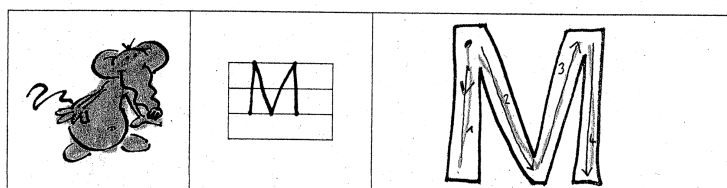
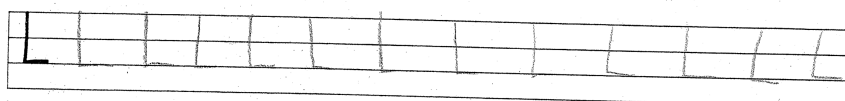
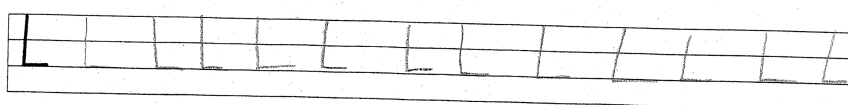
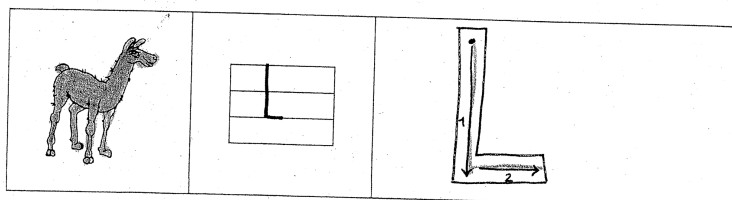
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Ich übe !



Ich übe !



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3 + 4 = 7 ✓	7 - 0 = 7 ✓
6 - 1 = 5 ✓	6 - 6 = 0 ✓
7 - 5 = 2 ✓	6 + 1 = 7 ✓
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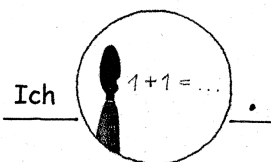
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4	7	1	3	2	3	5	✓
7	6	7	7	0	6	7	✓
0	0	0	2	1	2	3	✓
2	1	3	0	5	4	1	✓
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4	1	6	7	7	6	5	✓
6	6	7	6	2	1	0	✓



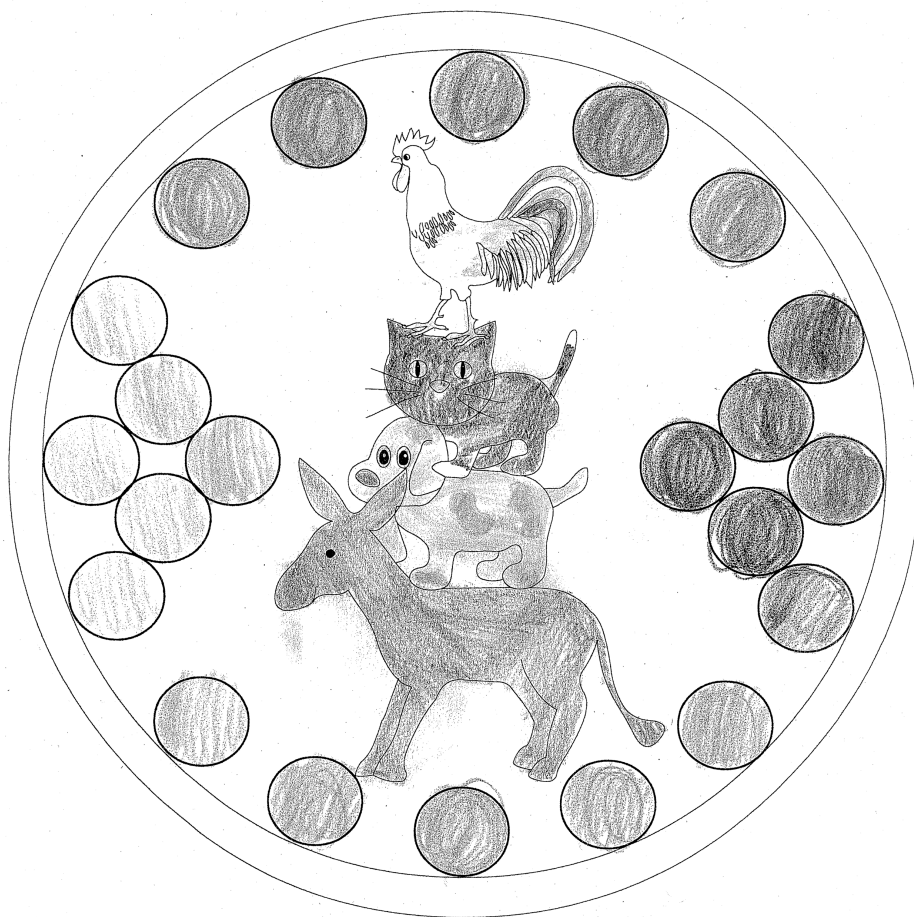
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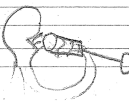
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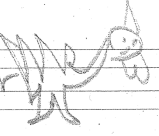
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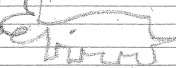
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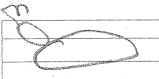
Der Esel  Wein.

Der Hund isst eine Salami.

Die Katze isst einen Fisch.

Der  isst ein Brot.

Alle essen ein  und ein

.

Sätze

Mama und Sam essen

ein Ei.

Susi und Sim essen ein Eis.

Der Dino und der Fseessen.

Mimi und Diana essen einen

Fisch.

Ian und Max essen eine Salami.

Die Ente und die Gang essen

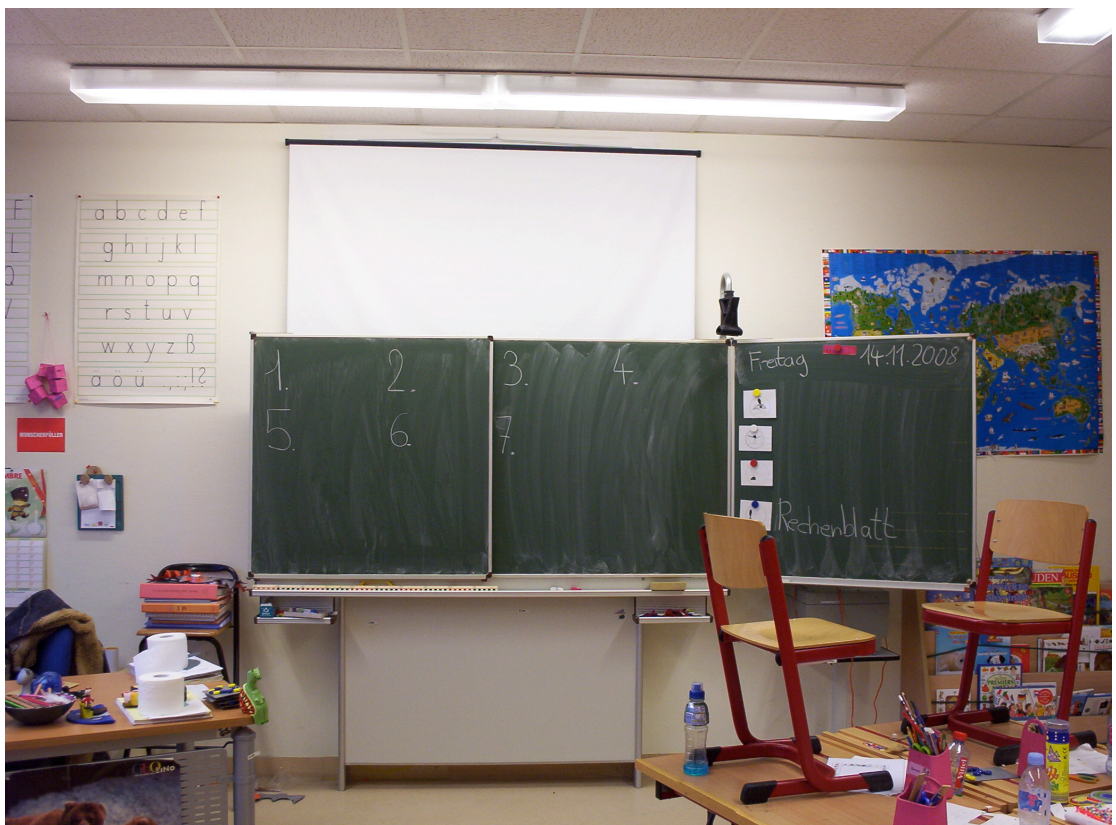
eine Tomate.

Isa und Toni essen eine

Ananas.

✓ Super! ☺



Appendix C: Relevant pictures of the classroom









PORTUGUESE





MARCH











Appendix D: Interview Data

20081028_Interview_father

FA: Father

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

TE: Teacher

FA: il s'adaptait bien, eh, on était a parler avec la professeur avant, il s'adaptait bien il est très content, très content, chaque jour qu'il arrive à la maison il dit j'ai appris à dire ça et ça moi je parle pas l'allemand, je comprend rien de c'est qu'il dit mais il m'explique, il me traduit, il me fait prononcer les mots, eh, il me corrige les mots et tout ça, tu dis pas bien, c'est pas comme ça c'est comme ça, eh, il est toujours, eh, je crois qu'il est il est, c'est ça que je dis à la professeur, il s'amuse, il s'amuse à ce moment il s'amuse à l'école, c'est pas que c'est pas la même façon que je trouve à sa sœur parce qu'il a une sœur meilleur qui a douze ans, elle est au lycée technique de Bonnevoie et pour elle je crois que ce un peu déjà une obligation d'aller à l'école, lui non, il est toujours bien avec l'école, ((laughs)), pour lui il vient il viendrais à l'école les samedis, même au samedi, ((laughs))

RE: même au Brésil il était aussi très très motivé pour l'école?

FA: eh, je sais pas, je le connaît pas, je le connaît pas avant, au Brésil, eh, parce qu'il a commencé à vivre avec moi dès qu'il est venu ici

RE: ok

FA: eh, mais je crois qu'il était, il était, il était content aussi au Brésil, eh mais ici pour lui je crois que qu'il a beaucoup des choses qu'il avais pas au Brésil, et pour lui c'est bon, c'est bon, parce que comme vous savez, l'école à Brésil est complètement différent, ils ont beaucoup des choses qu'ils n'ont pas la possibilité d'acheter, d'avoir, tout tout tout le matériel et tout ça, eh, ils ont pas ils ont pas les mêmes les mêmes possibilités que ici, eh, quand il arrive à une école comme ça, eh, bien fait, avec tout le matériel, tout le confort et tout ça, pour lui je crois que c'est c'est heureuse pour lui

RE: alors eh ((coughs)) il a vécu le changement de Brésil ici, au moins l'école il était tout le temps content eh il apprécie le changement, il est très motivé à apprendre

FA: oui il est très motivé, je crois

RE: comment c'est sa relation avec les autres, les autres enfants que vous voyez? Comment il se relationne avec les autres?

FA: je crois qu'il se relationne bien, eh, c'est normal qu'il qu'il qu'il se relationne plus avec la collègue qui parle portugais ou quelque chose, la Maria non? Eh, il me parle aussi d'une d'une fille je crois que chinoise, d'origine chinoise ou

TE: Celia?

FA: Celia, voilà

TE: il parle d'elle?

FA: oui

TE: bon, là (inaudible)

FA: eh, c'est d'origine chinoise ou

TE: Vietnam

FA: vietnamit

TE: Celia elle est une fille, elle ne parle pas beaucoup

FA: ah oui, (il) (ne) parle beaucoup d'elle que, je sait pas qu'elle a joué avec elle ou

TE: (inaudible) peut être au recreation ou

FA: parfois il il me parle d'elle

TE: ah ok

FA: mais je crois qu'il se relationne bien avec les autres, oui

RE: ok, eh, des choses curioses que vous avez noté quelque chose intéressant, appart de la motivation pour apprendre l'allemand vous avez noté quelque chose de, vous avez remarqué quelque chose, eh, parce qu'il est ici depuis deux semaines trois semaines

FA: eh, trois, trois semaines

TE: trois semaines maintenant, oui

RE: quelque chose que vous avez remarqué dans les trois dernières semaines, eh

FA: comme par exemple?

RE: dans son comportement, appart il y a une motivation extra, oui? ça c'est

FA: oui, oui

RE: une autre chose

FA: eh non,

RE: appart ça

FA: je crois qu'il est, il se il se préoccupe beaucoup avec avec toutes les choses qu'il fait à l'école, eh mais je vois pas des choses (inaudible) particulières

RE: non

FA: non

RE: ok, alors il parle assez souvent de l'école

FA: oui oui, normalement quand il arrive toujours, je vais le chercher au foyer maintenant à six heures, eh quand il arrive il dit toujours qu'est qu'il a appris, eh, des mots, de nouveaux mots qu'il a appris et tout ça, eh, qu'est qu'il a fait au foyer, s'il s'il va s'il va s'il va à la piscine ou s'il ne va pas, s'il va à la gymnastique ou s'il fait, il me raconte tout ((laughs)) tout sa journée ((laughs))

RE: tout la journée ((laughs))

FA: je crois, je le je le vois content, je suis très très satisfait parce que je le vois content

RE: très bien, très bien

TE: (inaudible)

FA: c'étais ça, (mon peur c'était ça, sa habitation) à l'école et tout ça

TE: (inaudible) mon but é vraiment qu'il était qu'il est content, en faite

RE: oui

TE: parce que ce tellement difficile pour un enfant (inaudible)

FA: oui oui oui oui, c'était mon peur, mon peur c'était ça, qu'il est il est il est peee, se mettre en soit même ou quelque chose comme ça

TE: uhum

FA: mais, mais je vois pas, je crois qu'il est qu'il est bien

RE: très bien, alors pour moi c'est, de ma part c'est tout, si vous avez peut être, si tout se passe bien je vous ferai quelque questions aussi dans le mois de février et aussi à la fin

FA: ok, ça va

RE: une chose comme maintenant

FA: parfait

RE: si vous

FA: ok

RE: merci beaucoup

20081029_Interview_main_teacher

TE: Teacher (Claire)
RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

RE: ((laughs)) eh qu'est que vous savez sur les conditionnes sur lesquelles l'enfant, je vais pas dire le nom

TE: oui

RE: il est arrivé au Luxembourg, est-ce que vous connaissez les conditionnes?

TE: ah, mm, donc il est venu, le premier jour qu'il est venu dans la classe ahh, je parlais un peu avec lui et je, on on a on a regardé ensemble la (carte) avec les autres enfants et il l'a expliqué, on a cherché son pays et aussi les autres enfants, parce que j'ai beaucoup d'enfants qui viennent de l'étranger on a regardé un peu à la carte, donc on a vu son pays et alors il a fait comme ça et on a demandé comment et il a fait comme ça, c'est la (inaudible)

RE: (inaudible)

TE: comme ça je sais qu'il est venu eh oui par l'avion et aussi je crois qu'il n'était pas longtemps qu'il était seulement cinq jours au Luxembourg et après il est

venu directement à l'école, ça c'est je sais, service de l'enseignement, au bon, m'a dit cinq jours avant, tu va peut être recevoir un nouveau un nouvelle enfant parce qu'il est juste, son père était juste ici et cinq jours plus tard il était dans ma classe, pourtant

RE: quelles sont les attentes que vous avez pour pour l'enfant pour cet année académique? Est-ce que vous avez eu des enfants comme ça, nouveau arrivé avant, ou c'est la première fois?

TE: ah non c'est la première fois

RE: c'est la première fois

TE: pourtant c'est, non j'avais aussi au début de l'année j'avais une petite fille qui est venu à eh qui est d'origine portugaise et elle était elle était déjà en préscolaire mais seulement pendant deux semaines, l'année passé et donc après il y avait directement les grands vacances et donc elle est venu dans ma classe et c'était aussi elle ne pouvait rien parler du tout donc elle m'a aussi pas beaucoup compris mais elle a, oui elle a quitté l'école pour habiter pour aller habiter dans une autre village, donc elle a, oui c'était seulement pendant quelque jours et c'était comme même autrement parce qu'elle pouvait comme même parler quelque mots en luxembourgeois, donc j'avais jamais le cas qu'il est vraiment arrivé qui ne pouvait rien du tout parler donc ça c'est vraiment nouveau

RE: (ok, ça c'est tout nouveau) et vous pensez qu'il va il va, il va apprendre des langues, il va bien se

TE: oui

RE: intégrer pendant l'année scolaire

TE: oui

RE: (inaudible)

TE: oui je crois au niveau de l'intégration ça c'est déjà dès la première journée il était très ouvert il a déjà parlé avec les autres enfants, aussi en récréation parce que j'ai toujours les surveillances les mercredis donc je regarde un peu ou est-ce qu'il est, s'il est touj, la première journée par exemple j'ai vraiment fait attention qu'il n'est pas tout seul, mais il y a toujours des enfants au tour de lui, aussi des autres cas, il joue avec tout le monde donc, il communique avec les gestes donc il n'est jamais un enfant seul, il n'est jamais seul donc je crois qu'il va très bien s'intégrer dans la classe et au niveau de la langue je crois ça va se faire automatiquement donc

j'ai pas de souci

RE: eh, comme est qu'il se communique avec des autres enfants? Peut être avec celle qui de la même table se communique en portugais? N'est pas?

TE: ah oui, ah avec Mar, avec la fille donc il communique en, portugais eh, avec le garçon qui vient de la qui vient de la Russie, il se communique un peu avec les gestes donc, ou ou il montre, il montre par exemple, et je laisse aussi beaucoup parce que la la fille qui vient de Népal elle est très elle (inaudible) très très vite dans son travail et ils travaillent beaucoup ensemble, par exemple quand tu n'étais pas encore là, durant la matinée, ils ont fait quelque chose en allemand et je les ai je les ai mis ensemble pour faire quelque chose parce que aussi la fille elle ne comprend pas tout, mais ensemble ça a été et j'ai j'ai regardé un peu et par exemple oui pour pour dire tu dois designer en rouge elle a pris son crayon rouge elle a dit regarde regarde donc un peu comme ça parce qu'elle ne parle aussi pas du tout le portugais le français *mais c'est un mix je crois entre les deux mais par exemple avec la petite fille il travaille très bien ils travaillent très bien ensemble parce qu'il est un peu plus un enfant nerveux qui veut aller très très douce, donc, très calme très calme, donc, ils travaillent les deux travaillent très bien ensemble donc*

RE: et la fille elle est scolarisé ici depuis?

