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Compounding forms of inequality: Cape Verdean migrants' struggles in education and beyond in Luxembourg

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Abstract: This paper seeks to show how language, combined with other social variables, exacerbates migrants' and their descendants' struggles at school and beyond in Luxembourg. To a certain extent, the official trilingualism of Luxembourg – French, German and Luxembourgish – corresponds to an 'elite multilingualism' (Garrido 2017; Barakos and Selleck 2018) which defines who can access certain resources, e.g. education, work etc., and who can be left playing catch-up. The latter are those migrants who I here conceive as *multilinguals on the margins*. The elitist system is a form of domination and power over those whose language repertoire is less valued. Migrants' disadvantage is further impacted by other indicators of their identity that can go beyond their educational qualifications and language repertoire *per se*, such as their country of origin, ethnicity, race, gender, citizenship etc. Language intersects with other forms of disadvantage or privileges. From an ethnographic sociolinguistic perspective, drawing on interviews and participant observations, this paper will illustrate this intersection of language, race and ethnicity, and struggles from the ground-level educational realities and aspirations of Cape Verdean migrants and their descendants in Luxembourg. This helps cast light on the social organisation in Luxembourg and understand the effects of multilingualism in creating 'abyssal lines' (Santos 2007) between the nationals, certain European migrants, Lusophone and African migrants in terms of social and economic mobility.

Keywords: Cape Verdean, education, Luxembourg, multilingualism, struggles

1 Introduction

This paper addresses specific moments of struggles concerning mobility and language of residents of Cape Verdean background in the Grand Duchy of Luxem-

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bourg, which is a small state at the heart of Europe and one of the richest countries in the world (Fehlen 2009). Within the EU, Luxembourg has the highest proportion of foreign residents, mostly other EU citizens, forming almost half (47,9 %) of its population (Statec 2017). It is often compared economically and socially with its three neighbouring countries – France, Belgium and Germany – from where most of its everyday labour force hails, i.e. the cross-border workers, who form 48 % of the country's workforce (de Bres 2014; Franziskus and De Bres 2015; Powell et al. 2017). Today, the largest migrant group in Luxembourg hails from Portugal (16.4 % of the country's residents), followed by France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, former Yugoslavia, Cape Verde, China, Brazil, the USA, Canada, and several African countries (Scuto 2010; Statec 2017).

As concerns languages, the Grand Duchy is officially a trilingual country, where German, French and Luxembourgish are the officially recognised languages. Yet, given the substantive migration and cross-border mobility mentioned above, the linguistic regime is complex and has been changing over decades. For instance, "Portuguese has become one of the most widely spoken languages [...], although it does not enjoy any legal safeguards" (Sharma 2018: 87). More recently, as a result of globalisation and EU institutions, the use of English has gained currency in many sectors (de Bres and Franziskus 2014; de Bres 2015; Pigeron-Piroth and Fehlen 2015). Luxembourg is constantly celebrated in various arenas of polity as a multilingual country *par excellence* (Horner 2011). Its multilingualism is also deemed to be one of its sources of wealth (N. Weber 2000). However, the enthusiasm for multilingualism from different perspectives, actors and sectors of society, may erase several layers of complexity in which language is embedded in migrants' struggles. Cape Verdean migrants and their descendants in Luxembourg compose one of the social groups that struggle with official multilingualism from primary to higher education, as will be shown below.

Theoretically, the paper intends to engage sociolinguistics with insights from anthropology of mobility/migration by shedding light on complex manifestations of inequality and marginality which language impinges upon. The paper focusses on migrants whose status and their other indicators of identity, to a certain extent, contribute to magnify their struggles. Drawing on participant observations and interviews, the paper will illustrate this from the ground-level educational realities and aspirations of Cape Verdean migrants and their descendants in Luxembourg. Cape Verdeans form the second largest migrant group from outside EU and Europe and they have a long history of migration (since 1960s) and marginalization, occupying the lowest rungs of society and jobs, and they are positioned at the top of education failure in Luxembourg (cf. Jacobs et al. 2017).

The following section recounts Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. Section 3 theorises the links between migration, language and inequality. Section 4 presents the data and the methodology used to generate them. Section 5 gives an overview of language-in-education policy in Luxembourg. Section 6 addresses lived experiences, showcasing the struggles of two young women and a middle-aged man in their educational attainments. Lastly, Section 7 compares the case studies, concludes the paper and points to further directions.

