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Dynamic interplay of language policies, beliefs and pedagogy in a preschool in Luxembourg

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ABSTRACT

There is a recognised need for multilingual pedagogies as these capitalise on children's resources. Language policies calling for monolingual or multilingual policies are, however, not easily translated into pedagogical practices. Teachers play a crucial role in the process of policy implementation because they negotiate policies and adapt them in the light of their beliefs, experiences, existing pedagogical practices and the context in which these are embedded. This case study is located in a preschool in multilingual Luxembourg and examines the ways in which a teacher engages with policy and implements a multilingual-oriented programme to draw on children's diverse language needs. The data stem from a qualitative, longitudinal study using a multi-method approach. The findings highlight the interplay between the educational policy focussing on Luxembourgish, the teacher's beliefs and ideologies rooted in her multilingual identity and the country's societal multilingualism, and a boy's experiences of separating languages at home. The findings are of particular interest to teachers as they show that the dialogue between the teacher, the child and his mother influences their beliefs and contributes to opening up multilingual spaces.

Introduction

The 'index for inclusion' on early years and childcare requires practitioners to value children's family languages and integrate these into daily activities (Booth et al. 2006). Calls from researchers to open up to the linguistic and cultural diversity and to develop 'multilingual pedagogies' (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Li and García 2017) have largely been left ignored in Europe although Austria and some states in Germany and Switzerland have implemented multilingual programmes in early childhood. Thus, initiatives from teachers, parents, school governors and researchers such as the one mentioned above, are not directly translated into policies. Governmental policies, in turn, are not transmitted one-to-one into daily classroom practices (Bowe, Ball, and Gold 1992; Hodgson and Spours 2006). Rather, practitioners negotiate policies and

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adapt them in the light of their beliefs, experiences, existing pedagogical practices and the context. The present study of a preschool in trilingual Luxembourg examines the ways in which a teacher implements the national language policy and develops multilingual practices.

In Luxembourg, 64% of the 4-year-olds did not speak Luxembourgish as a first language on school entry in 2015/16, many communicating in Portuguese, French or a language of the Balkans (MENJE 2017). Governmental statistics also show that many ethnic minority children of low socio-economic status underachieve in mathematics, languages and science. To help all children develop competences in Luxembourgish (one of the languages of instruction), and provide access to the curriculum, the Ministry of Education developed a language policy and an early years curriculum that focusses on Luxembourgish.

The present paper examines, firstly, how a preschool teacher develops multilingual practices against the monolingual-oriented policy; secondly, how she influences the language use of a 4-year-old boy; and finally, how her policy informs the boy's mother's language ideologies. This case study draws its data from the project iTEO, which investigated the teachers' use of the app iTEO and emerging multilingual classroom practices. The findings show that the dialogue between the teacher, the mother, and the child influences their beliefs and contributes to opening up dynamic languaging spaces.

The implementation of language policies, teacher agency and beliefs regarding multilingualism

The following sections illustrate the ways in which the development and implementation of language policies are informed by language ideologies and the context in which they are embedded. The discussion then turns to teachers because they have some agency in the implementation process. This agency depends on their past, their orientations to the future and their current practices (Biesta, Priestly, and Robinson 2015) and these are, in turn, influenced by their beliefs (Xu 2012). This section closes with a quick review of the relationship between practitioners' beliefs on multilingualism and parent involvement.

Language ideologies, language policies and dynamic practices

Johnson (2013, 9) defines a language policy as a 'mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language'. As such, policies stipulate the type of language programme, the aims, and the way in which languages must be taught. In Wales and Ireland, for example, bilingual programmes aim at revitalising the minority languages Welsh and Gaelic. By contrast, language policies in multilingual Belgium emphasise English and the need to develop competences in a global language rather than promoting the country's other official languages or minority languages. These examples illustrate that language policies are not developed in a vacuum but in a particular political, social, economic and linguistic context. They are shaped, among others, by (dominant) language ideologies and public discourses of social cohesion

and identity. According to Diehm and Magyar-Haas (2011), monolingual ideologies pervade the mainstream educational system in most countries because monolingualism is perceived as the solution to solve social and political problems. Such ideologies serve to legitimise and normalise the use of the dominant language.