TE: scolarisé elle est dans le pays depuis quatre mois, parce que son père était là eh hier donc il m'a tout expliqué eh ah elle est ici quatre non cinq mois et elle était dans une autre village elle était dans le préscolaire mais seulement pendant sept semaines, donc et après il y avait les grands vacances et elle se débrouille super super bien, vraiment, donc elle est toujours la première aussi avec en allemand avec der die das elle est super bien en pour entendre les sons, c'est vraiment bien parce que son père était là et je pouvais pas le croire qu'elle était seulement ici pendant sept semaines en dans une classe de pré classe maternelle, donc et après il y avait les grands vacances et là elle m'a expliqué elle n'a pas du tout parlé luxembourgeois, et après elle est venue ici donc, c'est vraiment bien

RE: em, comment est-ce que vous voyez qu'il que l'enfant en question se relationne avec les autres les autres enfants de la classe?

TE: comment?

RE: une relation normal, oui, cordiale

TE: oui je crois oui, il y a je crois son grand problème est qu'il ne peut pas communiquer avec eux comme ça donc parfois je vois vraiment qu'il est très qu'il devient agressif carrément, donc il est vraiment, par exemple, au niveau c'est seulement un bon exemple c'est seulement avec les crayons donc, s'il prend un crayon, par exemple, il veut prendre un autre crayon, il ne fait pas, il ne dit pas non c'est à moi, il fait directement um, comme ça, donc, il est très, parce que je crois c'est parce qu'il n'a pas la langue pour communiquer il utilise d'autres choses et là je doit vraiment parfois dire eh non c'est fini, tu ne doit pas faire comme ça, et alors il le comprends aussi mais parfois il ne comprend pas si les autres enfants me disent aussi parfois oui mais il ne comprend pas, mais avec sur sa table ça va mais il y a par exemple les garçons qui vole alors, parler avec lui et, oui c'est ça c'est une barrière pour lui je crois, la langue, mais ça va venir avec le temps là j'ai remarque un peu dans son comportement, mais, donc en récréation c'est pas le cas mais par exemple seulement des petites choses qu'il ne comprend pas tout de suite (inaudible) il devient vraiment, il frappe ou il, il pousse quelqu'un donc ça j'ai vraiment remarqué

RE: **ok, et avec um um avec toi il se communique eh par gestes par eh?**

TE: oui il eh il donc il me parle en portugais mais quand il me montrer par exemple quelque chose, par exemple ou avant avec les jouets, il dit, il viens chez moi, il dit "Joffer", alors il me prends par les bras et il me montre, donc, eh avec les gestes, parfois mais plutôt il me montre tout, donc il dit "Joffer" et alors il me prends et il dit mmmmm, et il il il me montre

RE: **il signale le choses**

TE: oui, il signales les choses comme ça, pas vraiment avec, il ne communique comme ça avec les gestes, plutôt il me prend et il me montre les choses ou il dit par exemple, s'il veut savoir avec "der die das" dans quel couleur il dit, il prend surtout pour les couleurs, il prend ses crayons, il dit "Joffer, Joffer" comme ça pour la couleur ou eh, avec ou eh en math il utilise aussi ses doigts et il dit pas par exemple **il dit en en portugais le nombre, et moi je dit en luxembourgeois il le répète et moi je le répète aussi en portugais, comme ça il est très content de, oui, de apprendre et alors il me montre, comme ça, avec les doigts, oui**

RE: **et parfois il y a des traductions aussi avec les**

autres enfants?

TE: oui, oui

RE: qu'il il veut te communiquer quelque chose,

TE: oui par exemple, si il essaye toujours comme ça et si je comprends pas ou moi qu'il me dit quelque chose en portugais je (demande) surtout à des autres enfants d'origine qui qui viennent qui parlent portugais en fait, donc si je demande qu'est qu'il veut dire, et ils me traduisent aussi, mais c'est parfois aussi un peu compliqué, par exemple, parce que la fille qui vient aussi, qui est aussi d'origine brésilien, elle a aussi encore des grands problèmes avec la langue luxembourgeoise

RE: uhum

TE: donc pour ça la traduction ne se fait pas souvent, avec les autres, ils sont d'origine portugaise sont, ils ont des problèmes de comprendre parce que je crois leur langue est comme même un peu différente

RE: un peu différente oui

TE: donc, et là j'ai aussi parfois des problèmes et

RE: um

TE: donc, je je fait toujours avec la fille et après avec le garçon d'origine portugaise et ça ça devient toujours, je comprends j'essaie toujours de trouver quelque chose que je comprends

RE: ok, em, aussi, uhum, pardon, j'ai pas plus des questions, mais si vous voulez raconter quelque chose eh,

TE: oui je crois, oui c'était surement intéressant avec les cours en luxembourgeois comment il a réagit donc, c'est toujours quand on fait de Luxembourg et je sais je sait déjà parce que les autres écrit déjà "sarabina" et alors il sait déjà en luxembourgeois dans le cercle, et là il ne plus jamais participe donc, je le,

je le laisse toujours sur sur sa place donc, je sait pas si c'est la meilleur idée ou pas mais je crois que je doit pas le forcer trop parce que je suis déjà contente qu'il est bien en math et qu'il travail bien en en en allemand et je crois ça va venir aussi avec le temps, et je veux seulement pas qu'il qu'il prend des livres ou des autres choses parce que si non les autres enfants ne vont pas faire attention, et après aussi eh oui, il me redonne tout, donc il arrache aussi son son prénom là bas, il arrache aussi souvent,

eh, oui il me redonne tout et après c'est aussi bon comme comme tu as vu il m'a aussi redonner les cartons, (inaudible) ma place sur mon sur mon bureau, et après c'est bon, donc je le laisse toujours, et je voit toujours que ça c'est une bonne solution parce que après c'est bon, ou par exemple, mais ça c'est son père m'a aussi dit qu'il est très très critique par rapport à soi même, par exemple quand il a fait une faute, eh, comme tu as vu en allemand, il a, c'était j'ai dit au tu dois changer ça mais c'est pas grave donc il y a partout il y a partout des enfants (avec) des fautes, c'est pas grave, donc, moi j'ai dit seulement, ah ça c'est une crois, tu doit changer et après c'est bon, c'était le premier qui qui avait fini aussi, la petite fille ah avait aussi les mêmes fautes et et il est il est vraiment comme ça, ah non, et c'est que mais je crois ça c'est plutôt dans son caractère parce que son père m'a dit qu'il est aussi comme ça, il doit toujours être tout doit être parfait, donc il veut tout être il ne veut pas donner des fautes, aussi par exemple, que j'ai remarqué hier en éducation physique, donc là, il n'était pas très sage avec les autres, il y avait trois garçons qui n'était pas très sages, alors j'ai dit je vais mettre vos prénoms au milieu, si ça ne va pas, et par exemple il y a parfois, il y a toujours des enfants qui son au milieu mais il veut se mettre directement au cochon et il a pris il a pris son nom, il l'a mis sur le cochon, il a directement enlevé son lego, remis dans dans dans dans le carton, et alors j'ai demandé aux enfants aux autres enfants qu'est qu'il a dit, et ils ils sont dit ah il a dit qu'il n'était pas sage qu'il n'a qu'il n'a qu'il ne veut pas le lego. Et après j'ai longtemps parlé avec lui pour qu'il reprend vraiment son lego et après c'était bon, donc il est très critique par rapport à soi même, donc il ne veut pas faire des fautes, il veut toi tout tout doit être correcte, et, oui, ça j'ai vraiment remarqué mais mon père son père m'a dit que que c'est comme ça aussi à la maison et comme ça c'était aussi dans son pays d'origine, tout doit être parfaits pour lui donc

RE: c'est pareil dans toutes les matières? C'est

TE: oui, ça c'est pareil dans toutes les matières, oui, que si par exemple, par exemple aussi en éducation artistique, s'il ne trouve pas, si s'il trouve que il ne découpe pas correctement il il

RE: il arrache

TE: il arrache tout, il veut, il veut, il veut

RE: recommencer

TE: oui, il veut recommencer, donc là il est, oui, et ça

c'est aussi en math, s'il fait seulement un calcul qui n'est pas correcte, il veut, il me demande pour une autre feuille, donc il est très très critique par rapport et alors il commence aussi directement, fait directement non, il oui, oui, il jette la feuille et commence parfois à pleurer, donc, mais là son père m'a dit que c'était la même chose dans son pays, donc

RE: très bien, pour moi c'est suffit

TE: oui, ok, ça va

RE: merci beaucoup

TE: de rien

20081030_Interview_portuguese_teacher

RE: **Researcher**

TP: **Teacher portuguese**

RE: **alors, vous êtes avec l'enfant en question depuis depuis quelle date?**

TP: le seize octobre

RE: le seize octobre, ok

TP: le seize octobre j'ai commencé

RE: **ok, eh, est-ce que vous savez vous savez quelque chose sur les conditions dans laquelle l'enfant il est venu au Luxembourg?**

TP: non, je connaît pas

RE: on vous a dit quelque chose sur si

TP: non, no no, pourquoi la raison il est venu du Brésil ça je sais pas, je veux pas toute de suite, après peut être plus tard je parle un peu de la famille

RE: oui

TP: parce que dans mes objectives, (parler) de la famille, m'amènent des photos, et là il raconte un peu pourquoi, peut être, il est venu, mais tout de suite au début parce que, je crois bien comme même c'est un choc laisser son pays, laisser ses amis, eh déjà à cet

âge là ils sont un peu attaché à à, à leur racines à tous ce qu'il parle de même que je vais pas encore (friser) et dire pour quoi tu est venu et, parce que souvent c'est pas eux qui décide, c'est les parents c'est les conditionnes de vie qui oblige à ça et

RE: plus tard

TP: plus tard on va discuter eh, quand je vois qu'il a plus de conditionnes

RE: **quelles sont les attentes que vous avez pour cet enfant? Eh, même si vous le connaissez pas tellement beaucoup**

TP: uhum

RE: **qu'est que vous pensez qu'il va bien progresser il va pas bien, il va progresser normalement, qu'est que vous avez des attentes pour lui?**

TP: oui, je crois bien qu'il est, qu'il a pas des problèmes d'apprentissage ça ça j'en vois tout de suite que, il assimile vite, eh, on a chanté une chanson tout de suite il a retenu et, une petite histoire aussi, il est vif il est participe activement et je crois bien que qu'il va bien s'engager qu'il va aussi apprendre le luxembourgeoise et les autres langues facilement.

RE: **eh, comment est que vous voyez qu'il se communique avec les autres enfants? Il se communique bien? Il est actif? Il est**

TP: oui

RE: il a pas des problèmes de communication avec les autres enfants

TP: non non non non

RE: **de socialisation**

TP: non non, au niveau de socialisation, ne rien, au contraire, il aide il aime, il aime bien aider aider les autres. J'ai vu qu'il avait des enfants qu'ils avaient pas encore mémorisé un peu une partie

RE: uhum

TP: au coro, eh, le refrain de la chanson et oui il a aidé à répéter, tout est comme ça, plusieurs fois et, qu'il aime bien aider même

RE: **il aime bien participer (avec les autres) aussi**

- TP: oui oui oui oui oui ((inaudible))
- RE: ok, même s'il vient d'arriver
- TP: oui, j'ai vu ça tout de suite on constate si un enfant aime aussi bien il se ferme dans son petit coin, non, pas du tout, il est sociable il,
- RE: ehm, alors il se relationne bien avec les autres (aussi), il progresse bien**
- TP: uhum
- RE: dans les dans les matières, il y a quelque chose que vous avez que vous trouvez dans de d'intéressant sur l'enfant que, vous voulez raconter
- TP: particulier, quelque chose de particulier, non, comme c'est aujourd'hui c'est la troisième fois qu'il vient ici, c'était des cours de deux heures, eh, j'ai pas remarqué quelque chose particulière en lui, non je vois qu'il qu'il est vif, qu'il aime, qu'il aime participer mais, vraiment pas
- RE: et tous les enfants chez vous tous parlent le Portugais eh, assez bien, de façon, eh comme langue maternelle?**
- TP: oui
- RE: ou il y a de de des autres qui ne parle pas portugais, ou qui parlent un peu?
- TP: tous les enfants tous ils parlent très bien le Portugais, parce que comme c'est plusieurs langues au Luxembourg alors à la maison ils parlent vraiment que le portugais
- RE: et il y a y a y a quelque problèmes de communication dans le niveau de la variété, par exemple cet enfant là il a une variété brésilienne**
- TP: uhum
- RE: et les autres ils ont une variété péninsulaire
- TP: uhumm
- RE: est-ce que ça a posé des questions ou de?
- TP: oui souvent c'est rigolo parce que il y a des mots comme même qui sont différentes, par exemple le, um, casa de banho,
- RE: si

TP: c'est le aller au toilette, alors il dit au banheiro,

RE: au banheiro, uhum

TP: posso ir o banheiro? Les autres enfants ils savent pas qu'est que ça veut dire, aller o banheiro, alors ça rigole mais qu'est que ça veut dire aller o banheiro et? C'est rigolo et j'explique, que comme il est de Brésil il dit certaines mots et c'est intéressant, mais lui il se gêne pas du tout et les autres non plus c'est intéressant et je dit que c'est comme ça les langues, c'est une richesse culturelle

RE: uhum, et quand il travaille dans une activité, il finisse très rapide ou il prend le temps pour le faire?

TP: non il est il est, il prend le temps nécessaire il est,

RE: il finit au même temps que les autres

TP: au même temps oui

RE: ou avant?

TP: ou même avant, il est rapide je trouve

RE: il est rapide

TP: je veux pas dire que qu'il travaille bien

RE: il travaille bien et rapide

TP: oui oui, c'est que j'ai constaté pendant les deux lésons qu'il est venu ici je,

RE: uhum, eh ok, alors, de ma part c'est tout

TP: merci

RE: je vous remercie beaucoup pour votre temps

20081113_Interview_foyer_teacher

TF: Teacher in the "Foyer" of the school

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

RE: bon, eh, en fait c'est plutôt eh, des questions assez

simples, et, sur l'enfant en question, eh, qu'est que vous savez de de de le de passé ou de l'enfant ou de les conditionnes ou il ou il est arrivé ici? Est-ce que vous avez connu les parents, vous avez parlé sur?

TF: eh le premier jour je vu son beau père, et, bon, il m'a pas beaucoup dit eh j'ai les informations, je les ai reçu de la gradué, ici du foyer, je savais qu'il vient du brésil et qu'il peut pas qu'il comprend pas la langue ici luxembourgeois, et, beaucoup plus je ne savais pas ((laughs))

RE: ((laughs)) oui ok, et il est arrivé il y a trois semaines ou quatre semaines?

TF: oui, trois semaines oui

RE: trois semaines, ehm, comment comment il se, qu'est qu'il parle avec les enfants ici, il parle plutôt le Portugais ou, quel langue?

TF: oui, il parle plutôt le portugais avec les enfants aussi quand il veut dire quelque chose parle avec les mains et les pieds parce que moi je comprends pas le portugais et je ne parle pas, et, quand on se comprend pas avec les mains et les pieds et je dis à un enfant tu peux lui dire ça en portugais ou il demande à un autre enfant, eh, mais il parle déjà des mots en luxembourgeois et quand il vient chercher, eh, son repas c'est toujours la même chose qu'il faut dire ça il peut déjà dire parce que c'est toutes les jours la même chose

RE: qu'est ce qu'il dit?

TF: eh, je le dit maintenant en luxembourgeois?

RE: oui oui

TF: eh, wann ech glift, merci, eh, kann ech noch eppes iesen, kann ech noch eppes kreien, c'est merci, s'il te plait, eh, oui, toutes les choses comme ça et aussi quand il veut aller toilette à la toilette, la question de toilette goen, ça c'est toujours la même chose, ça il peut déjà, eh, oui quand quand il veut hier il voulait faire avec les perles, des motives, alors, les mots, les plus importantes je lui ai dit en luxembourgeois, perlen, pour les perles, oui

RE: ok, ehm, si vous avez eu des enfants comme ça avant qui parlaient rien du tout, juste le portugais, oui, vous avez eu des enfants comme ça?

TF: oui oui, oui oui beaucoup les petits du prescolaire quand ils n'etaient pas encore au précoce, même s'il était au précoce, il ne save pas beaucoup parler, eh,

le luxembourgeois, ou les plus petits, il il, il apprend plus vite que les enfants qui sont déjà un peu plus grand,

RE: oui

TF: oui

RE: **ehm, ehm, par votre expérience, eh, qu'est que vous pensez qu'il va dans dans dans, pensons dans tout l'année scolaire, eh, qu'il va il va bien se débrouiller, il va bien apprendre les autres langues?**

TF: oui je pense qu'il apprend bien, maintenant s'il ne comprend s'il ne parle pas maintenant, toutes les phrases dans dans correctes, maintenant mais je pense qu'il va, il peut, eh, comment dire ça en français?

RE: se débrouiller

TF: il peut oui voilà se débrouiller, et, oui, avec les, quand il parle des trois années alors ça va mieux avec les phrases, mais, pour se débrouiller je pense que dans quelques mois il

RE: il va bien se

TF: oui oui parce que maintenant il sait déjà bien, eh, oui il essaye aussi avec les mains pour pour montrer alors ça va

RE: **y eh, quelle type des activités il fait ici? à au foyer**

TF: mon, on fait les devoirs, d'abord après le repas on sort un petit peu pour eh, pour recevoir nouveau un peu d'énergie pour après faire les devoirs, et puis, et, il, on fait, eh, des activités des projets sur des thèmes n'importe, le prochain projet que je vais faire c'est la famille mais aussi parfois on fait de bricolage maintenant on a fait de bricolage pour le bazar, et, oui je raconte aussi des histoires avec des livres d'images, et, maintenant pour le saint nicolas on va aussi chanter des, des chansons en luxembourgeois, pour le saint nicolas donc, et oui eh, quand les grands font encore les devoirs je reste avec eux et alors les petits ou les enfants qui ont déjà fini les devoirs peuvent jouer à ce qu'ils veulent

RE: **ok, et il passe ici combien de temps? Normalement**

TF: bah il est ici jusqu'à 18 heures

RE: de

TF: de soir

RE: de quelle heure jusqu'au quelle heure de?