2 Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg

Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg started indirectly via Portuguese colonisation. Portugal is the European country with the largest number of Cape Verdean migrants (Batalha and Carling 2008). Cape Verde was a Portuguese settlement colony from the 15th century until 1975 when it became an independent nation. Many Cape Verdeans migrated to Portugal from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. At that time, there was a huge demand for labour in Luxembourg. Luxembourg was attracting Portuguese *Gastarbeiter* 'foreign workers' to come and work in construction, mainly, as the influx of Italian *Gastarbeiter* began to decline. Contracts of labour force between Portugal and Luxembourg were signed. As Cape Verdeans held the status of Portuguese citizens at that time, they started to re-emigrate from Portugal to Luxembourg (Laplanche and Vanderkam 1991). However, later on, the Luxembourgish government and the Portuguese fascist government signed an agreement to stop Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. The Luxembourgish government stipulated in the revised labour contract that they allowed only *portugais de souche* 'native Portuguese' (Laplanche and Vanderkam 1991: 38; Jacobs et al. 2017: 13). Thus, at that point it was made explicit that race and ethnicity were key elements of migration. After that, Cape Verdeans (i.e. overseas Portuguese before 1975) who came did so via family reunification or crossed borders clandestinely.

More recently, since the economic crash of 2008, there has been an intensification of Cape Verdean re-emigration from Portugal to other European countries, including Luxembourg (Pereira 2012). This Cape Verdean re-migration pattern is composed mostly of those holding Portuguese citizenship which facilitates their mobility within Europe and beyond. Among them, some young and middle-aged migrants hold higher education degrees, having studied and/or lived in Portugal (and other EU countries) for decades. All these factors have significantly contributed to the increase of Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg. Although reliable numbers are missing, estimates of Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg vary between 2,855 (Statec 2017), and 8,000 or even 12,000 according to various sources (Tavares and Juffermans 2020). Direct mobility from Cape Verde to Lux-

embourg is ongoing but under tightened restrictions. Yet Cape Verdeans form the largest group of African migrants in Luxembourg (Statec 2017).

Jacobs et al. (2017), as the first report fully dedicated to *Cape Verdean diaspora in Luxembourg*, insightfully portray unfavourable scenarios regarding those migrants. This report recognises the difficult situation of Cape Verdean migrants in social and juridical terms, especially compared to EU and other non-EU migrant groups (Americans, Chinese, etc.). The report highlights that education, training and employment are important indicators of social mobility; however, migrants (Cape Verdean migrants and other migrants from the global South) face difficulties in getting their certificates recognised. It shows that Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg have occupied the bottom level strata of education, employment and society (see also dos Santos Rocha 2010; Manço et al. 2014; Gerstnerova 2016; Tavares 2018).

3 Migration, language and inequality

In this era characterised by globalisation, "the term immigrant has technically been used to refer to a person who enters or settles in a region or state to which he or she is not native, but the general understanding the word has acquired is more specific, namely, a person from the developing world settling in [a] more developed area, typically in the Western world" (Duchêne et al. 2013: 6). The use of the term immigrant (or migrant) is a reflection of power relations between nation-states, between individuals living in those nation-states and the Global South-North divide. For instance, there are many Americans living in other countries, but they are hardly referred to and written about in academia, media, political discourses, reports, etc. as American immigrants, similarly to most Europeans (especially Northern and Western Europeans) living and working outside their native countries. Whereas there are many Cape Verdeans, for instance, living in the USA and European countries, where they are referred to as immigrants. Curiously, there are many Portuguese natives living in American and Northern European countries where they too are mostly referred to as immigrants, similarly to Cape Verdeans and other Africans in the Global North. This may be due to the fact that a large number of those Portuguese migrants are employed in menial labour, but it may also be due to the 'semi-peripheral' position of Portugal (Santos 2002) in the modern world-system hierarchy.