Monolingual ideologies can underpin bi- or multilingual policies and practices at home and in schools. Traditional views of bilingualism conceived of bilinguals as two monolinguals in one, with languages being separated in the brain. They called for language separation, resulting in languages being taught by different people, in different spaces or at different times. While the model 'one-person-one-language' was praised as the most efficient at home, the 'two solitudes assumption' (languages are kept separate) governed bilingual schooling (Cummins 2008, 65). The traditional model is based on the premise that children learn languages best when they separate them. While there is no empirical evidence that this model is the most efficient, it has been widely accepted by parents, teachers and policy-makers. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, neurolinguistic studies demonstrated that languages are located in one single repertoire, thus, are not separated, and permanently activated (Li and García 2017). García (2009) also showed that translanguaging – drawing on one's entire semiotic repertoire for communicating – is a normal practice of bilinguals.

Recently, monolingual-oriented models came under criticism on the grounds of their language ideologies and for being at odds with the students' complex linguistic and cultural everyday experiences. Scholars called for more flexible and dynamic models, such as 'multilingual pedagogies' (Li and García 2017) which encourage inclusive, collaborative and transglossic practices. They place the learners at the centre, value their linguistic and cultural resources, and offer them some choice over their language use. Translanguaging is a pillar of these pedagogies. Scholars found that translanguaging facilitates learning, contributes to identity development, raises achievement and promotes inclusion and social equity (Li and García 2017). Despite these findings, the inadequate understanding of these approaches, suspicion, and traditional language ideologies resist more flexible approaches (Gort and Pontier 2013; Young and Mary 2016) and, thus, affect both policy-production and policy-implementation.

Teacher agency in the implementation process

The intentions of policy-makers are not turned into actual practices because teachers and students, among others, appropriate, interpret and negotiate policies when they implement them in their local context (Hornberger and Johnson 2007; Johnson 2013; Menken and García 2010). Ball (1994,19) explained that the process of translating 'the crude, abstract simplicities of policy texts into interactive and sustainable practices of some sort involves productive thought, invention and adaptation'. The role of the teachers in this process has been well researched. Bowe et al. (1992), for example, who used a triangular model to illustrate the dynamic process in which policy is formulated and enacted, analysed the roles of the key players in policy-making, and held that teachers contributed to this process. While teachers have little power in policy-

development, they influence policy-enactment, for example, through the degree to which they implement a policy. They are able thereby to reinforce or stall the government's intentions (Johnson 2013). Many theoretical policy models perceive the role of practitioners as active interpreters and implementers while, at the same time, placing them at the receiving end. By contrast, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) placed the teacher at the centre of their model. They used the metaphor of the peeling of an onion to depict the multiple and complex layers of actors and processes involved in language policy-making. Menken and García (2010) and Curdt-Christiansen and Sun (2016, 690) similarly ascribed a prominent role to teachers. Through 'doing' and 'practising' a language policy implicitly or explicitly, teachers establish specific routines and develop practices which influence language choices and help children and parents understand the rules governing language use.

Other scholars illustrated the ways in which teachers' experiences, beliefs and pedagogical practices influence policy-enactment. As an example, Hickey, Lewish, and Baker (2014) analysed the teachers' tensions between implementing a language policy and facilitating learning in a Welsh immersion preschool class. The language policy called for the exclusive use of Welsh, but the teachers faced children of diverse linguistic backgrounds unable to communicate well in Welsh. While the teachers were committed to the programme, they also wished to take account of the children's linguistic needs and, therefore, translated from Welsh into English. Gort and Pontier (2013) reported a similar case in Spanish–English dual-language preschools in the United States. The teachers were supposed to implement a language separation policy but eventually opted for more flexible practices to support the development of the children's bilingual competences, using scaffolding techniques, tandem talk and translanguaging. A further example comes from Young and Mary (2016, 85) who found that the preschool teacher they observed in France resisted the implementation of the government's monolingual policies and countered the prevailing ideologies. She valued the children's multilingual resources, invited parents to class to read bilingual books, and translanguaged to respond to children's needs, engage them, facilitate learning, and help them build bridges between the home and school languages.

These examples testify to the teachers' agency and demonstrate that agency can support or, as in the above-mentioned cases, undermine policy intentions. Agency is not a personal quality or characteristic that people have, but something they do. Agency is shaped by past experiences, future orientations, and current practices (Priestley et al. 2013). It is influenced by a person's professional knowledge and skills as well as their professional beliefs and values. The latter explain how people evaluate situations and engage with the present. Beliefs are also related to the teachers' aspirations for the future. While some teachers may wish to conform and continue to draw on conventions and practices that exclude bilingual children, others, like the teachers in the above-mentioned studies, contribute to the social justice agenda.

As beliefs influence the teachers' decision on how they wish to open up spaces for multilingualism, the following section defines beliefs and identifies typical beliefs regarding multilingualism. It closes with multilingual practices that actively involve parents.