TF: bah les jours quand il y a deux fois l'école il viens eh, de 12 heures et demi jusqu'à 2 heures, et alors de quatre heures jusqu'au 18 heures, et, quand il vient seulement une fois, l'école, il vient de eh, 12 et demi jusqu'à 18 heures

RE: oh, ça c'est comme même eh

TF: eh oui toutes les enfants viennent, presque toutes les enfants

RE: tout ce temps là

TF: oui

RE: oui ça fait beaucoup des heures dans l'école

TF: oui à l'école et puis et puis foyer ces sont des longues journées pour les enfants

RE: ces sont de longues journées oui

TF: et les petits on voit le soir qu'ils sont fatigués eh,

RE: et qu'est que, comment il se relationne avec les autres eh, socialement il est eh, timide, il est pas timide?

TF: oh non, il n'est pas du tout timide ((laughs)) il parle avec les autres enfants il joue avec les enfants, meme avec les petits il joue, normalment, les autres (grands) enfants que j'en ai ici dans le group, il ne joue maintenant pas tellement beaucoup avec les, petits, mais lui il, il joue vraiment avec toutes les enfants meme les petits meme les grands, (mais) il parle maintenant plus avec les grands parce que cela il peuve, eh, eh, mieux, eh, traduire c'est comment j'ai dit comme les petits maintenant

RE: et alors il se relationne avec tous meme si si ils parlent pas le portugais?

TF: oui oui

RE: ça c'est secondaire

TF: oui oui

RE: il parle, il essaye de parler

TF: oui oui, il essaye, il joue avec tous les enfants

RE: avec tous oui

TF: oui j'ai un petit enfant de préscolaire, il parle seulement le luxembourgeois et l'allemand, meme avec ces enfants là il joue, oui

RE: **et, il il il fait les les devoirs, tranquillement, il les fait très rapidement? Ou qu'est que c'est le, il est moyen ou?**

TF: hier c'était la première fois ou j'ai fait des devoirs avec lui les autres jours eh il n'avait rien à faire moi c'est ça c'est que lui il m'a dit, je demande toutes les jours pour recevoir, le le (carnet) ou il note les devoirs, et j'ai aussi regardé dans sa poche, il n'avait pas, il n'avait pas un carnet pour noter les devoirs, il avait seulement un carnet ou il (avait) signé, moi je ne sais pas si ((laughs)) c'est vrai, mais, c'est pas vrai?

RE: bah, puf, c'est pas moi qui doit dire ça ((laughs))

PF: ah oui

RE: non je sais pas (vous devez) demander à un professeur, c'est bien

PF: (hier) il m'a dit qu'il avait des devoirs, c'était des calculs et il était vraiment vite il n'avait pas regardé au tour (et) c'est que les autres enfants ils font, il a vraiment fait ses devoirs avec il était concentré et c'était aussi vraiment (jusse), il sait bien qu'il a fait, il n'avait aucune faute et, oui, c'était bien

RE: **(excuse) vous avez remarqué quelque chose, dans le, parce qu'il est il est ici depuis trois semaines et**

TF: oui

RE: **vous avez remarqué quelque chose speciale eh**

TF: non

RE: non, eh, ok, eh, et parle ((inaudible)), c'est vrai qu'il peut pas beaucoup parler avec vous dans ce moment ((laughs))

TF: oui, bon il vient toujours, Julie regarde et il veut me montrer, il parle, bon la moitié des fois je comprends ce que lui il veut me dire eh et quand je ne comprend vraiment pas du tout alors un enfant me traduit

RE: ((inaudible)) ok ok ok, oui

TF: il vient comme même souvent pour parler avec moi même si moi je comprends pas alors les autres enfants me traduisent

RE: il essaye

TF: oui oui

RE: ok ok, bon, de ma part c'est tout eh, juste peut-être je vous ferai une petite entretien comme cela

TF: uhum

RE: janvier ou février, et peut être une autre au mois de mai juin

TF: ah oui, ok, ça sera ((inaudible))

RE: la même chose approximativement

TF: ok ça va

RE: juste pour pour voir le développement de l'enfant

TF: uhum

RE: et votre perception sur

[PAUSE]

TF: ça c'est un livre qui s'appelle mes premières mil mots en luxembourgeois, et c'est toujours un grande image et au tour il y a des petits images avec le nom en luxembourgeois en dessus, et alors on fait parfois (par jeux) ou il faut les chercher dans le grand image, et alors il faut le dire en luxembourgeois ou moi je lui dit en luxembourgeois et après il répète, mais j'ai remarqué au début qu'il qu'il lit toujours les mots, je ne savais pas qu'il sait déjà tellement bien lire, et parce qu'il est dans la première, eh, ((inaudible))

RE: ((inaudible))

TF: oui, eh, parce que au brésil il est était déjà dans une fois dans la première, dans la première

RE: je le pense, oui, qu'il l'a fait déjà

TF: ah oui, oui parce que je

RE: mais je suis pas sûre

TF: j'étais vraiment étonnée qu'il qu'il sait tellement

bien lire, au début j'ai pensé, oh il sait déjà bien parler le luxembourgeois et connaît les mots, et après j'ai remarqué qu'il a lu, eh, les mots alors, je doit toujours faire comme ça ou mettre un papier pour qu'il lit pas ((laughs)), oui

RE: ((inaudible))

TF: et tout tout les thèmes, l'hôpital, le médecin, l'école, et ici il y a derrière, les, les couleurs, les les chiffres, il y a vraiment tout, le sport, oui

RE: très bien, non non c'est intéressant ((laughs))

TF: oui ((laughs))

RE: ((inaudible)) non c'est vrai que sur le luxembourgeois je vais demander parce que c'est pas c'est pas sur mais ça m'étonnerait qu'il a qu'il a des cours eh

TF: ah oui ((inaudible))

RE: ((inaudible))

TF: peut être seulement quelques heures, pendant la semaine, pendant les cours, l'école, je ne sais pas

RE: oui, oui

[CUT]

TF: ok ça

RE: ok, merci beaucoup

20090303_Interview_father

FA: Father

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

RE: eh, ¿portugués?, ¿español, ¿francés? ((laughs))

FA: acho que em português nos entendemos, portugal, español español español

RE: ¿español?

FA: sí

RE: sí

FA: sí sí

RE: ok

RE: ehm, eh, como, eh, que tal se ha recuperado su hijo de la enfermedad, esta bien? esta ya mejor?

FA: pienso que bien, tiene un poquito de vergonza de, de los botonitos que tiene en la cara pero, se ha recuperado bien

RE: sí?

FA: sí

RE: ¿y que tal en las vacaciones?

FA: bueno, las ha pasado todo a casa, que no podía salir porque, (era la primera vez así) y tiene que, que quedarse a casa e no puede salir, un poquito triste pero, por otro lado, veía la tele como lo quería ((laughs))

RE: (ah o sea que estaba) (inaudible)

FA: tenía todo ((laughs))

RE: no ten, no no

FA: no tenía estresiones, con la tele ((laughs)), nada no ((laughs))

RE: y, um, él tiene, uno o dos hermanos, ¿no?

FA: tiene una hermana

RE: ¿una hermana?

FA: uhum

RE: ¿mayor o menor?

FA: mayor, con, doce años

RE: doce años, ¿y ella qué tal? ¿está en la misma escuela? (no aquí no)

FA: no no no, ela está en liceo,

RE: ella esta ya en el liceo

FA: ah, a bonnevoie, a bonnevoie

RE: en bonnevoie, ¿y qué tal? ¿qué tal es ella en la

escuela? ¿le gusta?

FA: sí le gusta, tiene, ha hecho nuevas amigas, todo, eh bueno, creo que va bien, tiene buenas notas, porque tiene tres disciplinas, es el lujemburgués, el francés, y la matemática, sólo las tres, tiene buenas notas, el, peor a matemáticas como todos los chicos, ¿no? ((laughs)), la la gran dificultad de los chicos es la matemática, normalmente, me, más positivo en la misma, pero es la la que tiene menos menos bien

RE: ¿alemán no tiene?

FA: alemán no, solo tiene luxemburgués, francés y matemáticas

RE: y ella, ¿trabaja, (así) bastante con su hijo pequeño?

FA: sim, sí

RE: ¿en casa?

FA: en casa, en casa discute mucho, lo la, la lengua, la él él, porque ella aprende el lujemburgués, él aprende el alemán, entonces se se se disputan un poco porque es diferente, la lengua, ela dice que es de una forma, la forma que ela aprende ((laughs)) ele discute e dice que no es así, que es de la forma que ele aprende ((laughs)) se disputan bastante ((laughs))

RE: los dos tienen razón, ¿no?

FA: los dos tienen razón, pero no entienden que es, la lengua es diferente ((laughs)), se se están constantemente corrigiendo, eh,

RE: que curioso, sobre todo con el luxemburgués y el ale, y matemáticas y eso, ¿no tienen tanto problema?

FA: eh, no no no, porque la matemática es universal, ¿no?

RE: es muy senci, muy sencilla ahora

FA: eh, sencilla

RE: ehm

FA: ela lo ayuda por veces a hacer las cuentitas que necesita, ah, lo ayuda, a comprender como como cuenta más avanzado porque ha aprendido a contar, no lo sé, pienso que hasta hasta cincuenta (cualquier cosa así)

RE: sí

FA: pero ella le ha enseñado a contar hasta, cien, yo

creo, porque él quiere saber siempre más, quiere saber después de de de lo que ha aprendido, eh, y ella lo ayuda bastante, sí

RE: eh, ¿y qué tal, qué tal, le gusta Luxemburgo? ¿cuándo él habla de brasil? o ¿echa de menos brasil?

FA: bueno, tiene, tiene, tiene saudades de de brasil, es normal, ¿no? pero le le gusta Luxemburgo, sí, le gusta bastante, sí, no le gusta el frío, ((laughs)), es normal, ¿no? ni a nosotros

RE: eso a nadie le gusta

FA: ((laughs)) pero pero le gusta, sí, le gusta la forma de vida, la educación que existe aquí, la, eh porque a Brasil todos nosotros sabemos que no hay no hay prácticamente las reglas, no hay, hay mucha mucha violencia, mucha, aquí a la, sabe que puede andar, prácticamente a cualquier hora sin preocupación ninguna, sin se(r), sin tener miedo miedo de nada, ¿no?

RE: sí es cierto que la seguridad es (inaudible)

FA: es un pequeñito paraíso en

RE: sí

FA: en Europa en Europa, ¿no?

RE: sí, Luxemburgo la verdad es que es bastante, ehm, bastante seguro en ese sentido, y, ehm, como ve, que, la progresión desde noviembre que él, porque él llegó él a, ustedes llegaron el

FA: ya ya ya los comenzaron, comenzaron, octubre noviembre, noviembre

RE: a principios, no? llegaron

FA: a principios de noviembre, si, que ha comenzado la escola

RE: y ahora estamos a principios de marzo

FA: uhum

RE: ¿y qué tal le ve la la? ¿cómo él se va socializando con con?

FA: bastante bien

RE: con los otros niños

FA: bastante bien, bastante bien, porque lo creo que se han hecho muchos amigos, ah, la escola, se don bien,

pienso que se don bien con los profesores, con con, memo con con lo que aprenden, le gusta lo que aprenden, eh, porque, al principio, se se, es normal que que tenía el choque de de de la lengua, de todo, pero como han comenzado a comprenderlo lo que decían, se han comenzado a gostar de de de lo que aprenden de la lengua, de todo, de la escola, acho que (inaudible) han pasado bien el choque de de de la diferencia, ¿no?

RE: me dijo, ehm, no estoy seguro si, eh, si me lo dijo o, o no, pero la profesora, la antigua profesora Claire me dijo que al principio él él lloraba mucho, creo, creí entenderla, cuando llegó

FA: sí

RE: cuando llegó, la primera semana

FA: sí, por, porque no entendía nada, no entendía nada, ¿no? todo que le hablaban, el no entendía nada, ah, se quedaba muy tímido porque él es muy enérgico, e, le gusta hablar con toda la gente, le gusta se, le gusta mucho se evidenciar, él, él, no se queda con, con él, no le gusta ser el, el alumno mediano, a él se le gusta ser el mejor, todo lo, en todo

RE: muy competitivo

FA: es muy competitivo, muy competitivo, memo esto de la doenza que, que le ha pasado, para él es una, una cosa, que le, que le hace, que le hace mucho daño psicológicamente, porque no sabía qui todos los niños tienen una doenza como él ha tido, para él, se creía que él era, era, defici, quasi como deficiente, porque tenía aquella doenza, cuando le hemos explicado que es normal, que yo la tengo, todo toda la gente lo tene, bueno se ha ha, se calmó porque creía que era diferente de los otros, que que, por tenerla era era, un handicapé,

RE: sí sí

FA: o cualquier cosa como como eso, ¿no? eh, le explicamos, le inclusive un médico que nos asiste le ha explicado le ha mostrado fotos de todo, de otros niños, le dicimos que había una una una niña coño conocida de nosotros que estaba tambiñn, ha hablado al teléfono con ella ((laughs)), bueno, se convenció ((laughs))

RE: ¿y qué tal ha, qué tal ha vivido el cambio de profesora? Porque esta profesora parece que es un poco más rigida

FA: pienso, sí sí sí, al inicio, al inicio, yo creo que ha

vido, problemático para ella para él, y y él ha tenido unos pequenitos problemas con ella

RE: sí con ella

FA: le hemos hablado a casa, le hemos dicho, porque hemos comenzado a notar que no trazia todos los días él trae una información para casa de un sorrisito, una cara fea o hemos comenzado a notar que venía la cara fea y entonces le le questionabamos porque ¿por qué? ¿qué se tinha pasado? eh, hasta que uno día, uno día ile, il trae ile ile, il truzo uno, uno caderno de pintura, una cosa así, creo que fue así, o, o los, ah, sí, antes se, nosotros le hemos dado, uno, un MP3

RE: uhum

FA: y le dicimos que no le vale pa para para la escola, pero ello lo ha escondido en su bolsa y lo ha trazido, la profesora lo pegó, lo tiró o lo quitó, por una semana, y nos mandó la información pa casa a decirlo que él lo había hecho, y yo le dice, la profesora está certa, nosotros te hemos avisado, te hemos dicho que no tienes que hacerlo, ni ni, y tu lo has hecho, escondido, y después la profesora te dice, para quitarlo, tú no lo quitaste, ela tiene razón, y te vas a quedar sin ello, bueno, se paso, después, hasta (hicieron) un caderno de de de pintura o una cosa así, que quería hacer, en la, en la aula, cuando los otros, la profesora le ha dicho, le ha dicho de hacer una otra cosa, pero a ello le apetecía pintar, y no no obedeció, la profesora lo quitó, y y ello se ha enervado, se ha, no se lo que lo pasó, que se fue a la profesora, cual cualquier cosa así, después le ha, pedido disculpas todo eso pero, tive, tive el impulso de hacerlo, ¿no? y, le hemos hablado en casa, le hemos dicho que no puede hacerlo que, es una alta una falta de respeto con toda la gente, mismo con nosotros, porque es una vergüenza de de de de ser llamado a la escuela, ah, porque ha faltado el respeto a una profesora, ha tentado de empujarla o una cosa así una cosa violenta que no, que no puede pasar. Bueno, se paso, ahora pienso que esta muy bien que se da muy bien con ella, que ela nos ha dicho que está muy bien, que, que va bien, (lo que quieres, ¿no?)

RE: (el encontronazo), ¿no? El cambio de profesor ahí

FA: sí, uhum

RE: todo lo que él notó más, ahora ya está bien. Muy bien, yo creo que eso va a ser todo, lo único, eh, ah bueno, también quería preguntarle, ¿cómo, cómo se encuentra su mujer aquí en Luxemburgo? ¿ella está contenta también?

FA: sí sí sí, sí sí

RE: ¿los dos?

FA: sí, nosotros,

RE: (inaudible) más o menos

FA: bueno, tenemos todavía saudades de nuestra terra, lo lo lo, como (inaudible) nosotros gustamos de Luxemburgo como un país para trabajar, ¿no? es normal

RE: sí

FA: eh, pero, nos gustamos Luxemburgo, nos gustamos Luxemburgo, no nos gustábamos de estar a trabajar en otros país, no no, nos gustamos trabalhar en Luxemburgo porque Luxemburgo nos da, creo que nos da, buenas condiciones de trabalho, tenemos, ya estamos instalados lá bastante tempo y yo mais tempo que mi mujer, tenemos nuestras relaciones, nuestros amigos, eh, hay muita muita gente portuguesa

RE: sí

FA: bastante gente también brasileira de, agora, eh, pienso que estamos, bien integrados, bien integrados, sí

RE: muy bien, pues eso es todo, muchas gracias

FA: ok, de nada

20090305_Interview_portuguese_teacher

RE: Researcher

TP: Teacher portuguese

RE: pode, pode sentarse, ok

TP: estou pontando para (aqueles disenhos) tambem

RE: ((laughs)) voce pode dezir votre, o o on le fait en français peut etre c'est plus facile pour moi

TP: d'accord, oui, yes

RE: (inaudible) vous pouvez me dire votre nom, qu'est que

vous faites à l'école (très court)

TP: uhum, je m'appelle fatima prata dosantos, je suis enseignante de cours intégrés, je travaille ici à l'école rue de commerce, qu'est que je fais? Je donne le éveil aux sciences, eh, jusqu'au quatrième année, et les sciences et géographie en cinquième et sixième année

RE: et vous le faites depuis combien de temps ici au Luxembourg?

TP: c'est ma sixième année ici au Luxembourg

RE: et vous, vous avez normalement des enfants d'origine portugais, capverdien, brésilien?