Moreover, descendants born in a host country are socially perceived as not fully-belonging subjects, and often legally treated as their migrant parents. Note that this can generally apply to migration regimes of many countries in the Global North with some nuances according to context. Whereas, even if there is a large

population of immigrants from the Global North living in other countries for work or diverse reasons, they are usually referred to as *communities*, *skilled workers*, *expats*, etc. – i.e. words with positive connotations – distancing themselves from the term *immigrants* (see also Yeung 2016). The term immigrant has gained such a pejorative connotation that it is almost exclusively reserved for people moving from poor and powerless countries, from the Global South to the Global North. Inequalities are indeed salient in any migration context, starting in the way newcomers are addressed (Tavares and Juffermans 2020). The sheer fact of being born in a geographical area of the globe, and/or speaking certain languages, having a specific accent and skin colour, attending certain kinds of educational spaces, rituals and religions, entitles or denies people access to resources and to certain parts of the world. Indeed, a lot of people on earth are somehow "stuck" before, in or after mobility (Baynham 2013: 274). This inequalities of mobility led Carling (2002) to assert that we do not so much live in times of hypermobility but simultaneously in the 'era of involuntary immobility' with unmatched mobile aspirations and mobile capacities for a large number of people.

As soon as one leaves one's country of origin, one loses or gains certain rights and duties. Indeed, the territoriality of one's body first appearance marks one's life in terms of struggles and privileges over mobility, multilingualism, knowledge and power (Tavares and Juffermans 2020). Migration and mobility of citizens around the globe pose important challenges to the linguistic and cultural homogeneity that nation-states still rely on for defining their physical boundaries, their language and identity as well as rights and obligations of their citizens (Duchêne et al. 2013) and non-citizens, i.e. immigrants. Language in motion can potentially gain or lose value along the journey with its speaker/s (Horner and Dailey-O'Cain 2020). It is not a question of having diversified multilingual repertoires, the point is to be associated with the right multilingualism in a particular place. "In many contexts and geographical spaces, there are new demands on competence in the dominant language. But in many other spaces, single language speakers no longer can get by in their local daily lives in the same way as they did in the past. Here multilingualism and knowledge of more than one language have become almost a requirement" (Duchêne et al. 2013: 2).

Obviously, not every speaker and not every multilingual repertoire has the same value everywhere and at all times (Duchêne 2019). Depending on the context, some kinds of multilingualism can be regarded as an asset while others are deemed to be a problem. Only 'elite multilingualism' – officially recognised – (Garrido 2017; Barakos and Selleck 2019) tends to be valued since they serve the interests of those in power; whereas 'societal multilingualism' (de Bres 2014), i.e. multilingualism resulting from mobility and migration, tends to be devalued and in many cases

perceived as a threat (Weber 2009; de Bres 2014). Thus, speakers of the latter form of multilingualism are marginalised, creating a pool of what can be called 'multilinguals on the margins.' These multilinguals on the margins are normally those individuals who have stepped outside of their 'comfort zone of home', i.e. migrants, who have to unequally struggle and are often forced to take 'survival employment' (Piller 2016) irrespective of their educational qualifications. Migration can empower and disempower people. Similarly, multilingualism can empower or disempower people. Language itself may constitute a resource, barrier or even site of struggle in the broader sociolinguistic field (Horner and Dailey-O'Cain 2020).

Yet, migrants' survival in a host country does not depend solely on the congruence between their linguistic repertoire and the host country's official self-image as a monolingual or multilingual country. Beyond migrants' actual qualifications and language repertoires, boundaries are frequently reified by other essentialist notions of identity which impact on the lives of people across the globe. Linguistic barriers do not, or rarely, operate in isolation, "rather, language intersects with other forms of disadvantage or privilege" (Piller 2016: 73). Language can be another piece of the puzzle since it often comes combined with other linguistic and non-linguistic indicators of ethnicity such as accent, name, race, age, gender and country of origin. As Horner and Dailey-O'Cain (2020: 14) put it, "language is part and parcel of these processes, albeit in diverse and complex ways that vary across situational contexts. But issues about language are never about language alone and link to broader social, economic and political matters". Nonetheless, acceptable ways of speaking seem to be often and independently "valued over a person's actual qualifications or job experience" (Duchêne et al. 2013: 13). Nowadays, language requirements are omnipresent and legally circumscribed in most domains of society, and are highly linked to inequality as well as economic, political and social exclusion.