Beliefs regarding multilingualism and practices promoting multiliteracies

Beliefs have been conceptualised as attitudes, assumptions, perceptions, conception and even knowledge. This paper draws on Levin and Wadmany's (2006, 159) work which defines beliefs as 'a tacit set of often unconsciously held assumptions regarding educational issues and processes such as teaching learning, curriculum, schooling, and knowledge'. Beliefs are influenced by a range of factors such as the context, location, educational polices and prevailing societal and personal language ideologies (Busch 2010). Curdt-Christiansen (2016, 2) defines language ideologies as 'the language users' evaluative perceptions and conceptions of language and language practices, based on their beliefs and assumptions about the social utility, power and value of a language in a given society.' Beliefs are furthermore informed by personal experiences of using and learning languages (Schwartz, Moien, and Klayle 2013), and characteristics such as age and personality (Pajares 1992). Research findings show that early years practitioners generally hold positive views on multilingualism and the use of minority languages in their institutions (Kratzmann et al. 2017, MENJE and INSIDE 2015). However, at the same time, they often hold assimilationist views and encourage little or no use of the home language (Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; Kratzmann et al. 2017).

As previously mentioned, beliefs (and ideologies) influence both family language policies, for instance the language management and the actual practices (Curdt-Christiansen 2016), and teaching approaches. Xu (2012) reported that they informed the teachers' decisions regarding their curriculum and shaped their pedagogical practices which, in turn, impacted on the students' learning experiences, processes and achievement.

This section closes with examples from some research studies into multiliteracies that investigated the ways in which children created multimodal and multilingual texts thereby interconnecting their home and school literacies. In such studies, parents play a key role. Naqvi et al. (2012) and Taylor et al. (2008) observed linguistically and culturally inclusive pedagogies that involved teachers, children and parents working with bilingual books. The expertise of parents who read books and translated the children's texts into their home languages was valued and capitalised on. The teachers embraced multilingualism and treated parents as partners in their children's education. The production and sharing of such multilingual texts creates a space for intercultural exchange and affirms the children's bilingualism. An active and good partnership between parents and teachers is essential to the child's education according to the OECD (Taguma, Litjens, and Makowiecki 2012). Amongst others, it enables parents to develop a better understanding of school expectations and practices, and teachers to capitalise on children's resources. Teachers who are aware of the home language and literacy practices of their pupils are more likely to respect these, make explicit the values and expectations that underpin their own pedagogical practices, and help children (and parents) build bridges between home and school literacies (Kenner and Ruby 2012). This, in turn, contributes to the child's emotional, social, cognitive and linguistic development (Cummins 2000).

Luxembourg: a multilingual context

Luxembourg, a small country bordering France, Belgium and Germany, has three officially recognised languages, Luxembourgish, German and French. More are,

however, spoken because 47.87% of the residents do not have Luxembourgish citizenship and may speak other languages, and 40% of the workforce consists of border-crossing commuters bringing further languages into the country (Fehlen and Heintz 2016; STATEC 2018). Luxembourgers use French in the main to communicate with the non-Luxembourgish residents and commuters. The language use is similarly diverse in the child population. Statistics show that only 36% of the 4-year olds speak Luxembourgish at home, 28% speaking Portuguese and 38% 'other' languages such as French, Serbo-Croat or Albanian (MENJE 2017).

Faced with such a high and increasing number of children who do not speak Luxembourgish, the Ministry of Education produced language polices that required practitioners in schools and non-formal educational institutions to focus on this language. These monolingual language policies were supposed to encourage communication, maintain a national identity, and enhance social cohesion. Teachers in the *précoce*, a non-compulsory preschool year, and the 2-year-long compulsory preschool are required by the curriculum to ensure that children are able to express themselves in simple Luxembourgish when speaking about familiar topics by the time they enrol in primary school. Following the passing of a law in 2017, teachers are required to implement activities to familiarise children with French and value their home languages. The pressure to develop skills in several languages is high because the education system is trilingual from primary school. In Year 1, children become literate in German and have some lessons of French (from 2018/19). The teaching of German, French and Luxembourgish fills half the timetable. Luxembourgish and German are also the languages of instruction, Luxembourgish for non-academic subjects and German for the academic ones (Kirsch 2017a).