TP: oui, oui, aussi espagnol

RE: espagnol ((laughs))

TP: il y a aussi que son père est espagnol, excuse moi ((she leaves briefly))

RE: oui, bien sur

TP: j'ai aussi, j'ai aussi, des enfants que le père, ou bien la mère c'est déjà luxembourgeois, et à la maison ils parlent ou bien le français ou le luxembourgeois, alors ces enfants ils ont plus de peine à parler le portugais, mais en general ils parlent tous bien le portugais

RE: parce qu'ils le parlent (inaudible)

TP: ils parlent souvent chez eux mais le problème c'est pour écrire que c'est vraiment différent de l'allemand, et là c'est vraiment le problème pour écrire

RE: et maintenant pour parler un peu sur Nuno

TP: uhum

RE: et sur l'enfant là, parce que vous l'avez reçu au mois de novembre

TP: eh oui oui oui

RE: (et là nous sommes) à la première semaine du mois de mars

TP: uhum

RE: et je voulais vous demander si vous avez vu des

changes significatives dans son comportement, bien academique, bien social

TP: uhum

RE: dans, dans les cours de portugais, si le fait qu'il soit aussi brésilien ça donne aussi quelque chose different, vers les autres

TP: uhum

RE: je sais pas si la majorité sont de portugal peninsule

TP: UhUmmm

RE: la majorité sont de portugal?

TP: oui oui oui oui

RE: et LUI il est brésilien

TP: il est, il viens de bresil oui. ((silence)) Et, bon, quand j'ai reçu Nuno j'ai vu qu'il avait déjà un comportement tout à fait different des enfants qui viennent du Portugal, pour quoi? parce que, c'est déjà le clima qui a beaucoup d'influence, eh, meme son père m'a affirmé que il était habitué a etre plus, plus dehors, il jouais beaucoup des heures à l'exterieur, eh, ici, le clima ça le permet pas et déjà le l'appartement est, au bresil je crois qu'il habitais dans une vila, alors c'est déjà tout different, il se voit ici enfermé, et à l'école bien sur que, c'est aussi le programme, tout est different, j'ai vu que ça l'a rendu beaucoup de estress, il est venu meme souvent agressif vis-à-vis des autres,

RE: uhum

TP: je crois que vous connaissez l'histoire qu'il a, fait

RE: on m'a dit qu'il a essayé de fraper sa, Simone, avec une chaise, ou quelque chose comme ça

TP: oui oui oui oui, et l'alarme, il a casé le, le vidre d'alarme

RE: aussi?

TP: oui oui oui

RE: ça je savait pas

TP: ah, alors, il l'a fait exprès, il a cassé le vitre qui est à coté de

RE: et ça c'était quand? Il a pas long temps?

TP: il y avait encore l'autre enseignante là

RE: ah, Claire

TP: oui

RE: et vous avez noté une difference entre, remarqué une difference entre Claire et Simone? Quand l'enfant il est passé avec Simone, s'il est plus calme maintenant?

TP: eh, eh, bon, je sais pas (explicar) là (pour voir) de son comportement en classe, mais je vois qu'il grandisse à niveau de comportement, il grandit, eh, maintenant il a un autre comportement, il est plus calme, peut etre aussi le père, j'ai parlé le père, entre guillemets, il a parlé avec lui et j'ai expliqué un peu qu'ici les regles sont differentes, il dois avoir une autre posture à l'école, un autre comportement, et je crois qu'il a compris, qu'il dois se comporter different pour rester ici, meme le jour qu'il m'a dit, ma mere elle m'a dit, desculpa, (santinho), que si je me comporte mal je dois partir au Bresil,

RE: ((laughs)) c'est interessant

TP: alors c'est un peu peut etre des menaces, à la maison, qu'il dois se, comporter bien

RE: bien (qu'il fait un effet)

TP: qui fait qu'il fasse les efforts pour bien se comporter, en classe je vois qu'il grandisse chaque jour, mais bon il est, encore très espon, tané

RE: tané

TP: il bouge beaucoup s'il peut toujours, ça se voit

RE: plus que les autres?

TP: plus que les autres, mais ça se normal dans l'enfant

RE: (il y a plus qu'il s'ennuye)

TP: qu'a vecu beaucoup, oui oui, en dehors, dans la rue à cause du clima déjà

RE: um

RE: et dans le, dans le cas de la difference de, de langage, vous avez no, rémarqué quelque chose, le fa le fait qu'il qu'il parle la varieté bresilienne et pas une varieté de du portugal, ça

- TP: ça c'est toujours, il y a toujours une difference
- RE: oui oui
- TP: on a des mots qui sont vraiment, mais ça c'est la richesse de la langue
- RE: oui oui oui
- TP: mais il a beaucoup plus de vocabulaire que un autre enfant portugais, que les parents sont portugais, les deux, et qui sont nés ici, ils ont vraiment le basique, et Nuno non, il a un vocabulaire beaucoup plus vaste, ça je m'aperçois vraiment qu'il sait expliquer les choses avec beaucoup plus de vocabulaire que les autres, ils arrivent pas, avec ces nuances de la langue, c'est normal, mais, beaucoup plus de vocabulaire, eh et une autre vision de voir déjà les choses
- RE: (inaudible) il n'a pas peur de, par exemple de parler, eh, dans mon cas, imaginons que c'est un, un enfant, un gen d'argentine et
- TP: uhm, oui oui oui
- RE: il parle et les autres le regarde comme, lui il est sorti d'ou? (pour quoi) il parle comme ça?
- TP: oui, souvent les autres ils comprennent pas, des mots qu'il prononce,
- RE: et ça c'était plutôt au début de l'année**
- TP: qu'il dis, oui, plutôt début, maintenant il y pas de problèmes, non non non non
- RE: non non, pas de problème mais
- TP: mais ils savent ils savent distinguer les enfants, meme entre eux ils savent qui qu'il a beaucoup des nuances qui c'est différent, au début il disait, meme c'était un autre enfant l'année passée qu'il disait, eh, maitraisse, il parle différent de nous, c'est pas portugais; quand il est venu un autre enfant, parce que, au Portugal on dit, posso ir a casa de banho
- RE: si
- TP: en brésilien
- RE: o banheiro
- TP: ils disent posso ir o banheiro. Qu'est qui c'est le

banheiro? Ils se questionnaient les autres, c'est

RE: mais maintenant il continue à dire le banheiro? Mais tous comprennent (ce que) veux dire?

TP: non il dise casa de banho

RE: il dis casa de banho?

TP: il dis casa de banho, y a Maria tambem, Maria aussi elle est brésilienne et ils ont dis, parce que les autres ils les corrigent. Ici c'est pas banheiro ((laughs)) é casa de banho

RE: ((laughs))

TP: ((laughs)) c'est eux meme, moi je les corrige pas

RE: oui, non non bien sur

TP: parce que je trouve bien ces nuances, ça fait parti, mais c'est meme les autres qui corrigent ((laughs)) ici c'est a casa de banho, nao é o banheiro

RE: alors il y a des petites, petites choses, au niveau de vocabulaire mais pas de prononciation là (inaudible)?

TP: non, non non non non non

RE: et sa relation avec les autres, ça va? Ou il est trop agressif ou il est normal?

TP: bon maintenant je crois qu'il qu'il est un enfant qui s'intègre bien

RE: bien

TP: oui, bon il fait plutôt le groupe avec le, il y a encore l'autre brésilien qui viens d'arriver

RE: oui Tiago

TP: Tiago, il est plus avec Tiago, il toujours avec la la

RE: ils ont une bonne relation?

TP: je crois, oui oui oui que qu'il font, eh

RE: Tiago il est beaucoup plus calme que Nuno

TP: ah oui, oui oui oui

RE: il est un bon eleve, c'est que ja'i vu, il est, il travaille bien

TP: oui oui, il est plus calme oui

RE: et il fait bien les choses

TP: oui oui

RE: (inaudible)

TP: Maria aussi elle est très calme, je sais pas au niveau d'apprentissage, là de l'allemand c'est la plus de problèmes, mais je sait pas non plus de d'Nuno, là on fait pas beaucoup

RE: oui Nuno je crois qu'il va bien en allemand

TP: j'aimerais avoir plus de contacte avec les enseignants mais je sais pas le progres là à l'école, mais ici il comprend vite les choses, il a pas de probleme parce que moi en première année ici l'éveil aux sciences pour la première année je peux pas apprendre à lire ni à écrire, ça fait parti, parce qu'ils sont en train d'être escolarisé en allemand, et ils disent, qu'ils peuvent mélanger tout, alors je montre que des images, on parle pour voir, pour agrandir le vocabulaire, on raconte beaucoup des histoires, et, c'est comme ça, et à niveau de écrite et lecture je sais pas

RE: OK, je vais vous laisser parce que il y avait un parent ici aussi que attendais

TP: oui

RE: merci beaucoup

20090309_Interview_foyer_teacher

RE: Researcher

TF: Teacher foyer

RE: si vous voulez dire votre nom et votre fonction, juste (inaudible)

TF: de nouveau la meme chose que la derniere fois?

RE: non c'est pas la meme chose ((laughs)) (que je vous identifie). Bon, vous etes Julie

TF: oui

RE: vous travaillez ici

TF: je suis educatrice

RE: au foyer, ok

TF: oui

RE: eh, um, eh, comme est-ce que l'enfant il se debraille en luxembourgeois, le l'enfant en question, je vais pas dire le nom

TF: ah oui ça c'est très bien

RE: il est

TF: il est,

RE: bien progresé

TF: oui oui oui, et toujours s'il ne connait pas un mot il viens pour me montrer, (et) demande les autres enfants, ça c'est vraiment très bien

RE: ok, eh, il y a un changement des activités qu'il fait ici au foyer, ils (ont) ou il fait aparemment au peu près les memes activités que (inaudible)

TF: oui, les memes choses

RE: (inaudible)

TF: oui oui

RE: et il passe le meme temps que avant (inaudible)

TF: oui oui, toujours la meme chose oui

RE: toujours la meme chose, ok. Sa relation avec ses colleagues, il est bien intégré au groupe

TF: il est bien intégré, mais, des autres enfants, eh, ne veulent plus jouer beaucoup avec lui parce que, il embete les autres pour que moi je regarde seulement sur lui, et les autres enfants le remarque et c'est pour ça qu'ils n'aiment, plus beaucoup jouer avec lui

RE: alors, et ça se, ça passait pas au mois au mois de novembre? C'est plutot maintenant qui passe

TF: non, au début c'était pas vraiment comme ça

RE: c'était pas comme ça

TF: non

RE: et vous avez dit que ce comportement là il a il le

fait, eh, il y a plusieurs semaines?

TF: oui, bah

RE: ou non, il y a plus?

TF: (inaudible) déjà avant les vacances

RE: avant les vacances de noel?

TF: oui oui, eh non, pas de noel, de carnaval

RE: de carnaval

TF: uhum

RE: et vous avez remarqué un changement de comportement quand il est il a changé de professeur? de joffer, parce qu'il était avant avec joffer Claire, il est maintenant avec joffer Simone, vous avez (remarqué)?

TF: ah ça je le savais pas je seulement

RE: ah

TF: ça je ne savais meme pas

RE: oui

TF: il a maintenant une autre maitresse?

RE: oui oui oui

TF: il est dans une autre classe ou

RE: non non, il est (inaudible)

TF: (la) joffer Claire est partie, ah, autre part

RE: oui, elle est partie parce que

TF: ah

RE: elle est en train de faire, un remplacement

TF: ah, ok ça

RE: eh la la joffer normal eh

TF: ah ça je ne savais pas, je sais seulement, quelqu'un qui m'a dit qu'il a frapé, la maitresse

RE: oui, on m'a dit aussi a moi

TF: um

- RE: qu'il avait frappé, je sais pas si c'est à l'ancienne ou la nouvelle (inaudible)
- TF: et ça je le sav, je le sais non plus. Je sais seulement que le père a dit ça c'est normal, c'est pas grave, au brésil c'est comme ça qu'on frappe les femmes, les femmes sont seulement là pour le menage, ça c'était la réponse du pere
- RE: ah, à qui?
- TF: à la maitresse
- RE: ok
- TF: parce que la semaine passé, eh, le lundi il avait vraiment beaucoup le varicelle Nuno
- RE: oui
- TF: il dit qu'il qu'il avait deja deux jours, et, que la mère n'est pas allée avec lui chez le médecin, alors j'ai fait une note pour les parents, que c'est important qu'en on a une maladie, comme par exemple le le varicelle c'est comme meme un peu plus grave que qu'une grippe ou, je ne sais pas quoi, et que c'est important d'aller chez le médecin, et les garder à la maison, parce que c'est une maladie que les autres enfants peuvent atraper aussi, eh, se (transporter) ce maladie là, et, alors le père il est venu, qu'il est deja allé chez le médecin, qu'il avait le varicelle depuis, eh, dix jours, et je ne lui crois pas parce que après dix jours les varicelles sont deja plus, et, plus (portique) que lui, il est il a encore maintenant, et, ah oui il a dit qu'il était chez le médecin, et, et Nuno il dit toujours non la mère a dit que ce n'était pas grave, il faut pas la peine d'aller chez le médecin, et, buf, pourquoi il, il, je ne le sais pas pourquoi il mente dant cette situation, je, je crois, plus Nuno que sont père, parce (qu) pour pourquoui il me dit a trois fois, non je n'était pas chez le médecin, ça ce pas une situation, eh, (bien)
- RE: c'est bizarre, (oue), je j'ai fait deja deux entretiens au parents, au père, et c'est vrai que j'ai essayé de faire la meme chose avec la mère, eh, on s'a donné (un) rendez-vous et tout ça plusieurs fois et, j'ai jamais reussi
- TF: j'ai deux fois vu la mère jusqu'au maintenant
- RE: oui, j'ai essayé mais jamais
- TF: oui mais je pense qu'elle, le père a dit qu'elle ne

comprends pas le français ni le lux

RE: oui oui oui, mais de toute façon je le dit que je parle un peu le portugais (inaudible)

TF: ah oui

RE: aparement, le père il m'a dit qu'elle travaille beaucoup, eh, elle fait le menage et après elle fait le baby-sitting jusqu'au neuf heures le soir, eh

TF: ah oui

RE: aparement elle travaille beaucoup

TF: peut etre ça c'est aussi une situation, Nuno, si la mère est à la maison pour quoi lui il va pas à la maison?

RE: oui

TF: il en a beaucoup d'enfants qui sont comme ça et ils sont

RE: non non, j'avais, pardon (je me mal expressé), qu'elle fait le menage mais, pas dans sa maison

TF: ah, chez des autres personnes, ah ok

RE: il y a eu des nouveaux arrivés? Des enfants qui qui sont (inaudible)

TF: ah, des enfants, non

RE: au groupe

TF: non non non, c'est toujours le meme groupe

RE: c'est toujours le meme groupe

TF: oui oui oui

RE: ok, il a pas des enfants qui sont partis non plus?

TF: non non

RE: ok, eh, est-qu'il utilise beacoup le portugais avec

TF: non

RE: les autres

TF: ou presque pas

RE: presque pas, plutot le luxembourgeois

- TF: oui, il parle seulement le luxembourgeois, eh, le portugais si moi je lui dit quelque chose et que je peux pas lui montrer avec les mains ou les pieds, et, ou je dis aux autres enfants tu peux lui traducter ce que j'ai dit
- RE: ok, et seulement à ce moment-là?
- TF: oui
- RE: (inaudible) et, et ce qu'il fait normalement ici c'est, il viens, il prend le repas, il fait les devoirs
- TF: oui
- RE: après vous [faites des activités
- TF: [on fait des activités, ah oui voilà
- RE: et il jou joue aussi avec,
- TF: oui il joue aussi avec les autres mais souvent il fait les choses pour lui meme
- RE: oui
- TF: les les perles, lui, il veut dessiner, ou des trucs comme ça
- RE: lui, tout seul? il veut faire
- TF: oui il y a aussi des autres enfants qui dessinent mais ça c'est comme meme plus, des choses qu'on fait, il dessine sur sa fiche parce que (on enfiche les autres), ce sont plus des choses qu'on fait seul, meme s'il y a des enfants qui sont assis près de lui
- RE: oui
- TF: oui, et j'ai aussi l'impression, il fait beaucoup des choses, plus que les filles que les garçons, il joue pas beaucoup avec les garçons, plus avec les filles, il joue pas avec les voitures ou les legos ou toutes les trucs comme ça, il fait plus
- RE: oui oui, ça on m'a dit deja ((laughs))
- TF: oui
- RE: que c'était, meme la la joffer elle était très étonnée parce que elle pensé qu'il était un peu, le macho, parce qu'il est vraiment très énergetique et tout ça
- TF: oui

RE: et après elle m'a dit non je me rémarqué que son
couleur préféré c'était le rose

TF: oui oui, voilà

RE: et après ((laughs))

TF: tout ça est

RE: il jouait avec les filles dans le dans le

TF: oui oui

RE: cours, elle était vraiment étonné

TF: (inaudible) aussi, pas beaucoup le futbol, il,

RE: ouais

TF: ((asking a colleague in luxembourguish))

OT: si on a une (inaudible) pour sauter (inaudible)

TF: ah oui c'est ça

RE: ah oui

TF: oui

RE: oui, il saute ça aussi?

TF: oui oui

RE: oui, je le observé à quelques récreations et je le vu
que oui, elle fait

TF: oui oui oui

RE: il joue toujours avec Cathy, Maria ou, des enfants
comme ça, des filles. ok, ehm, quelque chose de
special que vous avez, apart le comportement qu'il est
comme ça

TF: c'est toujours Julie regarde moi regarde moi,
Julie regarde, Julie regarde, il veut toujours
etre le premier, en n'importe ce qu'on fait

RE: uhum

TF: c'est

RE: il est très, egocentrisme (inaudible)

TF: sur soi, oui oui, c'est ça

- RE: et alors le luxembourgeois il le parle assez bien
- TF: oui oui
- RE: (comme ça)
- TF: oui oui, il fait beaucoup des progrès, il parle presque, oui tout le temps en luxembourgeois même si, si c'est pas vraiment correcte mais,
- RE: il le mélange un peu avec l'allemand ou?
- TF: oui
- RE: oui
- TF: en (faite) un petit peu les, les chiffres
- RE: les les chiffres, oui, [je remarqué aussi
- TF: [oui c'est ça, oui
- RE: (inaudible) ok, ok, bon, je pense, je pense que c'est tout, je vais pas vous déranger plus
- TF: uhum
- RE: je sais que c'est un peu, les entretiens sont un peu, comme dire, lourdes, et pour les devoirs, quand on fait les devoirs et tout ça, ça c'est normal?
- TF: il, il presque jamais il a (encore) faire quelque chose, il est toujours finit à l'école, presque toujours, et s'il doit encore finir quelque chose ici au foyer, il le fait vraiment très bien
- RE: uhum
- TF: c'est pas que je dois être toujours près de lui, fait tes devoirs, fait tes devoirs, il comprends vraiment très bien, oui
- RE: et c'est son père normalement qui viens le, après le le foyer?
- TF: eh, s'il va à la maison avant dix huit heures, alors c'est sa soeur, et après dix huit heures je ne sais pas, c'est, c'est tout les cinq semaines (moi) je travaille jusqu'au dix huit heures et demi, et je ne sais pas si c'est la soeur ou le père. Au début c'était souvent le père qui est venu et maintenant, (inaudible) plus la soeur
- RE: uhum, ok, et vous pensez vraiment que c'est pour, la ((noise)) la façon qu'il a maintenant de régarde-moi et vous pensez que c'est relationné avec avec ma

présence?