4 Methodology and data

The data under consideration in this paper derives from a research project conducted between 2014 and 2017 at the University of Luxembourg. It was a multi-sited ethnographic (Marcus 1995) sociolinguistic project on Cape Verdean and Bissau-Guinean migration trajectories to Luxembourg. However, here in this paper, I am reporting only on Cape Verdean trajectories. In general, the methodology consisted in following people through face-to-face interactions – interviews and participant observations – and digital communication, e.g. Facebook and telephone (in both their country of origin and their host country). Here, I draw on participant observations and interviews I had with three participants – Jorge, Car-

men and Dominique[1] – in 2014 and 2017. Dominique and Carmen are two young women (in their 30s). While Dominique was born to Cape Verdean parents in France, Carmen was born in Cape Verde, both of them had almost all their primary and secondary education in Luxembourg. I was introduced to them by a student assistant of the project as I asked her to put me in contact with some 'second-generation' Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg. Jorge is a middle-aged man who came to Luxembourg after finishing his high school in Cape Verde. I first met him in an Cape Verdean ethnic shop in Luxembourg, one of the key field sites of the project.

I chose these three participants on the basis of their gender, different age of migration and educational trajectories; exploring the intersection of these identity elements can cast light on our understanding of their struggles with multilingualism and their social positionings. We had open-ended interviews in which they reported on their migration trajectories, their sociolinguistic life, their job, and educational interactions in the school environment and beyond in Luxembourg. They also shared their views about other migrants of Cape Verdean origin in Luxembourg. The excerpts[2] presented below are chosen in light of their insight in making us reflect on the role of language in educational settings in which being a migrant or having a migrant background is an intrinsic and/or additional factor of facing struggles. This helps understand the effects of the official multilingualism in reproducing inequalities and how this multilingualism hampers Cape Verdean migrants' social and economic mobility. Before entering into the discussion of the three participants' trajectories and management of their struggles in the officially trilingual Luxembourg, I will first give a brief overview of language-in-education policy in Luxembourg.

5 Language-in-education policy in Luxembourg

Education is a core space in considerations of language as it is the local institution most implicated in the distribution of social and cultural capital, while language is the principal means whereby this distribution is accomplished and reinforced (Hyltestam and Stroud 2016). When the educational system was set up in nineteenth century Luxembourg, Luxembourgish was perceived rather as a dialect of German than a language. Traditionally, French and German were used for

1 They are real names. I respected their consent and there is no need to anonymise them. I would rather argue that in an ethnographic study like this, anonymity needs to be negotiated to the extent that it does not erase the voice and choice of agentive participants.

2 All interview excerpts are translated by the author, from Cape Verdean Creole to English.

written functions as the administrative languages (de Bres 2015). However, the Language Law of 1984 proclaimed Luxembourgish as the 'national language' (Weber & Horner 2012). According to Garcia (2014: 114), this was "to a certain extent the result of an intense mobilisation campaign by the language promotion association Actioun Lëtzebuergesch (AL) created in 1971". Thus, Luxembourgish officially became another administrative language together with French and German, forming the current official language trinity of Luxembourg.

From 1984 onwards, the language-in-education policy has only suffered marginal changes, despite the substantive migration mentioned above. In pre-school, called Cycle 1 (children from 3 to 5 years old), Luxembourgish has been the medium of instruction, though children have recently started to be introduced to spoken French as well through a progressive approach. German remains the language of literacy at the national level, it is the vehicular language during the primary education, i.e. from Cycle 2 to Cycle 4 (6 to 11 years old). This means that children first learn to read and write in German since that is the teaching language for all subjects. Children begin learning written French (as another subject) in Cycle 3 (from 8 to 9 years old). The use of German-literacy, associated with other issues like ethnicity and race, has led to school failure and drop-out of many Romance-speaking students. As an alternative, despite the economic costs and distance, some parents send their children to school in France and Belgium, usually close to the borders (Fehlen 2002; Horner and Weber 2008; Jacobs et al. 2017; Decamps and Monthéard 2020). Children of Cape Verdean and Portuguese migrants compose the majority of these cross-border students from Luxembourg (Jacobs et al. 2017). Other parents, with more financial resources, opt for private schools which do not usually follow the national curriculum, however, demanding very high fees (MENJE 2016; European Commission 2018).