At the time of the data collection, the monolingual policy in the early years was in force but the school population was equally diverse. To encourage inclusive and innovative multilingual practices that draw on children's diverse linguistic and cultural capital, Gretsch and Kirsch, researchers at the university of Luxembourg, developed the iPad app iTEO which allows users to record, edit, and listen to oral productions (Kirsch and Gretsch 2015). The research team examined the use of the app in two preschool and two primary school classes as well as the change of pedagogical practices. The present study examines the ways in which one of the participating preschool teachers drew on her own and the children's entire linguistic repertoire, thereby resisting the monolingual-oriented language policy. The research questions read as follows:

1. How does the teacher engage with the monolingual oriented language policy and implement multilingual practices?
2. In what ways and to what extent does her pedagogical practice influence a child's perspective on his language use?
3. To what extent do the teacher's policy and pedagogy influence the mother's language ideology?

Methodology

The present case study draws its data from the larger qualitative, longitudinal project iTEO (2013-2017). The participants are the experienced preschool teacher Ms Ricci, a

4-year-old boy called Daniel and his school friends as well as his mother, Ms Dupont (all pseudonyms). The teacher spoke Luxembourgish, German, French, English, Italian and Spanish, and was able to understand some Portuguese. She and her co-teacher were responsible for a class of 18 children, nine of whom did not speak Luxembourgish at home. Daniel was born in Luxembourg to a French-native mother and an Italian-speaking father. He learned Luxembourgish with a nanny and in the *précoce,* and was able to communicate in Luxembourgish when he entered preschool aged of four. Ms Dupont spoke French and some English and understood some Luxembourgish.

The present case study draws on ethnographic methods which provided our research team (three researchers and a research assistant) with a rich and detailed account of the practices and helped us develop an understanding of the interplay of beliefs, ideologies and language policy (Ricento 2000). The methods of data collection included observations of the teacher during daily activities, observations of Daniel producing oral texts on iTEO with his friends, and conversations and interviews (Figure 1). The research assistant carried out regular observations of the interactions between the children, and between the children and the teacher. She also regularly asked Daniel to explain the ways in which he and his friends recorded stories on iTEO and prompted him to reflect on his language use. I carried out the last interview with the boy in his home in 2016 after Daniel had enrolled in Year 1 and had become literate in German. I asked him about any changes in his language biography and encouraged him to colour in the language figure of the European portfolio (MENFP 2014). I also interviewed Ms Dupont about Daniel's language use at home, his developing language competences, and any changes over three consecutive years. Finally, I interviewed the teacher four times in the academic years 2013/14 and 2014/ 15. The questions focussed on her practices and beliefs about language learning and teaching, as well as on Daniel's language use and learning process. The interviews with the teacher and Daniel were carried out in Luxembourgish and those with Ms Dupont in French. The excerpts presented in the findings were translated into English. Table 1 provides an overview of the data.

The data analysis was based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006), proceeded inductively and deductively, and was assisted by the programme Nvivo. Once the data had been transcribed and once the beliefs, practices and language policies had been identified, I triangulated the data (Flick 2011) and looked for similarities and differences between the actors, and between the school and the home contexts. Beliefs about language separation or its dynamic use were some of the emerging themes. The project abided by the ethical principles of the University of Luxembourg. The research team protected the dignity of all participants, asked for informed consent and informed the parents and teachers of their right to withdraw from the study.

National language policy, policy interpretation and multilingual practices

The following sections present the findings of this case study, looking at the ways in which the teacher, the boy and the mother engaged with language policies and practices.

Type of data	Person	Number
Observations of the teacher	Research assistant	12
Observations of Daniel	Research assistant	12
Conversations with Daniel	Research assistant, researcher	12
Semi-structured interview with Daniel's mother	Researcher	3
Semi-structured interview with the teacher	Researcher	4

Decision-making and language practices in the classroom: the teacher's perspective on developing multilingualism

The preschool teacher had experienced bilingualism in a positive manner having grown up bilingually and having raised her own children bilingually. This experience made Ms Ricci confident that she could 'identify with parents who had a similar experience' (interview, December, 2014). Ms Ricci was familiar with the national language policy and understood that the development of Luxembourgish was one of her main tasks. While she agreed with this policy intention, she also believed that her role consisted of actively promoting the use of the children's other languages and move away from a strict focus on Luxembourgish. She held that this monolingual-oriented policy contrasted with the multilingual society in which schools should prepare children to live. 'Multilingualism is cool in society but not at school. Besides, our society consists not only of Luxembourgers' (interview, December, 2014). With this statement, she criticised the national language policy for ignoring both the diversity within the population and the multilingualism which the society cherishes. The policy also seemed to clash, to some extent, with her perception of the role of the teacher. She held that teachers were to build on the children's resources and nurture their identity with the aim of developing the whole child and helping them participate in an ever-changing society. She called on her own experiences and on theories of language learning when she held that it was 'a fact' that 'children can learn several languages at the same time', that more languages 'potentialise' learning and, finally, that 'valuing the children's home languages is not detrimental to the learning of Luxembourgish' (interview, December, 2014). She understood her task as making the language diversity visible in class and capitalising on the linguistic resources. Over the years, Ms Ricci and her team teacher implemented a language policy that was open to home languages and called for transglossic spaces (Kirsch 2017b). She argued that 'the less you cultivate other languages here in class, the more important Luxembourgish becomes' (interview, December, 2014). Promoting multilingualism rather than monolingualism required both a certain 'openness to languages' on her part and the skill to create a classroom community where everyone was valued (interview, March, 2014).