TF: bon je pense un petit peu oui parce que c'est vraiment dès ce temps-là (ou) il est toujours plus, que (inaudible) régarde-moi, régarde-moi, [il m'a aussi

RE: mais (inaudible) [par exemple je, je fais des enregistrements avec la permission des tous les parents au mois de novembre, et, il il se comportait pas comme ça

TF: non

RE: alors

TF: bah mais ici vous etes, à la maison avec les parents c'est autre chose que qu'ici avec les autres enfants, peut-etre que qu'il se trouve mieux que les autres enfants parce qu'il sait que vous venez seulement pour lui, [mais pas pour, les autres enfants

RE: [(inaudible), ici (je étais) deux ou trois fois

TF: ah oui, mais ((laughs)) meme avec ces deux trois fois là

RE: ça suffit

TF: oui

RE: ok, de toute façon je m'excuse si j'ai fait tel effet, mais bon, ok bon, merci beaucoup

TF: de rien

20090309_Interview_main_teacher

TE: Teacher (Simone)

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

RE: first of all thank you for for this, so I will go very quickly to the questions because

TE: ja

RE: due the due the context, eh, **what do you know about the previous schooling of this kid?** I don't want to say the name

TE: yes

RE: before, like in his country and with the other, teacher here, do you know anything about that before?

TE: ah, so I just know the thing about him, when he came to luxembourg, because from brazil, I don't know anything,

RE: ok

TE: and because I never got like, a paper where they mark if he was in school or if he wasn't, so we don't know, we just know what the parents told us, and I just was talking to the other teacher who did my replacement during I was away, so the only things I know about Nuno is, from, the other teacher, is what she told me

[children talking]

TE: yeah, so that's all

RE: ok, about this kid, eh

TE: yeah

RE: you know only what the other teacher, **what did the other teacher told you?**

TE: so the only thing I know about him is that he was working really good at school, for the short time he is here, so he is rea really a good student but that he has some problems in his behaviour, like social behaviour with other kids, and also with the teacher so he sort of, pushed the fire alarm button and he tried to run away and he did all kind of stuff, lets say he has some sort of, problems with his behaviour at school, thats (the biggest thing) what I know

RE: yeah, and (they) told me that he tried to agress you or the other teacher or both

TE: yeah both of us, he he agressed me, and he also agressed the other one

RE: with a chair?

TE: eh, not me with a chair, I don't know if he agressed the other one with a chair ((laughs))

RE: I heard it was with a chair, but ((laughs))

TE: yeah he is quite, he loses his temper really quickly, so he is a, he (is just taking something) away, because he is (not) paying attention talks to the

children in luxembourgish]

TE: and, so he loses his temper quite quickly so, he gets really aggressive and angry and starts crying and, yeah

RE: **and about the newcomers, you know I, you have the other kid that just arrived**

TE: yeah

RE: **and, do you have previous experiences with this kind of cases, when you were working before in another school?**

TE: yeah, we always have them, because they, come during the whole year, you know? you normally get one or two of these newcomers, so I already had kids from portugal or brasil, ah, most of the time, because the others normally come before september, so that they can start the school year, but **these** always come like during school year, so I had several cases, already but he is like, one of the best schoolish performances, he is doing the best schoolish performances I had, before

RE: that you had

TE: yeah, because the other ones, the other two are doing well, as well, but he is doing really really good, also he is improving his luxembourgish everyday, he can already like say sentences, he understands everything and he can, answer you and he always can, if he wants something he can express himself, (to) other kids, they are, even though those who are born here still have problems doing that, so he is learning, really quickly

RE: **and, do you think that these newcomers, they they should, at the beginning, should be treated differently, or just like the way as the others?**

TE: well, in my opinion, if they have like six years, or seven, the easiest way would be putting them for a trimester, or even a year, back to (spile schoule)?, because then they could learn the language because then they don't have to learn, our, luxembourgish and german at the same time, so they have like one year already to just learn luxembourgish and then they would come to school because normally the problem with them is, if they come during the year, like this, to our schools like first year of school, and they normally will fail most of them anyway, because they can't like accomplish both languages, dealing with coming here and having a whole other culture, plus the language, plus all the difficulties they normally have, because they are normally families who are not

like

RE: yeah yeah

TE: **they they have problem families**

RE: I know, its a lot, a (whole)

TE: so normally they will fail, at the first year so it would be easier, giving them the opportunity of being for a year in (spile schoul),

RE: uhuh

TE: getting to know luxembourgish language and then come to the, so and then, lets say, integrate themselves into the country, like

RE: uhuh

TE: just being here, and then at second year, when they are here giving them the problem of learning, german and the rest of the stuff that we do in school so that would, in my opinion be the easiest thing

[talking to the children in lux.]

RE: **so he he is good in languages, he progressed**

TE: yeah (his progress is) really quickly, he is also good in mathematics and he has, he is doing really well, for kids that have been here just for several months

RE: yeah

TE: like four, yeah, he is doing really well he is doing, much better that most of the other kids that are born here, so, yeah, he seems to be quite clever

RE: **how do you see the integration of this kid in the group of the classroom (inaudible)?**

TE: eh

RE: **how he is, behaving with the others?**

TE: well, he, his biggest problem is like being too selfish, like knowing just him and always wanting to be the one who is standing in the middle somebody, always, everytime you say something he just does it another time so that you have to say to him, again, so that you just say his name, and (cite) him personally and he always wants to be like first, or he is, sometimes arguing with kids because he wants to be the fist in the row, or the fist to do this, or, he is really, really selfish, that's his biggest problem I

would say, but, he can be nice, with the girls, specially, with girls, he is not doing so well with the other boys but he is nice with the girls but boys are, he always has to be the first one so they are always sort of rivals, so it is just like

RE: and not not that much with the girls?

TE: no, no, he seems to like them a lot, so,

RE: ok

TE: he always wants to play with them, normally, so

RE: in the the, playground, eh (inaudible)

TE: eh, yeah, or when they're drawing, he also like draws princesses like they do, so just to be a little bit like them so that they will take him into his little group, to let him draw with them, so, yeah

RE: and he and he doesn't want to play football or things like that?

TE: eh, no he prefers, eh, (troiser),

RE: yeah,

TE: so he likes that one, he he, he was playing football too already so

RE: ah ok

TE: yeah no no

RE: what about the communication with the other kids, what language does he use?

TE: luxembourgish, because, except with the other brazilian kids, he is speaking portuguese, but normally, the, the big advantage here, eh, advantage here, is that you have so many different, eh, so many different, eh, nationalities

RE: yeah

TE: that the only language that they have in common is luxembourgish so that's why they are speaking in luxembourgish, well their luxembourgish, most of the time, yeah

RE: and he, if he for example speaks some, eh, portuguese, is is that ok for you or? Would that be ok?

TE: well, no, it wouldn't. Well, I, I've really sort forced them to speak luxembourgish, [talking to the

children. Max talking to her in German and she answering in luxembourgish]

RE: eh, yeah, you were saying that about the languages

TE: yeah, so, I I normally, don't allow them to speak portuguese or french, or another language because I want them to speak, as much as possible, luxembourgish, so that they like try to use it, or at least do an effort, because it's too easy, to speak portuguese and to, not to try

RE: yeah

TE: and so at least they have to try, so if they really can't, then they can say one word, which they don't understand but, because I don't understand portuguese anyway, so

RE: yeah

TE: that's not (a big help)

RE: yeah

[talking to the children]

[Break and continuation of the interview in the classroom]

RE: now just the last thing is that, if you see any difference in the, subjects, related, behaviour, I mean if he does like more math than moral or luxembourgish than travaux manuels or, is there any difference that you noticed?

TE: the difference is between like, german and and, maths, against all the other subjects, because there he is really eager to be the first one, so there he is working really quickly and quietly, he has to, but, and there because they also get like something where they have to write, as do in luxembourgish and also in like eveil aux sciences, they are not writing, so they just have to listen and act, and then sometimes he just like, he is not like listening very well, and speaking too much, and disturbing his neighbours and, being a little bit too active, instead of like, listening and paying attention so that he, really likes to, yeah, sometimes trying not to listen and doing diff, all kind of different stuff, so he is really, peaceful, let's say like really quiet in german and in mathematics because there you have like really strict, rules where they know are we doing this and then we are doing something (where) we should write or read or draw or related to that one, because the other subjects are a little bit more free, there he, is, is more difficult for him to,

behave, well, and it depends also in the time, in the afternoon is much more difficult

RE: yeah

TE: than in the morning from eight till ten or eleven normally is fine, but thats not only him, it's most of them, its kind of a long morning, and then sometimes is a really long day, so, and friday is friday, it's always special

RE: yeah

TE: so but, I presume that in the subject(s) that he thinks are important, like mathematics and german, then he can really behave and really paying attention and being really good, and then all the others (he) is just, not that much

RE: what what about luxembourgish?

TE: well we just have like one hour of luxembourgish, and, well (they) are sometimes (uneasy) because I think he is not understanding everything, and then sometimes he is just like, like switches off, and he is not listening anymore because he, perhaps lost track of the history or of the things the other kids were saying but, normally I tell them stories in luxembourgish and, he likes stories, so, he listens let's say like most of the time, sometimes he just loses, loses the history, and the way, sometimes on the way and then he just switches off and, does (what he usually likes to do)

RE: I don't know if Claire told you, but he, luxembourgish was, apparently the only subject he didn't want to participate in

TE: ah oh, ok, no, she didn't, tell me that

RE: she didn' tell you that?

TE: no

RE: because he, all the kids went, like the usually go went to the corner, and then they read the, tale or whatever in luxembourgish, and he usually stayed in his place, just drawing or

TE: yeah, well that could be because he had problems at the beginning, understanding everything, but now he normally is still participating and looking at the pictures and trying to understand, because he is really eager, to learn

RE: to learn

TE: so, now that he has the opportunity of the, let's say, the possibilities of understanding I think he is just like, trying to do so, so

RE: you can see really a good change in that in that sense

TE: yeah, because he, he didn't refuse working, from the beginning I was here, (not that) I can remember, because he is normally always working

RE: and the first, week, or the first two weeks, the relationship between you and him was a bit, eh, I mean you, there was a bit of

TE: of a tension

RE: conflict

TE: yeah, we had

RE: because of the change of teacher

TE: well, it not as bad as with damien, he didn't do that (inaudible), but he is, well like all of them, the first week was a bit difficult because there was lots of changes, from Claire to me

RE: yeah

TE: so, but he is, eh, always let's say being nice like saying ah, hi, teacher, nananana, and then when you turn your back around, he is like picking on other people or he is like, (falling) off from his chair so that's why he is doing with me and that's the same he did with Claire, and, I just had this one incident with him, where he was really really nasty, where he like hit me, but it was quite one of the only incidents we had, so, he, eh, oh yeah, it's not, it was better in the first two weeks than it is now, because he, doesn't want to always be told, no, you don't to do that, no you sit down, you only have to, show, whatever, so, he is he is not liking rules that much, he is always trying to, avoid them, or, doing what he wants to do instead of following what you said

RE: it is interesting that I noticed also that he likes telling the others the rules like be quiet

TE: yeah, being a teacher, I always yeah, I always tell him that he is not the teacher of the class, but he sorts of likes telling them when I when I say, you have to sit down so, he, if they don't do it he is just like oh! sit down, like if he would be second

teacher, yeah, you know

RE: it is interesting that he doesn't like the rules but
he likes to tell the others the rules

TE: yeah, yeah,

RE: in some way

TE: yeah, yeah, that's what he really likes doing, telling
other people what to do ((laughs))

RE: ((laughs)) he should be telling the rules to himself

TE: yeah, he should, but that's like kids be, that's what
they normally do they, tell rules to somebody else
but they don't follow them

RE: ((laughs)) don't follow

TE: yeah

RE: ok ok, I think that if you don't have anything else to
say, for me is fine,

TE: yeah I would say we said all, we're talking about his
behaviour

RE: yeah

TE: against me, the others, and during school, so, I was
gonna tell

RE: (have another interview) like in may, june

TE: sure

RE: before the semester is over

TE: no problem

20090326_Interview_Nuno

NU: (inaudible)

RE: esta a mudar quando hablas, quando falas

NU: nao é ahi?

RE: nao é ahi nao

NU: é aqui

RE: sim, depois podes (inaudible)

NU: (inaudible)

RE: podes dizer um pouco

NU: aqui é a Maria, aqui é é Cathy, aqui é voce

RE: uhum

NU: (e eu estoy escondido) (inaudible)

RE: a, ali

NU: eu vou, eu vou dar, sim, vou-te dar um susto

RE: ((laughs) un susto)

NU: (e voce va fazer, ah) ahi, (e depois vai brincar) de
no sé que pega, ahi, pego a Cathy, pego a Maria, y,
(inaudible) assim

RE: ((laughs)) e sol, e sol esta a mirar com a cara,

NU: brillante

RE: brillante, si?

NU: si

RE: um, e e esto é na escola da aqui do lussemburgo?

NU: sim

RE: e gostas da escola de brasil também? Lembras da escola
de brasil? Gostas da brasil tambem?

NU: uhum

RE: si? ehm, e como como mudaste de escola de brasil de a
Lussemburgo? Gustaste de mudanza o (inaudible)?

NU: queria ficarme o brasil, nao queria mudanza
(inaudible)

RE: (inaudible) gustaste da escola tambem o brasil?

NU: eu gostei mas da escola do brasil

RE: si? Aqui aqui podes brincar muito no? Com muitos
meninos tambem

NU: uhum

RE: si? Et, o começo, com a, com a joffer, todo bem? A joffer ajuda muito?

NU: sim

RE: para brincar, a escola, e para

NU: sim, brincaba muito

RE: sim. E e lussemburgués é difficil o facil para ti?

NU: uhum

RE: falar

NU: facil

RE: é facil?

NU: nao, é é muito dificil

RE: é dificil nao? Ja falas nao?

NU: ((with resignation) eu falo)

RE: ja falas sim?

NU: sim

RE: ((laughs)) gustas d'otros dessinos?

NU: aha

RE: interessante este ((laughs))

NU: aha, aqui é a, aqui é (inaudible)

RE: sim, conheces a mevit?

NU: um, (inaudible) o joao conheço, (inaudible) conheço

RE: ese no sé, sabuca, saubuco ((laughs))

NU: ((laughs))

[talk to other children around]

RE: que estas, que estas a dezir? Nao compreendo

NU: ((talking to other children))

RE: e na na na, baixo, no centro onde comes e todo?

NU: a foyer

RE: a foyer, gostas do foyer, gostas?

NU: aha

RE: ali podes brincar tambem?

NU: (inaudible)

RE: e que estas a fazer no foyer normalmente?

NU: normalmente eu lembro de mio colega, (daniel)
(inaudible), que ela foi embora

RE: sim

NU: (que agora foi embora)

RE: mais no foyer tens que falar lussemburgues (mais nao)?

NU: é, ali nao falo portugues, nao

RE: nao podes?

NU: nao posso, (inaudible) escondido, de ela

RE: um, eh, gostas mais de joffer Claire o joffer Simone?

NU: (a a professora) Claire

RE: cual gostas mais?

NU: ai, a professora Claire

RE: Claire, sim? Por que?

NU: porque ela é muito boa

RE: ((laughs) é muito boa)

NU: uhum

RE: sim, é mais, é mais simpatica, o?

NU: mais simpatica

RE: sim, e com joffer Simone tambem gostas algumas coisas o?

NU: um, nao gosto muito (de ela nao)

RE: nao, nao muito. ela ela gusta do portugués o nao muito?

NU: nao non gosta, de NAda do portugués

RE: nada? y. Eh, as calificações, no? no? Todo va bem?

NU: uhum, ah?

RE: todas as notas, eh

NU: (sim, eu tido) muito bem

RE: sim? Muito bem? Si?

NU: aha

RE: ok, por mi todo, muito obrigado

NU: (ta bem) (inaudible)

20090326_Interview_Tiago

RE: ((to Nuno) nao, depois eu vou falar contigo)

NU: (inaudible)

RE: ok? ((to Tiago) isso, isso podes me dezir, explicar um poquidinho, el dessino). Qué, quem é esta pessoa?

LE: o Nuno

RE: a

LE: o Nuno

RE: Nuno, e esta?

LE: eu

RE: y y esto? Qué é?

LE: (a mesa) de escrever

[RE talking to NU and NU to LE]

RE: esto é a escola, nao é?

LE: é, na sala

RE: ah, na sala, ehm, tua escola no brasil, como como estava?

LE: uhm?

RE: gostavas, gostavas da escola do brasil?

LE: sim, sim

RE: sim? Eh, muito muito diferente da escola no lussemburgo?

LE: sim

RE: sim? Ehm, qual gostas mais? O gustas das dos?

LE: as duas

RE: as duas? Ehm, quando mudaste da escola, [de brasil aqui

LE: [da aqui?

RE: foi dificil o foi facil para ti?

LE: para mim foi dificil

RE: foi um poquidinho dificil?

LE: (inaudible) paris

RE: ¿como é?

LE: (inaudible) paris foi dificil

RE: paris? Ah, esti estiveste a paris, antes do lussemburgo

LE: (oue)

RE: quanto, quanto tempo a paris?

LE: (chegou e saiu)

RE: como é?

LE: (ma ja chegou e saliu pelo aviao)

RE: ah ah o aviao, si, o aviao chegou paris, e depois no lussemburgo

LE: um, (pa aqui)

RE: sim, ehm, e aqui gustas de brincar com com quem, com Nuno na escola, com quem mais?

LE: sim, com Stephan

RE: com Stephan, eh, o lussemburgués é alemao é dificil,

gostas?

LE: eh eh o (Stephan) é lussemburgués

RE: sim, mais é dificil para ti o é faicil facil?

LE: é é facil

RE: é facil? (bem), gostas da, do lussemburgués?