The transition to secondary education is complex. Some years ago, secondary education was divided into three tracks: the *Classique* (the more prestigious one), the *Technique* and the *Modulaire* (the least prestigious one). For decades, given compulsory German literacy in primary education, the *Classique* track has been disproportionally attended by native-born students compared with students of Romance-speaking background, which now compose almost half of the school population in Luxembourg (Weber 2007; Muller et al. 2020). And, while hardly any Romance-speaking students manage to enter the *Classique* track, it is the most popular track for native-born (Horner and Weber 2008; Weber and Horner 2012; Sharma 2018). More recently, the secondary tracks were renamed as such:

1) ***Classique secondary education*:** for those students who acquired excellent results in both French and German in primary education.
2) ***General secondary education*:** a convergence of the former *Technique* and *Modulaire* tracks which is further subdivided as follows: a) *Guidance* – for

those students who acquired necessary skills in primary education. Except maths, which is taught in French, all the subjects are taught in German in the lower classes of this stream, English is introduced in the 2nd year; and b) *Preparatory* – for those students who did not acquire sufficient skills in primary education. All subjects are taught in German, except maths which is in French, but English is not included in their programme. Depending on their abilities, in the upper classes, students can continue in the General secondary stream in higher education, or be oriented to the *Vocational training* stream, in which most of the subjects are taught in German and some are in French (for more information concerning the structure of the secondary education see the website men.public.lu).[3]

Some scholars who are concerned with creating a more equitable and fair educational system have suggested the opening of a French-literacy track alongside the German one in the public primary school system (Fehlen 2002; Horner and Weber 2008; Weber 2009; Weber and Horner 2012; Weber 2014). According to Muller et al. (2020: 188), this would better fit the social reality of Luxembourg's school population, which is composed of two major groups: "on the one hand, autochthonous Luxembourgish students who tend to speak Luxembourgish as (one of) their home language(s) and, on the other hand, non-Luxembourgish students who speak Romance languages at home, as they or their (grand) parents have moved to Luxembourg from countries such as Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Romania, the Cape Verdean Islands and especially from Portugal".

In order to tackle those challenges, the Ministry of Education opened the *Ecole international de Differdange* (Differdange international school) in 2016. It is a state-funded multilingual school in the south of the country. This school offers French, German and English medium-of-instruction tracks, "which [is] more in line with the heterogeneity of contemporary Luxembourgish society, and hence as a model for a more equitable future" (Muller et al. 2020: 193). In addition, the Ministry has also opened three other public international schools: *Lënster Lycée* in Junglinster, *Lycée Edward Steichen* in Clervaux and *Ecole international de Mondorf-les-Bains* 'Mondorf-les-Bains international school.'[4] This is also seen as a way

3 For more details see http://www.men.public.lu/fr/themes-transversaux/scolarisation-eleves-etrangers/schooling-foreign-pupils/index.html and the *Rapport National sur l'Éducation au Luxembourg 2018*.

4 For more details on these public international schools, seehttp://www.men.public.lu/fr/actualites/grands-dossiers/systeme-educatif/offre-internationale/en/index.html the *Ministère de l'Education nationale, de l'Enfance et de la Jeneusse*'s internet portal http://www.men.public.lu/fr/actualites/grands-dossiers/systeme-educatif/offre-internationale/fr/index.html

for parents to avoid sending their children to study in Belgium or France (Decamps and Monthéard 2020), as mentioned above. Thus, the first steps for a more equitable education system have been taken, however, there remain many challenges and a long way to go. For, unfortunately, as Simpson and Whiteside (2015: 2) put it, migration across the states usually "outpace[s] the development of policies and infrastructure which address the presence of new migrants and the linguistic diversity that their arrival entails".

6 Cape Verdeans' struggles in education and beyond in Luxembourg

I will now focus on the life trajectories and experiences of language struggles of the key participants presented in this paper – Dominique, Carmen and Jorge – residents of Cape Verdean background who have lived in Luxembourg for over a decade. All of them now hold Luxembourgish citizenship. To a certain extent, their stories may be regarded successful for integration, but they have struggled with language and social prejudice related to their migrant background even if they were/are highly and partly multilingual persons in the three official languages. This echoes Duchêne's (2019) assertion that, 'multilingualism [is] an insufficient answer to sociolinguistic inequalities'.

6.1 Dominique: a success story

Dominique was born in Fameck (France) to Cape Verdean parents. In 1991, when she was five years old, they moved to Luxembourg. She is the eldest of her two sisters. As her mother (sole guardian) worked in the cleaning industry in Luxembourg, they decided to move there. In Luxembourg, "a new [l]aw on [...] Luxembourgish Nationality was ratified in 2008 and went into effect in 2009, which allows for a much broader interpretation of dual nationality" (Horner 2015: 360). Thus, Dominique has dual citizenship – French and Luxembourgish – and she identifies herself as Cape Verdean, as well. When I asked her about her identity, she recollected a moment she felt "strange" about how people perceived her in South Africa (see Excerpt 1).