Ms Ricci regularly met the parents to discuss the children's language and literacy experiences at home and at school. She was therefore aware that some 4-year-olds came to school with specific ideas on the use of languages which clashed with her own expectations. She recounted an experience of a girl who believed that the children had to tell stories in Luxembourgish although she, the teacher, had never stated so (interview, June, 2013). This understanding may have led her to explicitly and

repeatedly stating that home languages can be used in the classroom. The following representative examples show the ways in which she enacted and implemented her classroom language policy.

Ms Ricci demonstrated her openness towards languages, for instance, by trying to learn new words in the children's home languages. The example below illustrates how she drew on Portuguese to encourage a 4-year-old Portuguese boy to explain his drawing and have a conversation with her at the beginning of the school year. The Portuguese words are in italics.

Ms Ricci: What would you like to narrate?

Child: Nothing.

Ms Ricci (looks at the child): Did you pick apples yesterday? You can tell me in Portuguese.

Child: (silent)

Ms Ricci: What do you call an apple in Portuguese?

Child: *Uma maça*.

Ms Ricci: *Uma maça*, an apple.

The boy smiled. Ms Ricci wrote *uma maça* on the bottom of his painting.

(Observation, September, 2013, in Krippeler 2014, 33)

The boy had drawn a picture of himself picking apples and Ms Ricci intended to write a descriptive sentence below it. Knowing that he lacked the vocabulary in Luxembourgish, she asked him for the Portuguese word for apple. She repeated the word and added the Luxembourgish translation, not requesting any repetition at this stage. She legitimated the use of the home language in class further by writing the Portuguese word below the drawing.

Furthermore, Ms Ricci used her multilingual competences in Luxembourgish, German, French, English and Italian on many occasions to ensure that children understood her and that she understood them. The following is a case in point. When Daniel showed her his drawing of a cable referring to 'fil elektriker', a neologism he had made up combining features of French ('fil') and Luxembourgish ('elektriker'), she understood that he meant a cable and offered him the correct word in French (observation, September, 2013).

Ms Ricci noticed that children who were in the early stages of learning Luxembourgish found it at times difficult to express themselves in this language. She therefore encouraged them to draw on their home languages to communicate clearly. She had to voice this invitation explicitly and repeatedly. The following examples at the beginning of the school year and half way through it illustrate how she encouraged children to narrate stories in a language of their choice.

You can take books and tell the story, you can also invent stories out of your imagination, or, like last year, tell things you have done at home or speak in a different language. (Observation, September, 2013, in Krippeler 2014, 42)

On iTEO you can invent stories or you take a book that you have been told in Portuguese or French, as you wish. (Observation, February, 2014)

In the second example, Ms Ricci referred to a classroom practice which promoted multilingual literacies. The parents were invited to write down stories in the children's home languages and visit the class to tell stories in languages other than Luxembourgish. The frequent reminders of the appropriateness of the flexible use of languages, and the children's experiences of seeing their home languages valued led them to deploy their full repertoire with confidence. Ms Ricci explained 'They have probably made the connection if we can use two languages in books and in our pictures then I can also dare to do so when speaking' (interview, March, 2014). Each of the observations revealed that bilingual children used Luxembourgish and their home language when, for example, cutting apples, drawing pictures or telling stories (observations in September and October, 2014).

The dynamic language use was also a permanent feature when children recorded stories on the app iTEO. Bilingual children tended to negotiate the content of the story in one language, the home language for instance, and record the story in a different one. Children also deliberately included features of their home language or that of a friend if they felt that they could express an idea more clearly. Working on the app iTEO provided the opportunity for children to choose a language and gave them time to develop competences in Luxembourgish and pick up words in other languages (Kirsch 2017a). Upon reflection, Ms Ricci commented:

Children felt much freer when they realised that the use of a language other than Luxembourgish was accepted and even valued, and that we listened to it. (Interview, June, 2015)

In sum, Ms Ricci and her co-teacher had implemented a multilingual-oriented policy that allowed both the teacher and the children to use several languages to communicate, make meaning, and perform their identity as (emergent) multilinguals in a dynamic learning environment (Kirsch 2017b). The implementation of this language policy was a democratic act: it took account of the agency of the teacher and the children.