LE: (sim)

RE: podes falar um poquidinho ja?

LE: sim

RE: sim? ((laughs)), eh, o alemao?

LE: nee

RE: nee

LE: o alemao vou aprender

RE: ta a aprender, sim, ok, (muito bem), ok esta todo,
muito obrigado Tiago

LE: Nuno!

20090622_Interview_main_teacher

TE: Teacher (Simone)

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

RE: eh, (could you tell me) how the kid behaves with the
others? How do you see him interacting with the
others?

TE: yeah, well I think is the same thing as I said,
already last time, yeah? Ok well, it's not getting
better, it's even getting worse, because the girls
(used to) play with him, but now they just stopped it,
because he is always like cheating when they are
playing, he is always taking their things away, he
always wants to be first, because he just (know)
himself, so it's, really, getting, he he he's losing
his friends, and sometimes he is often quite alone,
and last time he was just (tell you) was crying and he
said oh I don't have friends anymore and I said well,
perhaps you should ask yourself why, but he didn't see
that he is just oh the others did and they did and
they did, but I was nice and so, ((mouth voice)), well

no, he is not, and that's why they just leave him and they don't want to play with him

RE: what about in in the classroom? Eh, because sometimes he tries to, keep it quiet, for example with, damien, eh

TE: yeah

RE: the other day, (he) was telling him to stay quiet and so on

TE: yeah, he sometimes does that because then he is playing teacher, just playing being a teacher because normally, he he is the one I have to tell most like to be, be quiet, just don't do that, no Nuno you are not the one who is, you are not here nor there, that's, eh, he's ummm, yeah really concentrated on himself, he's really concentrated on himself and, he, well he is sometimes playing the teacher, but, normally

RE: he likes it

TE: yeah, he likes to be the one who has to say what the others should do, and that's why (inaudible)

RE: in a way he was like that from the beginning, from the very beginning

TE: yeah, yeah, yeah, he is really concentrated on himself, as I was talking to his dad, and first he said that it was just at school, last time he was oh well yeah is the same thing at home, because he is answering everytime he say something he is like ninininini he's got something to say too, and then he says I am going to get the police and they will all kill you and stuff like that, and that's what he also does at home, so with his mother, as it seems, that's what his father told me

RE: and about the languages from march to now june, do you see a lot of progress?

TE: ah, well I think its stayed quite equal, he did a lot of progress during the first three months and now he is just like, getting, a little bit more vocabulary he is already talking really really well luxembourgish and also german, so, he is I think I think quite talented, for languages

RE: for languages, eh, yeah the language he uses usually is luxembourgish? or?

TE: in the foyer scolaire? yeah

RE: (what about in school)

TE: in school too, yeah, mostly luxembourgish because some other kids like switch to german, when they talk to me, but he stays normally in luxembourgish so, he is improving really well in luxembourgish and in german too

RE: **what about portuguese? Do you do you see?**

TE: I don't know

RE: him using it?

TE: yeah, they sometimes do with Tiago and, Afonso, kind of (stuff) portuguese people together but I always like, they are not allowed to do that,

RE: ok

TE: so he is, normally he is not that, quick switching (type), normally he stays in luxembourgish until the other one, (inaudible) begins, and then he switches to portuguese too, but normally he still stays in like German or even Luxembourgish

RE: **what about his relationship with the other newcomer? I don't want to say his name**

TE: yeah, sure, ah, well, the other one is really really quiet

RE: from brazil

TE: yeah, he is really quiet, the new one, the newest one, and he is a really nice kid, but they are not, talking that much together, they are really ((talking to a child) no, no)

RE: not not even in in march, when he he came in?

TE: in in january

RE: in january

TE: yeah

RE: and, I don't know I thought (inaudible) being both of them from the same country and

TE: yes they are but first I asked him sometimes to do some translation for me so that the really new one could understand, but now I stopped that because he is really well understanding me, and he also can say so many things in luxembourgish and ask me so I am not

asking for Portuguese translations anymore and they, they don't really have, because they are not in the same group in the foyer scolaire,

RE: aha

TE: that's why already he is with the smaller ones, and, that's why three of them are together in the foyer scolaire, it's like Mohammed, Damien, and Tiago, they are in one group and that's why they get on really well, and he is in another one and Stephan is also in another one, they are quite lonely, well let's say it's like, yeah, eh

RE: I guess he is one year older, more less, than the others

TE: yeah, Maria too

RE: yeah

TE: it's because they came here and they were older, but they can't speak languages (why) they get one year back in school

RE: uhum, do you see any difference with the subjects, some subjects he likes more or less? From march to now?

TE: ah

RE: any progress

TE: you mean like subjects, well he,

RE: maths

TE: oh yeah maths is getting more difficult because he's still (cou) do the math with fingers,

RE: still?

TE: yeah still, so yes, he is talented in languages but not as talented in lang, in mathematics, so he really likes german, much more, he likes singing too, singing and dancing, drawing, eh, yeah eveil aux sciences I don't know because he is doing that in portuguese

RE: yeah

TE: eh, sports too, he likes running and, kind of stuff

RE: and luxembourgish?

TE: yeah we do, luxembourgish, but we normally we do like a little place (where) I am telling them a story in

luxembourgish and they have to answer a little question so, it's just like one hour per week, it's not that much, but I presume the one he like, he likes, the last, at least I would say is like, mathematics ((to the children: yeah, yeah))

RE: mathematics?

TE: yeah is what he doesn't like that much

RE: **um, what do you think about the relationship with you?**

TE: the thing is, I think he sort of really likes me, but because he is always getting on my nerves really much, ((laughs: sometimes)), sometimes he is just, even if he doesn't do anything I just know that he is going to do something, he's going to annoy me or he's going to make me angry so, he is, he can be really really nasty, at one point, and then be really really nice on the other point, but he is just like, yeah he is too much like ((imitating voice: oh yeah)) which already annoys you again, he just, yeah he has this kind of character who just makes you go crazy sometimes

RE: (inaudible) two extremes in a way

TE: yeah, he (just) can be really nasty or too nice

RE: yeah, strange

TE: so, it's strange yeah, but he sometimes is drawing me something (as) telling me everything so I think that he, likes me, but he is, ah, yeah, he he can't stop himself from annoying the rest, and me ((laughs))

RE: **what what about the family? Did you do you have any contact with the mother or?**

TE: no

RE: just with the father

TE: no, just the father, he last time he came because I wanted to tell him that I will not take it, him, with me to the colonie de vacances, because that's eh, is for the other kids, is for the nice ones and I told his father that I am just going to take him with me if he will manage to be nice over like, some weeks and he doesn't, so he will stay at home, I will punish him, and give me a nice three days instead of shouting all over (the place)

[talking to a child in lux.]

RE: so the mother you don't (see her)?

TE: no, never seen, no, never seen

RE: um, I had some questions about the **integration**, but I think he is totally already integrated

TE: yeah

RE: in the classroom

TE: yeah, yeah, he is, because of the, because he understands everything, he can, respond to everything, he can express himself, so that he really understands everything, and, yeah

RE: so the only thing is the personality, that's a pity

TE: yeah, so is the personality or character, yeah, yeah

RE: I think that's more than enough

((irrelevant talk between RE & TE))

20090626_Interview_father

FA: Father

RE: Researcher (Roberto Gomez)

20090626

RE: muy bien, ya estoy grabando, muy bien, ¿qué tal qué tal con Nuno? ¿Qué tal ? ¿ha llevao eso de no ir a la colonie?

FA: no, no ha no ha ido porque la profesora nos ha dicho que él se comporta un poquito mal eh, y que no la respecta eh, por eso no no ha riscado a verle llevado, no?

RE: sí

FA: eh, lo ha puesto entre (aspas) de castigo e no no no lo ha levado, no

RE: y [y

FA: [porque, (él) tiene muy buenas notas en todo, eh, en sus tareas, en todo lo que respeta la escola pero en comportamientos, eh, se, se hace un poquito malo, no respecta, se (amoa) un poquito, bueno, eso, lo ha

castigado ((laughs))

RE: ((laughs)), ¿y qué tal, en casa él es así también así un poco travieso, o?

FA: en casa en casa por veces no, se pasa la misma cosa, se, la madre se enfurece con él, porque no la respeta por veces quiere hacer las cosas quiere, hacer todo todo lo lo que le da la gana eh, no puede, ¿no? por veces hay que que hacer lo que le dicen ((laughs)) para hacer

RE: sí, ¿y qué tal, qué tal le cuenta a usted sobre, sobre la escuela, sobre los compañeros y eso?

FA: bueno

RE: ¿está contento?

FA: me creo que que esta muy contento eh, le gusta, que aprende bien, a a a, en este momento habla la lingua

RE: sí

FA: eh, creo que habla que habla muy buen la lengua, eh, creo que va bien, excepto exceptuando la question del comportamiento, no? Porque no eso no es de ahora, no es la primera (pieza) que que la profesora lo lo me hace que me llamaba que me llama a la escola para hablar que por veces, hay que castigarlo porque no se comporta bien

RE: si, ¿usted habla luxemburgués, por cierto?

FA: no no, no, no,

RE: y y Nuno, eh le intenta enseñar el luxemburgués o alemán?

FA: si si si si si, muchas veces porque él tiene una hermana más más vieja que que está en en la escuela también que está aprendiendo el luxemburgués, eh, se ponen a a hablar los dos y nos tientan nos tientan a enseñar algunas palabras, bueno pa para ello es muy muy muy fácil, no?

RE: aham

FA: para nosotros ((laughs)) es un poquito mas dificil)

RE: es diferente

FA: que tenemos mucho mas cosas que pensar en la, que tener en la cabeza, y, nos entra muy despacio, ¿no?

RE: ((laughs))

FA: ((laughs))

RE: y, y que tal le ve usted, bien integrado en la escuela, sin problemas, [aparté del comportamiento (inaudible)]

FA: [si, si, si, creo que si, creo que si, exceptuando eso del comportamiento con la, la profesora porque lo problema se puene, se pone, directamente avec, con la con la profesora porque (es) in question de respecto, quien quien quien quien esta en falta es él no no no la profesora, no no me quejo de nada de la profesora,

RE: si si si

FA: eh, es él qui qui por veces no no, no sé que le pasa en la cabeza que no quiere respetarlo lo que le dicen para, estar quieto, para, por veces le apetece desenar e no es para desenar es para hacer otra otra otra tarefa cualquier e,

RE: si

FA: bueno, (chico) no no no sé que que, porque porque faze esa travesura de que no respecta para para (inaudible)

RE: y la profesora de de portugués? ha hablado con ella?

FA: si si si, he hablado con ella, ela nos ha dicho de de de tener también un poco de de pulso firme en casa para que él sinta que, hay que respetar los más vejós, los padres, los profesores, toda la gente, y, bueno, es lo que tenemos intentado de hacer, creo que (os) pocos y pocos llegaremos la, no?

RE: um, él él n, él está ahora en la escuela, ¿no? en

FA: si si si, si, a estos momentos esta en la escuela hasta las cuatro y media, yo creo, y después va, por el el foyer

RE: um, y con el foyer bien, alguna cosa así, um?

FA: con el foyer yo creo que que va bien, porque en el foyer yo le veo, ellos hacen las las tareas que traen para casa de la escuela e después se ponen a jugar e, ah, ah, tiene jo juegos, tienen el parque afuera para para jugar también, por veces van a dar un paseo, creo que que en el foyer va bien

RE: sí, va bien, la la profesora del foyer, Julie

FA: uhm

RE: le ha dicho que todo bien y eso? Sí

- FA: sí, normalmente sí, normalmente sí
- RE: muy bien, y, ehm, que tal, que tal su madre también con con Nuno, todo bien, ella esta contenta? Aquí?
- FA: si si, (si si) ella esta contenta, como es normal, ¿no? porque (esta lo), ha estado muy muito tempo (apartada) y ahora las cosas se se van bien, ¿no?
- RE: sí
- FA: es normal (tene) el hijo a su lado, es normal que se encuentre contenta, ¿no?
- RE: uhm, muy bien, pues por mi parte creo que, creo que es todo, si tiene usted alguna cosa asi, interesante, no sé qué, algo curioso, ah, quizas si, tengo una preguntita sobre la lengua,
- FA: uhm
- RE: porque él, él habla la la variedad brasilena, ¿no?
- FA: uhum
- RE: pero también esta como aprendiendo un poco de la variedad, de continental, del portugués, ¿cómo, cómo lo ve, ha notado usted algo, algun cambio en su vocabulario, si dice alguna cosa?
- FA: si si, (ha cambiando) ha cambiado algunos, algunas palabras porque, como sabe, el el el, la lengua portuguesa en brasil tiene algunas palabras que son un poquito diferentes del português continental, ¿no?
- RE: uhm
- FA: y él ha, yo creo que ha pegado algunos termos del portugués continental, poque se habitua también conmigo porque yo yo aqui a casa, le hablo el portugués continental, (normalmemo)
- RE: uhum
- FA: y yo le, ha pegado ha ha pegado algunas palabras porque tienen, tienen, son palabras diferentes con como (nos) usamos palabras diferentes, con el mismo significado, ¿no?
- RE: sí
- FA: y, él ha comenzado a habituarse, a, a las palabras del del portugués continental, ¿no?
- RE: ¿y usted cree que que las ha aprendido en la escuela o

con con usted en casa o (inaudible)?

FA: pues lo ha aprendido en la escuela y, pero yo creo que más en casa porque, es mas conmigo que que habla, ¿no? porque a la escuela yo creo que, que (quizá) tiene aula de portugués a la, a la, a la, (inaudible) creo que es el viernes

RE: (el jueves)

FA: o los jueves, los jueves los jueves que tiene, que tiene aula de portugués, y mas conmigo en casa todos los días, (no?) todos los días habla conmigo, todos los días lo le questiono como ha ido la escuela, (cualquier), ¿qué ha pasado? ¿Qué ha aprendido? si, si ha tenido alguna pelea con algun amiguito? que por veces lo pasa, ¿no?

RE: sí

FA: eh, bueno, le hablo bastante, ¿no? y él y él creo que ha comenzado a pegar las las palabras en en portugués continental

RE: ¿y le le cuenta alguna vez si ha cambiado de amigos de juego o algo?

FA: sí, me cuenta las cosas normales de crianzas

RE: (inaudible)

FA: por veces se pelea con el otro, eh, me recuerdo que ha sido, antes de ontem, antes de ontem, creo que ha sido, quarta feira, el el el miércoles

RE: sí

FA: me ha dicho que ha, ha tenido un, un amiguito cualquier que le ha (ganado) le ha dado con la, con la, con una pelota, y yo podía pasar a la escola para hablar con ele, porque, le tenía miedo ((laughs)) cualquier cosa así de, ele dice que bueno (inaudible) cosas que normalmente no ha hecho de propósito y que se va se va a pasar, que que no, que juegue con otros amigos, bueno, aquellas cosas de crianzas, ¿no?

RE: ¿y eso se lo cuenta más a usted o a su madre, o a los dos, un poco?

FA: normalmente me habla mas a mí,

RE: sí

FA: me habla más a mí porque soy yo normalmente que tengo más tiempo disponible para pasar a la escola o para resolver cualquier problema de la escuela, porque la

madre es muy ocupada, y ella normalmente como que (libra) al fin del día,

RE: sí

FA: nunca nunca tiene horario compatible para pasar a la a la escola, ¿no?

RE: um

FA: y como soy normalmente yo que que paso, es conmigo que normalmente (inaudible), me habla de esas cosas más, cuando es para mostrar una prueba, una, cualquier cosa que ha hecho a la escuela, eh, ele, va va directo a la madre, ¿no?

RE: um

FA: eh, (inaudible) cualquier problema así porque tiene normalmente, viene a hablar conmigo

RE: bien, muy bien pues yo creo que eso es todo, también agradecerle toda su colaboración y decirle que también me gustaría estar en contacto en caso de que tenga, alguna pregunta, o quiera venir algún día a la universidad, a visitarnos o lo que quiera

FA: ok, cuando tenga un poquito de tiempo disponible

[personal talk between RE & FA, Father informing about the change of address and school of his son]

20090626_Interview_portuguese_teacher

RE: Researcher

TP: Teacher portuguese

RE: Como é que a, d'ici à, eh, je le fais en français? En français peut être c'est mieux

TP: en français, oui oui oui, d'accord

RE: ok, du mois de mars au moi de juin, maintenant

TP: oui

RE: est-ce que vous avez remarqué des changements de de de Nuno dans son comportement avec les autres?

TP: oui oui, je me aperçois que qu'il fait des efforts, il

fait beaucoup d'effort pour, changer, mais souvent c'est plus fort que lui, et, il n'arrive pas à maîtriser même le (vocabulaire) parce qu'il se lève, tellement il est tellement rapide, et, qu'il réfléchit pas ni même, qu'est (qu'il fait) et mais je crois comme même qu'il fait des efforts, depuis le mois de mars oui qu'il eh, il fait beaucoup d'efforts

RE: oui, eh, vous avez vu aussi, avez vous, dans la matière il a progressé bien?

TP: oui, il a pas de problème en portugais parce que il savait déjà lire, et écrire même quelques mots, alors, il est très vite, et en portugais il a y pas de problème, mais comme même je me aperçois qu'il lui manque la concentration, il est un peu fier de lui même, qu'il sait déjà les choses et et, quand je raconte une histoire souvent il est pas tellement attentif, et il y a beaucoup des choses que, qu'il rate qu'il arrive pas à, à tout écouter

RE: um, et avec le comportement de de de Nuno avec les autres brésiliens étudiants brésiliens qui vient d'arriver, bon, qui qui sont arrivés par exemple en janvier ou février

TP: oui oui oui, non, je je crois que que

RE: il a un rapport spécial ou non, pas pas vraiment?

TP: pas vraiment pas vraiment, je crois que c'est un comportement d'un enfant que que viens d'arriver, tout à fait normal, bon, il y a un copain qu'il est arrivé plus tard et, il est déjà plus avancé que lui je crois, parce qu'il lui manque la concentration, c'est un peu ça

RE: oui, l'autre il est plus tranquille, il avance, il avance bien

TP: oui, oui oui oui oui, voilà il, quand il se lève, et, toujours, il, sa tête je crois qu'elle est un peu toujours un peu ailleurs, il est un peu déconcentré toujours, c'est dommage parce qu'il a beaucoup des capacités, je vois qu'il est vif, il il s'intéresse énormément et, il est actif mais au même temps, aussi discret, et ça c'est dommage, (ça va faire que)

RE: que Nuno il n'est pas discret ou

TP: qu'il avance pas tellement vite comme, eh, un autre qui est déjà venu, que, qui est plus concentré, plus attentif, plus calme,

RE: oui, parce que je me rappelle de du dernier entretien qu'il avait, il y avait plusieurs épisodes de, qu'il

avait frappé, quel, la la professeur, il avait aussi, il y avait un probleme avec la la l'alarme d'incendie, maintenant, dans ce dernier temp il n'as pas eu des episodes comme cela, n'est pas?

TP: il a (fait) énormément l'attention de tout le monde, je crois, il essaye d'appeller enormement l'attention, je sais pas, et, souvant il y a des petites bagarres, et, des petites disputes que que lui je crois que c'est lui meme qui, qui cree tout ça pour rappeler l'attention

RE: **oui, et dans le dans le cours il a pas des, avec avec les autres enfants apart que Nuno il est tres vif, et parfois impatient mais avec les autres enfants il a une bonne relation, généralement**

TP: pas tellement, même ici quand on joue il, **il saute énormément il arrive pas à etre dans un groupe**, il il est deux minutes avec un groupe apres il change de groupe ou bien quelqu'un vient se plaindre qu'il (inaudible), d'un livre qu'il veut tout de suite passer les pages, il arrive pas à, rester longtemps, eh, dans un groupe il est vraiment impatient, et, ça fait qu'il s'attache pas à un groupe

RE: **et avec les, parce que je vous avez demandé plusieurs fois mais c'est pas important, c'est juste une curiosité, parce qu'il avait appris de vocabulaire aussi de portugal de peninsulaire, ça il a il a toujours?**

TP: **oui, oui, oui oui oui oui, il a toujours, oui oui, parce que, il change enormement de, il arrive meme il essaye de transformer, et de, (inaudible) parce que les copains de sa mère il est portugais, alors je crois que à la maison il entend aussi beaucoup le**

RE: oui, le portugais oui du Portugal

TP: oui continental

RE: oui

TP: le portugais, c'est pas seulement ici (dans les deux heures) mais en meme temps toutes les copains que, la plus part c'est aussi des portugais

RE: um, ah oui c'est vrais, oui, la communauté plus forte au Luxembourg c'est de, cont, de portugal continental

TP: oui oui oui oui oui oui, (d'accord), c'est l'influence, oui, ça se voit que,

RE: **alors il a progressivement adapté un peu son**

vocabulaire, il a appris un peu de vocabulaire aussi de Portugal, eh

TP: oui oui

RE: sans conflits, eh oui, tranquillement

TP: énormément, oui oui oui, oui

RE: ok bon, je sais pas si vous avez eh, une observation à me dire, pour Nuno, quelque chose intéressant que vous, vous avez remarqué ou quelque chose, sinon c'est, sinon je n'ai plus des questions

TP: eh, no je crois que, je vois qu'il essaye, il essaye de faire des progrès, pour le comportement, mais souvent c'est plus fort que lui, je vous vous avez déjà dit ça

RE: oui

TP: mais il fait des efforts

RE: il fait des efforts

TP: (inaudible) mais je crois que c'est, aussi le émotionnel, il le manque quelque chose, au début il pleurait, il venait ici, il me parlait de son père, eh, ça c'est l'émotionnel qu'il qu'il qu'il, qu'il le manque quelque chose et qu'il arrive pas, seule à maîtriser, mais je crois qu'il va accompagner normalement une escolarité sans problèmes, qu'il a des capacités pour ça,

RE: oui, oui

TP: c'est juste changer un peu son attitude par rapport à, à son comportement et, et ça il doit comprendre, je crois que, avec quelque mois encore de l'école, qu'il va comprendre ça

RE: um, quel type de note vous avez pour la matière?

TP: pardon, j'ai pas

RE: vous avez pas de note? C'est passé ou pas passé ou quelque chose comme ça

TP: oui, mais je le donne une bonne note parce qu'il participe énormément, il est très vif, quand je raconte des histoires il comprend bien, souvent il oublie, il oublie non, il a pas écouté des détails, comme les autres enfants qui sont plus attentifs parce qu'il était pas attentif, il crois qu'il comprend tout alors, il est déjà ailleurs vite, mais, sinon, il comprend, je vais lui donner une bonne note oui

RE: oui

TP: pour moi il (le) passe sans problèmes, je sais pas comment ça se passe avec le vocabulaire en allemand, mais en portugais il a un bon vocabulaire

RE: um um, oui alors il a, il a parfois un comportement plutôt individualiste que communautaire, de quelque façon il est, eh, dans la classe

TP: oui mais moi je punirai pas un élève, pour son attitude, pour son comportement, c'est tout à fais, je vois un peu normal, entre guillemets, à cause de tout ce changement et, comme je je vous avez dis le, le emotionel aussi le manque de son pere, eh, ça joue aussi un role que, je vois qu'il a la force, mais qu'il arrive souvent à maitrisser, et je je le, puni, non, je peux pas punir un élève à cause de ça

RE: oui oui oui, ok, oui bien sur

TP: parce qu'il a des autres (echecs) enormes aussi

RE: oui, oui oui oui

TP: c'est pas la barrière de de la langue, de, de de, de tout ce qu'il a laissé derrière lui, qui qu'il doit être punis, mais je vois comme ça, qu'il (voit) comme même une grande evolution

RE: uhum

TP: une, comme même (une) intégration il (voit) l'intégration,

RE: oui?

TP: eh, on peut pas

RE: il a beaucoup progressé et intégré dans l'ensemble de l'année

TP: oui, oui oui oui, oui, c'est pas un enfant qui pleure tout le temps, qui est mal intégré, non, pas du tout, il fait énormement des efforts il cherche toujours,

RE: um

TP: c'est important, il cherche meme dans les groupes, il cherche ou ou, il aime bien, il a pas encore trouvé, c'est vrais, il a pas encore, trouvé, mais il cherche, il fais des efforts

RE: um, ok, très bien

TP: moi je ((laughs) l'aime bien), malgré son
comportement, ah, mais je l'aime bien

RE: ok ((laughs))

TP: oui ((laughs))

RE: ça c'est bien, ça c'est bien, moi je l'aime bien aussi
((laughs))

TP: oui oui oui, il devrait (être apprécié), il nous donne
énormément, il nous donne beaucoup,

RE: oui

TP: et ça c'est c'est très important parce qu'il a des
enfants, c'est vrais, il sont très sages mais, on sait
pas qu'est qui se passe dans la tete, et lui non, lui
lui s'exprime, il il pleure s'il a (inaudible), il
raconte il parle, il se donne énormément aux autres
aussi

RE: très bien, bon, mer merci beaucoup pour votre temps

TP: de rien

RE: je vous avez pas demandé si vous avez vu vu le disque

[private conversation]

Appendix E: Sample of field notes / summary

que trabaje pero Alcides no lo quiere.
 Las últimas 2 lecciones han
 sido igual. En la clase de 1º, 1,
 el suele arrancar su nombre y
 devolver el boli. A los 5 minutos
 coge la hoja, llama a la profe
 y se pone a hacer la actividad,
 en este caso pintar.

MIÉRCOLES - 10:00 - CÁLCULO

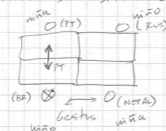
Hora de matemáticas. Restas muy sencillas,
 Al. quiere participar todo el rato. Sale a
 la pizarra. $3 - 1 = 2$ lo hace bien.
 En la hora de antes, el Al. había terminado
 el 1º, casi 30 min. antes que el resto.

Hace la tarea con la profe, que usa
 incluso el portugués. Al. rechaza la ayuda/
 traducción de un compi y escucha a
 la profe. Tan pronto como termina,
 sólo juega y está muy nervioso/

aburrido; termina pronto y luego se
 aburre, distraiéndolo a sus compañeros.

Vuelve a trabajar cuando viene la
 profesora.

Al. o trabaja y participa (piensa) o
 enreda. Su situación:



La profe pregunta a la niña de portugués
 los números en portugués para explicar/ayudar
 a Al.

11:00 ALERÍA

Hacen un coro y tienen que decir dónde
 está la "e" de la palabra (dibuja) que
 le enseña el profe.

Allegando tarde y la profe me ha
 dicho que en el tiempo que no estaba,

Appendix F: Government documents

Enseignement primaire



LE GOUVERNEMENT
DU GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG
Ministère de l'Éducation nationale
et de la Formation professionnelle

Vade-mecum à l'intention du personnel enseignant, du personnel socio-éducatif et des communes

Vous accueillez en classe un enfant nouvellement arrivé au pays - que faire ?

L'accueil d'un élève primo-arrivant constitue un défi pour l'enseignant¹ qui doit familiariser l'enfant avec une ou plusieurs langues nouvelles, une culture scolaire différente, des programmes et modes d'évaluation différents, tout en aidant le nouvel arrivant à trouver sa place dans un établissement scolaire nouveau.

Il n'en va pas autrement pour l'enfant. En rupture avec son parcours scolaire antérieur, il est confronté à un environnement linguistique, culturel et social inconnu: souvent, il n'a plus l'occasion de communiquer en langue maternelle et doit trouver de nouveaux repères et de nouveaux copains.

Investir le temps qu'il faut pour un accueil personnalisé des parents et élèves dès leur arrivée crée un climat de confiance qui, par la suite, aura des répercussions positives sur l'attitude vis-à-vis de l'école et de l'enseignant, et fera gagner un temps précieux à tous les concernés. Cet accueil, dont les modalités peuvent se faire en plusieurs étapes, devrait se faire par l'enseignant du cours d'accueil en étroite collaboration avec l'enseignant de la classe d'attache et en concertation avec l'inspecteur.

En vue de pouvoir organiser un projet scolaire correspondant au profil de l'enfant, il importe que l'équipe pédagogique dispose d'un maximum d'informations sur les acquis scolaires antérieurs de l'enfant, ses forces et faiblesses, tout comme sur d'éventuels besoins spécifiques.

La « **fiche d'arrivée** » ci-jointe est destinée à faciliter ce travail.

Le premier entretien avec les parents a pour objectifs de:

- faire connaissance avec l'enfant et ses parents et les mettre en confiance
- informer sur le fonctionnement de l'école, la grille horaire, les modes d'évaluation, le matériel scolaire nécessaire
- faire visiter l'établissement scolaire et présenter tous les enseignants en contact avec l'enfant
- renseigner sur les horaires scolaires et les activités parascolaires
- faire un bilan des acquis scolaires de l'élève
- connaître d'éventuels problèmes de santé de l'enfant (allergies, maladie, ...)
- informer sur les différentes aides possibles au sein de l'école

Si les parents ne comprennent pas les langues du pays, il est recommandé de faire appel à un **médiateur interculturel** qui pourra traduire les informations nécessaires (service gratuit offert par le Ministère : tél. 247 85136).

Si le but des cours et des classes d'accueil est une intégration partielle ou complète aussi rapide que possible dans une classe régulière, il est illusoire de croire qu'il n'y a qu'un seul modèle d'intégration scolaire. Les enfants sont tous différents de par leur langue et culture maternelle, leurs acquis linguistiques et scolaires antérieurs, leur motivation, leurs aptitudes, leur environnement familial, etc.

Les propositions ci-dessous ont pour but de faciliter le travail de l'équipe pédagogique et de toutes les personnes concernées par l'accueil d'un élève nouvellement arrivé. Elles ont été élaborées par le Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers en concertation avec le Collège des inspecteurs et des titulaires de cours d'accueil, et approuvées par Madame la Ministre.

¹ Dans le texte, le masculin du nom désigne indistinctement les personnes de sexe féminin et de sexe masculin de la communauté scolaire.

Démarches relatives à l'accueil des enfants nouvellement arrivés au pays

1	Premier accueil à la commune	<p>Lors de l'arrivée de la famille :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inscription auprès de la commune de résidence (bureau de la population) - la commune enregistre les données personnelles de l'élève (volet administratif) et les transmet à l'inspecteur, et au responsable des cours d'accueil - pendant les vacances d'été: la commune informe l'inspecteur avant la rentrée et celui-ci prend les mesures nécessaires permettant l'insertion scolaire de l'enfant dès la rentrée scolaire
2	Accueil à l'école	<p>L'accueil et le suivi d'un enfant primo-arrivant n'est pas seulement l'affaire de l'enseignant de la classe, mais de toute l'équipe pédagogique (titulaires des cours d'accueil et de la classe d'attache).</p> <p>Premier accueil :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - entretien avec l'enfant et les parents (en cas de besoin, faire appel à un médiateur interculturel) - constitution du dossier scolaire (données personnelles, bulletins, etc.) - appréciation des connaissances linguistiques (compréhension et expression orale et écrite, voir « fiche d'arrivée ») et mathématiques - information sur les diverses langues avec lesquelles l'enfant est en contact (famille, voisins, etc.), celles-ci pouvant servir de « tremplin » pour l'apprentissage des nouvelles langues - présentation de l'équipe d'enseignants en charge de l'enfant - information sur les horaires, congés, matériel didactique, cantine, sports, etc. - élaboration d'un projet éducatif individualisé et inscription de l'enfant dans la classe, resp. le cours d'accueil <u>et</u> une classe d'attache
3	Documents mis à disposition des enseignants par le Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers du Ministère	<p>De nombreux documents à l'intention des enseignants et des parents (traduits en différentes langues) figurent sur le site Internet du MENFP, ou peuvent être fournis par le Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers, notamment :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fiche d'information pour parents en plusieurs langues (but de la fiche d'arrivée, importance d'amener les bulletins de l'élève, adresses de contact) - grille d'évaluation pour documenter les acquis de l'élève primo-arrivant - bibliographie pratique pour l'enseignant (matériel didactique pour l'accueil et l'enseignement de l'allemand et du français à des primo-arrivants) - outils d'évaluation pour les compétences en langue maternelle
4	Evaluation initiale et en cours d'année	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fiche d'arrivée pour l'évaluation initiale (bilan scolaire et langagier) - grille d'évaluation pour documenter les progrès en cours d'année
5	Intégration en cycle d'apprentissage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - l'élève sera intégré dans le cycle correspondant à son âge - en vue d'épargner aux enfants une répétition de ce qu'il savent déjà et de pouvoir de concentrer sur les nouveaux apprentissages, on évitera de placer en 1^{re} année d'études un enfant déjà alphabétisé en écriture latine dans son pays d'origine
6	Organisation des cours d'accueil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pour favoriser la progression rapide de l'élève, on l'intégrera partiellement en classe ordinaire (classe d'attache) en fonction de ses compétences et progrès - dans la mesure du possible, éviter les cours intensifs de langue aux moments où l'élève est fatigué, p.ex. prévoir les cours d'accueil le matin, l'intégration de l'élève dans sa classe d'attache l'après-midi
7	Projet pédagogique de l'élève	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le projet pédagogique de l'élève dépend de son âge lors de l'arrivée, de ses acquis et de ses compétences - le « programme » sera flexible et adapté individuellement en fonction des progrès de l'élève: on définira des objectifs p.r. aux compétences indiquées dans le livret scolaire et aux connaissances indispensables à la poursuite de la scolarité.

8	Langues à enseigner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le but premier est de permettre à l'enfant de communiquer le plus rapidement possible avec son entourage - dans la mesure du possible, on commencera avec la langue la plus proche de l'enfant - le choix des langues à enseigner ainsi que la suite des langues sont à considérer en fonction de l'âge d'arrivée de l'enfant, de ses acquis antérieurs, des langues connues par les parents, de la proximité de la langue maternelle avec la 1^{re} langue à apprendre - au début, l'enseignement se limitera à une seule langue. On évitera de surcharger l'enfant par un enseignement simultané de deux langues : il importe que l'enfant ait acquis une certaine aisance dans la 1^{re} langue étrangère avant d'aborder l'apprentissage de la 2^e langue - attention : ne pas mélanger l'allemand et le luxembourgeois ! - L'accent sera mis sur la compréhension et l'expression orales. Ensuite seulement on introduira l'écrit de façon progressive. L'acquisition de la correction grammaticale est la dernière étape. - à la fin de la scolarité obligatoire, chaque enfant doit être familiarisé avec le luxembourgeois
9	Méthodes pédagogiques et matériel didactique	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - il existe un grand nombre de méthodes français langue étrangère (FLE) et Deutsch als Fremdsprache (DAF). Un choix limité est recommandé par le Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers du Ministère et le Collège des inspecteurs - ces méthodes peuvent être consultées au CASNA, aux bureaux régionaux d'inspection et au Centre de documentation pédagogique de l'Université, campus Walferdange
10	Echange avec les parents Médiateurs interculturels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - l'échange régulier avec les parents est d'une importance capitale : on informera sur les progrès de l'enfant, comment les parents peuvent aider leur enfant, on expliquera les bulletins et les notes, (attention : la signification des notes peut varier d'un pays à l'autre !) - en vue de permettre aux parents qui ne comprennent pas les langues du pays de pouvoir s'exprimer pleinement, on peut faire appel gratuitement à un médiateur interculturel parlant e.a. portugais, capverdien, serbo-croate, albanais, chinois, russe (Mme Marguerite Krier, tél. 247 85136) ou les parents peuvent se renseigner à la Cellule d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants au Ministère (informations en langue portugaise mardi et jeudi, en serbo-croate les lundis et mercredis matin, CASNA, tél. 247 85277
11	Evaluation de l'élève en cours d'année	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - au début on évitera de donner des points ou des notes - on aura recours à une évaluation formative (description des acquis et des progrès de l'enfant) ; une grille d'évaluation pour primo-arrivants figure sur le site Internet du Ministère - un portfolio pourra documenter les acquis et les productions de l'élève dans les différents domaines et pourra inclure également des travaux réalisés dans la langue maternelle de l'élève
12	Valorisation des compétences des élèves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - il importe de donner à l'enfant primo-arrivant l'occasion de montrer ses compétences dans des activités où la langue écrite n'est pas prédominante (ex. dessin, musique, sport, mathématiques) - demander à l'élève d'apporter ses livres favoris, resp. des cahiers ou travaux réalisés dans sa classe d'origine
13	Education interculturelle et ouverture aux langues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - favoriser l'échange entre les élèves de différentes origines culturelles et linguistiques - encourager, auprès de tous les enfants, la familiarisation avec différentes langues, p.ex. en faisant apprendre les chiffres en différentes langues, en affichant les salutations dans toutes les langues présentes en classe, en rendant attentif aux similitudes et différences entre ces langues - écouter et chanter des chansons de différents pays - bibliothèque multiculturelle : les livres pour enfants offrent de multiples possibilités pour des activités d'ouverture aux langues, p.ex. comparer les livres et les langues, demander aux enfants ou aux parents