The child's perspective on using multiple Languages

Upon entering preschool, Daniel was an emergent bilingual in French and Luxembourgish. His Luxembourgish was neither fluent nor accurate at the time. The four-year-old also understood some Italian. At home, he was used to a family language policy of strict language separation in contrast to the language practices at school (Kirsch and Cicero Catanese 2017). Daniel quickly realised that the use of several languages was allowed and that Luxembourgish was the main language. Ms Ricci had encouraged him to speak French on several occasions when she felt that he could communicate more clearly in his home language. The following observation at the beginning of the school year, representative of others, reveals that he needed to be reassured of the appropriateness of his language use despite Ms Ricci's repeated explanations of the language policy.
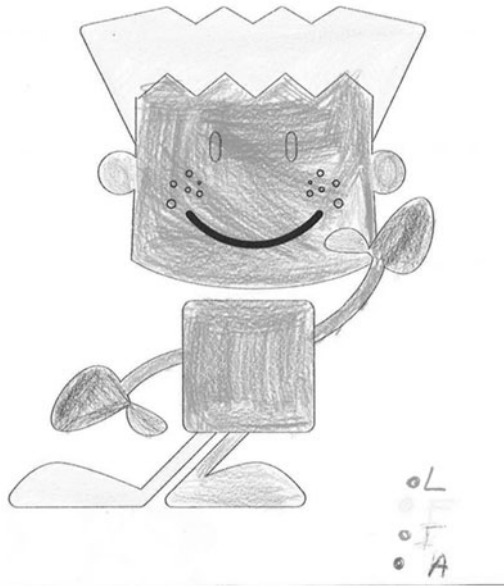
Figure 1. Daniel's figure in the language portfolio.

> Daniel (4;10) and a French-speaking girl who spoke Luxembourgish less well than Daniel, negotiated the language to be used in their story. The girl pushed for French but Daniel was unsure whether they were allowed to speak French. He asked the teacher and was assured they could.

(Observation, September, 2013)

A few months into the school year, Daniel had internalised the language rules. Our observations showed that he mostly spoke Luxembourgish in class. He communicated in French with the teacher when he could not get his point across in Luxembourgish, and with French-speaking peers who were not yet confident in Luxembourgish. His language use differed in the safe space of iTEO. He and his French-speaking peers tended to discuss the content of a story in French and record it in Luxembourgish, or, at times, in French. As mentioned previously, Daniel and his peers would also deliberately use phrases they had picked up from their friends in other languages (Kirsch 2017b). Some children drew on two to three languages in addition to Luxembourgish and their home languages. By contrast, Daniel used some English and once recorded an Arabic song on iTEO. He seemed more hesitant than his friends and never reverted to Italian, one of his home languages.

The explicit language management in class meant that languages were always a topic of discussion. The children's language awareness and metalinguistic skills were likely to be an outcome of the language policy which encouraged multilingualism, negotiation of languages, and discussion about language use. Findings showed that Daniel's ability to speak about language improved and that his conception of himself as a language user changed throughout the two preschool years. In September 2013, now aged 4 years and 10 months, he indicated that he spoke 'no other language', meaning none other than French and Luxembourgish. In January

2014, he revealed that he spoke some Italian but not enough to tell stories. In April 2014, he mentioned his knowledge of Italian spontaneously in a conversation with the research assistant. All languages had a place in the language figure of the European Portfolio that Daniel drew in March 2016 (Figure 1). Luxembourgish, in red, occupied most of the body of the figure. One of the legs and the hair represented French, the other leg and the ears Italian. The hands, in blue, symbolised German. Daniel could neither explain his choice of colours nor the location of the languages within the body. Nevertheless, the figure shows, firstly, that he had realised that all languages were part of his linguistic biography and identity, and, secondly, that Luxembourgish played a dominant role, echoing the role it played at school and in society. One could also surmise that he was aware of the public discourse about multilingualism in Luxembourg although still too young to articulate this.