		d'amener des livres dans leur langue maternelle, de lire à haute voix, de raconter des histoires ou des comptines de leur pays d'origine
14	Mise en confiance de l'élève primo-arrivant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - encourager un « tutorat » par un élève de la classe d'accueil et de la classe d'attache - organiser, dans la mesure du possible, le contact et l'échange avec un autre enfant de même origine linguistique
15	Suivi des élèves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - à la fin de chaque trimestre, toute l'équipe pédagogique fera le bilan des acquis de l'élève - elle désignera un instituteur de référence qui fera le suivi de l'élève jusqu'à l'intégration complète en classe régulière ou l'orientation vers le post-primaire - les données relatives au suivi sont à transmettre à l'inspecteur
16	Passage primaire /postprimaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Les élèves âgés de 12 ans participeront aux épreuves standardisées dans la mesure du possible. Même s'ils ne maîtrisent pas l'allemand et/ou le français, ils seront orientés vers l'enseignement post-primaire, où il existe des classes d'accueil, des classes francophones et des classes à apprentissage intensif de l'allemand ou du français (voir site Internet du Service de scolarisation des enfants étrangers). - Afin de planifier la création de ces classes, les enseignants sont priés d'indiquer à leur inspecteur, au début du 3e trimestre, le nombre d'élèves potentiels pour ces différents types de classe, afin qu'il puisse transmettre ces informations aux directeurs des lycées concernés
17	Elèves de 12 ans ou plus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - l'élève nouvel arrivant, âgé de 12 ans ou plus au 1er septembre de l'année scolaire, qui n'a pas participé à la procédure d'orientation, sera dirigé vers le CASNA qui l'orientera vers une classe de l'enseignement secondaire correspondant à son profil
18	Offres pour les enseignants des classes et cours d'accueil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - des formations spécifiques pour les enseignants des cours d'accueil (méthodes DaF, FLE, interculturalité, psychologie des enfants déracinés, etc.) sont organisées par le SCRIPT en collaboration avec le Service de la scolarisation des enfants étrangers. Les enseignants intéressés à être tenus au courant de ces formations spécifiques sont priés d'adresser leurs coordonnées à ce dernier Service - matériel didactique pour enseignants au CASNA - des visites et des réunions d'échange entre titulaires des cours d'accueil sont encouragées
19	Informations supplémentaires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - information et documentation sur la scolarisation des enfants de langue étrangère : site Internet du Ministère www.men.public.lu - rubrique enfants étrangers - Lettre circulaire de printemps - CASNA (voir ci-dessous) - Bureaux régionaux de l'inspectorat
20	Cellule d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants au Ministère CASNA tél. 247 85277 fax : 247 85140 mail : casna@men.lu www.men.public.lu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - premier accueil et orientation des élèves de 12 ans et plus (information, dossier-élève, test en langues et mathématiques, etc.) - informations sur les classes francophones et autres dans l'enseignement secondaire - organisation de formations continues et de réunions d'échange entre les enseignants des cours et des classes d'accueil - aide à l'organisation de réunions d'information pour parents étrangers

Mars 2008

**Ministère de l'Education nationale,
de la Formation professionnelle et des Sports**

Débat d'orientation sur l'école d'intégration le 29 novembre 2000

**Rapport à la Chambre des Députés
sur la mise en œuvre de la motion adoptée
Situation: mai 2004**

Au cours de ces dernières quelques années, un grand nombre de mesures ont été mises en place par le Ministère de l'Education nationale, de la Formation professionnelle et des Sports. Elles nous permettent, dès à présent, de mieux gérer les questions relatives à la scolarisation des enfants et des jeunes étrangers qui nous sont confiés et d'augmenter le taux de certification de nos élèves qui a atteint 80 %. Ce taux est encore insuffisant, mais il représente une progression très importante par rapport au taux de 50 % des années 90.

Un premier rapport sur la mise en œuvre de la motion avait été soumis à la Chambre des Députés en octobre 2002. Depuis lors, une partie non négligeable des idées et projets d'innovation mis à l'essai dans nos écoles au cours de ces dernières années a été inscrite dans les différents projets de loi soumis à la Chambre des Députés¹. Ils feront désormais partie intégrante de notre école et nous permettront de mieux appréhender les défis de demain.

Les 24 points de la motion et les actions entreprises :

1. Unité de l'école :

La Chambre des députés invite le Gouvernement.....

à préserver l'unité de l'école luxembourgeoise ainsi que de ses diplômes et certificats étant donné que la fréquentation d'une même école par les enfants étrangers et luxembourgeois est plus que jamais un élément indispensable à la préservation à moyen et à long terme de la cohésion sociale au Luxembourg,

Le système éducatif luxembourgeois se voit confronté à une situation qui n'existe dans aucun autre pays: nulle part ailleurs, les élèves ne doivent maîtriser trois langues officielles, et nulle part ailleurs, le pourcentage d'enfants de langue étrangère n'est aussi élevé. En face de la difficulté de trouver des solutions équitables pour tous, une possible approche aurait été de développer deux écoles parallèles, l'une pour les autochtones, l'autre pour les allochtones. Ce choix politique risquerait d'entraîner une ségrégation des différentes communautés vivant dans notre pays, ce qui se répercuterait non seulement sur la cohésion de la génération actuelle, mais également sur celle des générations futures.

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- ¹Projet de loi portant organisation de l'éducation préscolaire et de l'enseignement primaire (N° 5224)
 - Projet de loi de base sur l'école (N° 5223)
 - Projet de loi portant organisation des lycées et lycées techniques (N° 5092)
 - Avant-projet de loi portant réforme de l'apprentissage et de la formation professionnelle

Publications

La communication avec tous les parents se fait en plusieurs langues, et des efforts particuliers sont faits aux moments-charnière de notre enseignement.

Ainsi, je me suis adressée directement aux parents d'élèves, dans un dépliant en trois langues "Fir e gudde Schoulufank - Bienvenue à l'école primaire - Bem-vindo à escola primária" qui, depuis l'année scolaire 2002/03, est envoyé à tous les parents d'élèves de 1^{re} année d'études, et qui souligne l'importance du soutien parental et de la bonne collaboration entre parents et école.

La brochure "Que faire après la 6e année d'études primaires?" est éditée en allemand, français et portugais. Des réunions d'information sur le passage primaire-postprimaire sont organisées dans l'ensemble du pays et fréquentées par 80% des parents; quelques-unes se font en français.

Dans l'enseignement secondaire, un carnet de liaison a été introduit, destiné à l'inscription des notes et des devoirs en classe, mais aussi aux communications d'informations aux parents.

21. Charte scolaire:

à soutenir l'élaboration d'une charte scolaire définissant les droits et devoirs des différents partenaires scolaires - élèves, parents, enseignants, directeurs, responsables administratifs et politiques,

La charte scolaire est inscrite au projet de loi portant organisation des lycées et lycées techniques, soumise au vote des Députés (document parlementaire 5092). Elle est obligatoire pour tous les lycées.

Il s'agit d'un engagement de l'ensemble de la communauté scolaire de respecter un certain nombre de règles de conduite fondées sur les droits et devoirs de chacun de ses membres. Ainsi l'élève cesse d'être un objet d'enseignement pour devenir un sujet responsable qui possède des droits et qui assume des devoirs. L'éducation est aujourd'hui inséparable de la notion de devoirs. L'expérience pédagogique prouve d'ailleurs que la grande majorité des élèves sont prêts à assumer des devoirs à condition qu'ils en comprennent le bien-fondé et qu'ils se sentent capables de satisfaire aux exigences qu'on leur impose. Par ailleurs, l'exercice par les élèves de leurs droits et le respect de leurs obligations dans le cadre scolaire contribuent à les préparer à leurs responsabilités de citoyens. Les parents peuvent être associés comme partie contractante à la charte; dans ce cas, ils s'engagent à maintenir le contact régulier avec les enseignants, à suivre le travail et les résultats de l'enfant, etc. Le lycée, de son côté, garantit aux parents le droit à une information suivie et, le cas échéant, une offre d'aide et de dépistage des déficiences précoces éventuelles.

22. Accueil des primo-arrivants :

à continuer, en matière d'accueil d'élèves primo-arrivants, sa politique de diversité de l'offre scolaire, à développer les structures adéquates dans les différentes régions du pays et à se montrer flexible lors de l'apparition de nouveaux phénomènes migratoires spécifiques. Une intégration rapide des élèves dans les classes normales et une préparation spécifique des enseignants sont à considérer comme des priorités,

Classes d'accueil, classes d'insertion et classes à régime linguistique spécifique dans l'enseignement secondaire technique.

Deux règlements grand-ducaux ont été adoptés le 10 juillet 2003:

- le règlement grand-ducal portant institution de classes d'accueil et de classes d'insertion dans le cycle inférieur et le régime préparatoire de l'enseignement secondaire technique,
- règlement grand-ducal introduisant des classes à régime linguistique spécifique au régime technique, au régime de la formation de technicien et au régime professionnel de l'enseignement secondaire technique.

Classes pour primo-arrivants dans l'enseignement primaire:

En 2003/04, 24 classes d'accueil destinées aux élèves nouvellement arrivés au pays ("primo-arrivants") fonctionnent dans un certain nombre de grandes communes. Le but en est l'apprentissage intensif d'une langue d'enseignement, suivie de l'apprentissage d'une deuxième langue dès que la première a dépassé la phase de consolidation. Dans la mesure du possible, l'enseignant commence avec la langue qui est la plus proche de la langue maternelle des élèves. En principe un enfant ne doit pas séjourner plus d'une année en classe d'accueil, et, en vue de favoriser une intégration rapide dans les classes normales, il est recommandé de prévoir, dès le début du séjour en classe d'accueil, l'intégration partielle des enfants dans des "classes d'attache", correspondant au niveau d'âge des enfants primo-arrivants.

Désormais on essaie, dans certaines communes, d'intégrer immédiatement les élèves récemment arrivés dans des classes régulières, et de prévoir parallèlement des cours intensifs de langue pendant 7 à 8 heures par semaine.

Classes d'accueil et d'insertion dans le cycle inférieur de l'enseignement secondaire

13 classes d'accueil accueillant 195 élèves fonctionnent, depuis 2003/04, dans toutes les régions du pays (Lycée Technique du Centre à Luxembourg, Lycée technique d'Esch/Alzette, Lycée technique Nic Biever de Dudelange, Lycée Mathias Adam de Pétange, Lycée technique d'Ettelbruck et Lycée du Nord à Wiltz). Elles sont destinées aux élèves récemment arrivés au pays âgés de plus de 12 ans. Le suivi des élèves et l'encadrement comme la formation des enseignants sont assurés par le Ministère de l'Education.

Des classes d'insertion où les élèves du cycle inférieur apprennent l'allemand (classes STA), respectivement le français (classes STF) de manière intensive ont été offertes depuis longtemps au Lycée technique du Centre à Luxembourg. A partir de la rentrée 2004/05, il est prévu d'offrir de telles classes également au Nord et au Sud du pays.

Classes modulaires francophones

Enfin, des classes modulaires francophones fonctionnent aux lycées techniques d'Esch-sur-Alzette, Diekirch/annexe Mersch Dudelange, Ettelbruck, Luxembourg (LTC), Pétange, Wiltz.

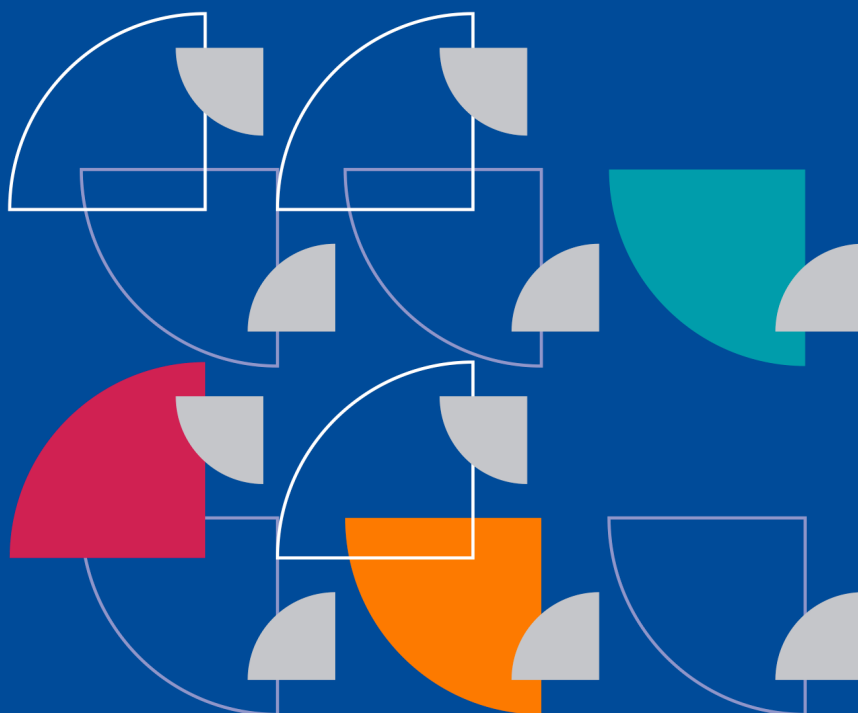
Les classes à régime linguistique du cycle moyen et supérieur sont décrites sous le point 13.

Bienvenue à l'école luxembourgeoise!

Informations pour parents
et élèves étrangers

Français

FR



CASNA

Cellule d'accueil scolaire
pour élèves nouveaux arrivants



LE GOUVERNEMENT
DU GRAND-DUCHÉ DE LUXEMBOURG
Ministère de l'Éducation nationale
et de la Formation professionnelle

Ecole primaire _____

arrond. _____

Accueil d'un enfant primo-arrivant

Bilan des connaissances et compétences

Annexe numéro _____ au bulletin scolaire


L'enfant				
Nom et nationalité de l'enfant :				
Matricule :				
Date d'arrivée :				
Aides pédagogiques spécifiques éventuelles dont l'enfant a bénéficié dans son pays d'origine:				
Progression scolaire - Enseignement primaire :				


Classe d'attache et cours d'accueil				
Classe d'attache :	e année d'études			
Titulaire(s) de la classe d'attache:				
Titulaire des cours d'accueil :				
Entretiens avec les parents : (dates)				

Périodes des cours d'accueil :	1^e période	2^e période	3^e période	4^e période
	du _____ au _____	du _____ au _____	du _____ au _____	du _____ au _____
Fréquence d'intervention :				

Mesures proposées pour la période à venir :	Période	2^e	3^e	4^e
	Tous les cours en classe régulière (classe d'attache)			
	Programme adapté en classe régulière			
	Cours d'accueil à raison de _____ hrs / semaine			

Langue : _____

ECOUTER ET COMPRENDRE		en progression			acquise 
A	Comprendre un répertoire restreint de mots courants				
B	Comprendre et réagir à des questions, consignes ou récits simples				
C	Comprendre les prépositions indiquant des lieux				
D	Comprendre un énoncé, une petite histoire, une écoute				
E	Comprendre dans une histoire simple des détails importants				
F	• déduire et émettre des hypothèses				
G	• Identifier l'émetteur d'un énoncé lors d'une écoute (qui parle ?)				
H	Utiliser des stratégies d'écoute active (Ecoute et mime, écoute et dessine, écoute et montre la bonne image, etc.)				
Remarques :					

S'EXPRIMER EN PARLANT		en progression			acquise 
A	Décrire un objet / une image				
B	Raconter ou décrire un vécu de façon compréhensible				
	• parler de son vécu, de ses aptitudes, de ses goûts, ...				
	• solliciter son imaginaire, ses fonctions sensorielles				
C	Poser une question dans le contexte d'une situation familière				
D	Raconter une histoire cohérente à partir de 3 images				
E	Comprendre dans une histoire simple des détails				
	• déduire et émettre des hypothèses				

CASNA

Cellule d'accueil scolaire
pour élèves nouveaux arrivants

FICHE D'ARRIVÉE POUR ÉLÈVES NOUVELLEMENT ARRIVÉS AU PAYS -
LETTRE POUR PARENTS

Chers parents,

Bienvenue à l'école luxembourgeoise !

Votre enfant a appris un tas de choses dans sa famille et dans l'école de son pays d'origine, mais chaque pays a un système scolaire différent.

Afin de pouvoir aider au mieux votre enfant dans sa nouvelle école, nous avons besoin d'informations sur son parcours scolaire dans son pays d'origine, sur les langues avec lesquelles il est en contact tous les jours, sur ses forces et, éventuellement aussi, ses faiblesses. Cela nous permettra de documenter les connaissances de votre enfant et de pouvoir au mieux l'aider à progresser.

Comme vous le savez peut-être, à l'école luxembourgeoise, on parle trois langues :

- le luxembourgeois (langue maternelle des enfants luxembourgeois),
- l'allemand (langue d'alphabétisation),
- le français (langue dont l'apprentissage commence en 2^e année primaire).

Au Luxembourg, à cause des trois langues, les débuts scolaires de votre enfant seront peut-être plus difficiles que dans un pays monolingue, mais sachez que les enfants apprennent très vite et que diverses mesures sont mises en oeuvre pour faciliter la réussite scolaire de tous les élèves.

Pour toute question relative aux progrès de votre enfant et à l'organisation de la classe, n'hésitez pas à contacter le titulaire de la classe :

Nom de l'enseignant(e) :

Le Ministère de l'Éducation offre gratuitement l'aide de médiateurs interculturels qui pourront vous informer dans votre langue maternelle sur l'école, ou vous aider à communiquer avec l'enseignant(e) : tél. 247 85136.

La Cellule d'accueil scolaire pour élèves nouveaux arrivants (CASNA) est disponible pour toute question supplémentaire (accueil en langue portugaise les mardis et jeudis, tél. 247 85277).

Je souhaite une excellente année scolaire à votre enfant et je vous remercie dès à présent du soutien que vous apporterez à l'école.

Mady Delvaux-Stehres
Ministre de l'Éducation nationale et
de la Formation professionnelle