The mother's language ideology

Ms Dupont took great care in developing Daniel's competences in French (Kirsch and Cicero Catanese 2017). She regularly read stories to him and corrected his French when they narrated stories together. Her focus on accuracy and fluency is illustrated in the following quotes:

> I am demanding. I do not only want that he speaks French, I want that he speaks it very correctly, avoiding mistakes. (Interview, October, 2013)

> I teach him a lot. That's good. I insist. I want him to speak. I really teach him a lot. (Interview, December, 2014)

The family language policy at home was overt and explicit: French only. Ms Dupont even objected when her husband spoke Italian to Daniel. She had carefully planned Daniel's development of Luxembourgish, a language she barely understood. She enrolled Daniel when he as an infant in a daycare and promptly removed him when she realised that the staff also spoke French to him. She disapproved of the language mixing, stating 'I like it when everybody has their own language of reference' (interview, March, 2016). Her wish for clear language boundaries and her expectation of high competency in Luxembourgish led Ms Dupont to take several decisions. She found a Luxembourgish nanny to look after Daniel, organised music and sports classes for him to meet Luxembourgish children, and enrolled him in the *précoce* to further improve his competences. She realised that the language policy in Ms Ricci's preschool class differed from the national monolingually oriented policy. She did not appreciate that the teacher had opened the door to home languages fearing that Daniel might speak too much French and, therefore, might not learn Luxembourgish well enough. She said in October 2013:

> I think that he separates languages well but once he has understood that a door to the home language is open, he will make use of it.

Ms Dupont was outspoken and stated her expectations in several meetings with the teacher and in our interviews. She believed that teachers in the *précoce* and preschool had the duty to develop children's competences in Luxembourgish which, in

turn, potentially facilitated the transition to primary school and their literacy development. Such discussions showed that the mother had internalised the public educational discourse and was familiar with the national language policies.

Ms Dupont's own experiences of growing up monolingually in France, her monolingual language ideologies, and her focus on accuracy and fluency were in stark contrast with the teacher's multilingual pedagogy. One could surmise that the mother's language separation policy had influenced Daniel. Although he used languages in a flexible way, he was initially unsure of which languages he was allowed to use at school. Ms Ricci was aware of the ways in which Ms Dupont carefully planned and monitored Daniel's language development. She was open to the mother, invited her to school to tell stories in French which Daniel translated for his peers, and explained the language policy to her in what she believed were 'constructive meetings' with a 'mother who had strong representations of effective language learning' (interview, April, 2014). The meetings as well as the school visits had an effect in that Ms Dupont began to develop positive attitudes to multilingual policies and practices, one reason being her realisation that 'Daniel had developed his vocabulary' in Luxembourgish despite the use of French at school (interview, December, 2014). In the same interview, she explained that Daniel began to use Luxembourgish at home and 'was at ease in this language'. Furthermore, she made storytelling a bilingual practice to take account of Daniel's wish to speak Luxembourgish.

> The stories now have a Luxembourgish element. Daniel became less keen on stories and I thought I had to be a bit creative. I begin, I read, I narrate in French and we try to alternate. We try to have a theme and narrate, each of us in one language. We do fun things.

This new practice indicates that Ms Dupont had realised that translanguaging was a normal practice of bilinguals, like her son, and did not harm his language development. She begun to embrace multilingualism while at the same time holding on to language separation: she narrated in French and Daniel in Luxembourgish.

Discussion

The findings of the present study indicate that the teacher's and the mother's ideologies and beliefs informed their policy decisions in the classroom and at home which, in turn, influenced their practices. This discussion begins with the teacher's and the mother's differing ideologies and beliefs about languages and language learning. Beliefs are rooted in the context and based, among others, on past and present experiences (Biesta et al. 2015; Busch 2010; Schwartz et al. 2013). The teacher grew up in multilingual Luxembourg where the use of multiple languages as well as translanguaging are the norm (Fehlen and Heintz 2016). She became a competent multilingual. By contrast, the mother grew up in a monolingual country with strong monolingual ideologies. At the beginning of the study, she only spoke French and some English, which she had learned at school. The teacher drew on social-constructivist language learning theories and valued dynamic approaches to bilingualism based on the premise that the use of multiple languages is enriching and can facilitate language learning (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Li and García 2017). By contrast, the mother held on to a

model of language separation underpinned by an understanding that the use of the minority language is detrimental to the development of the majority one.

The adults' ideologies and beliefs shaped their policy decisions. The teacher focussed on the development of Luxembourgish, which is in line with the national policy, but she refused to implement a monolingual-oriented policy. Like the teachers in other studies (Gort and Pontier 2013; Hickey et al. 2014; Young and Mary 2016), she took account of the children's resources and the overall context, and opted for a flexible multilingual model by actively avoiding monolingualism. She created transglossic spaces where children could draw on their entire linguistic repertoire, develop competences in Luxembourgish, and familiarise themselves with other languages. By contrast, the mother's monolingual ideologies and her belief regarding the relevance of language separation led her to implement a one-person-one-language model at home and create opportunities for the learning of Luxembourgish outside the home. The teacher's and the mothers' policy-related decision shaped the actual languaging practices. In this respect, it is useful to refer to Bonacina-Pugh's (2012, 217) concept 'practiced language policy'. This scholar brought language policies and practices together and showed that practices and policies are not always discrete. Rather, there is a policy within each practice. The practice at school called for multilingualism and made the children (and the parents) understand that a multilingual repertoire was a valuable resource. Apart from demonstrating a clear link between policy enactment and beliefs (Biesta et al. 2015; Priestley et al. 2013), the present study indicates that the relationship between beliefs and practices was coherent (Schwartz et al. 2013; Xu 2012).

Furthermore, the outcomes of this case study testify to the agency of the main actors. The teacher implemented the national policy only in part. As seen before, this decision was influenced by her past experiences and current language practices. However, it was also informed by her aspirations for the children's future (Biesta et al. 2015; Priestley et al. 2013). Having humanist values and believing that education could contribute to social equity, she intended to develop the individual and help them become active participants in their community. Her classroom – her 'group', 'family' and 'community' as she referred to it – was a microcosm which helped nurture this aim. Ms Ricci reminds us of the teacher described by Young and Mary (2016) who wished to build an inclusive multilingual environment. Neither teacher is representative of their countries or has the power to change national ideologies, practices and policies. However, their educational and social agenda may make parents and policy-makers reflect on current exclusive practices and policies. In this particular case, the mother gained insights into multilingual practices both through the meetings with the teacher and the experience of telling French stories at school. This had an impact on her own storytelling practice at home which she changed.

As for Daniel's agency, he discussed his language use with the teacher and opted for French to facilitate communication with French-speaking children with little knowledge of Luxembourgish. Other scholars have similarly described the active role that young children play when they bring together literacy experiences in different contexts (Kenner and Ruby 2012). Daniel was helped in this process because the teacher and the parent discussed their policies openly. Daniel became aware of his

language use, reflected on it and adapted his language to the setting and the interlocutor.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to illustrate the implementation (or the refusal) of the national language policy and its impact on the perceptions of a child and his mother. This article contributes to various fields. In the field of language policy, it has drawn on ethnographic methods to illustrate the ways in which language policies and beliefs, practices and ideologies of various agents influence each other (Hornberger and Johnson 2007). In the field of education, it provided insights into a multilingual pedagogy that allows teachers to capitalise on their own and the children's multilingual resources. This is highly relevant at a time where inclusive and multilingual pedagogies are promoted (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Li and García 2017) and especially in Luxembourg where the new law requires teachers to develop the children's competences in Luxembourgish, value their home languages and introduce them to French. This article may inspire teachers or encourage them to reflect on their beliefs and practices. Finally, it has made a contribution to the research into beliefs and their relationship to practices showing that they can be researched in a longitudinal study with qualitative methods.

This article closes with three implications. First, teachers may require support to become aware of the range of factors and their interplay when implementing a language policy. They need to understand the social–political context from which policies develop and comprehend the ways in which their experiences and aspirations shape the process of negotiating, adapting and implementing a policy. In addition, they need to have a good understanding of language learning and multilingualism. Cummins (2000) states that teachers need to become aware of any misconceptions they hold because these can contribute to the reproduction of social inequalities and the disempowerment of children. Teachers may also need to be reminded of the crucial social and political role that they play (Gkaintartzi et al. 2015; Ricento and Hornberger 1996). Initial teacher education and professional development have an obvious role in that they can help teachers become aware of and deconstruct beliefs and ideologies.

Secondly, the findings testify to the relevance of working with the children's language biographies at school. The discussions between the teacher, the boy and the mother enabled the teacher to better understand the child's linguistic background, experiences and needs. This may have prompted her to explain her language policy repeatedly and overtly to children and parents which, in turn, made it easier for children to understand and benefit from the linguistic freedom they had. In addition, this dialogue led the mother to reflect on her family language policy.

Finally, the conversations indicated the strong connection between the mother's beliefs, emotions, expectations, and knowledge about language learning. The latter was not in line with the latest findings on language learning. This demonstrates that parents also need support when educating their children multilingually. A good partnership between teachers and parents seems crucial for policies to be

productive and children to learn most efficiently (Taguma, Litjens, and Makowiecki 2012).

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