Excerpt 1

> *E primera vez kes dze-m ne era preta 'ah ah kumo mi ne preta ?' 'nou bo ne preta, bo e mutu klara, bo e mutu klara, no bo ne preta.' N dze : 'nau ma na Luxemburgu, tud lugar k N ta ba pa Europa kondu es dze-m kal nationalité k bo ten kel epoka ainda mi era Franseza nton kondu m N dze : 'mi e Franseza' ma es ta dze : 'nou bo ta intende ?!' 'Ah ya nhas pais e Kriolu,*[5] *es nase na Kab Verd,' 'ah ok.'* [...] *era primera vez k mi N senti mesm stronh purk tud nha vida desdi k N nase mi e preta, dispos bo ta txiga na uns país onde k ten uns pretus tambe y Afrikaans k ta dze k bo e branka. Ok y desdi kel temp la ya N ta dze ya k mi e citoyenne du monde, k mi ne podi sabe, N pode bai pa un lugar N dze k mi e Luxemburgeza ou N ten k ba dze k mi e Franseza ou N ta ba dze k mi e Kriola* [...] *ma na kes papel mi e Franseza y Luxemburgeza, na nha kor mi e Kriola, y na nha kurason mi e tud kes la!*
>
> [It was the first time I was told I was not black, 'ah ah how that that I'm not black?' 'no you are not black, you have a very light-skin complexion, no you are not black.' I said: 'no but in Luxembourg, all the place I went to in Europe, when they ask me about my nationality, when I say I'm French,' because I had only French citizenship yet, but they say: 'no ah but but you know?!' 'Ah ya my parents are kriolu, they were born in Cape Verde,' 'ah ok.' [...] first time I felt really strange because all my life, since I was born I am black, then you arrive in a country where there are black people and Afrikaners saying that you are [not black]. Ok and since that time ya I started to say I'm a *citoyenne du monde*, for I cannot know, I can go to a place that I'm going to say that I'm Luxembourger or I will say I'm French, or I'll say I'm Kriola [...] but in the paper I'm French and Luxembourg, in my colour I'm Kriola, and in my heart I'm all these!]

Being black in Europe is different than being black in Africa, more specifically in South Africa (see Williams and Stroud 2015). According to Dominique's experiences, in Europe, the category of blackness is more generalised, i.e. it suffices to have a slightly darker skin and one of the parents originally from an African country to be considered black, whereas in Africa it is more detailed in terms of skin colour. Dominique pointed out that since then, as she has multiple identities, she has decided to capitalise on them in social and cultural events, depending on the context.

Dominique completed her primary and secondary education in Luxembourg but pursued her university degrees in France. She got her master's degree in *Lettres Modernes* with a specialisation in African Literature in French. She is now a French teacher at a high school in Germany, near the borders with Luxembourg and France. At night, she teaches French to very diversified groups of migrants in terms of nationality. She is a highly multilingual person who is fluent in the three official languages as well as Cape Verdean Creole and English. She can also understand Portuguese well. Dominique managed to succeed in the educational sys-

5 *Kriolu/a* means people from Cape Verdean Islands here.

tem of Luxembourg despite the constraints which might have jeopardised her aspirations. Usually, cases like hers can be politically capitalised on to further legitimise the system by showing the few successful cases of migrant children with a similar background. I suggest that rather than showing a successful case, it is also important to understand the process behind it.

Dominique uses many languages on a daily basis, adapting her linguistic behaviour according to whom she interacts with. Language frequently occurs in her everyday speech in hybrid and syncretic utterances that cross-cut language boundaries. This made it difficult for her to be certain about which language(s) is most important to her, she stressed. However, she is sure German is "not her language" even though she has high competence in it as part of her linguistic repertoire. Her little affection regarding German indexes that she has learned it as a school imposition. As mentioned above, many others from a similar background have left or failed for the same reason i.e. because they could not stand the pressure on them to learn German while concurrently learning the subject content (e.g. Maths) taught in it. When I asked her about her constraints at school, Dominique pointed out that she managed to learn Luxembourgish and German, but it was extremely difficult for her. She stressed that her mother could not help her much since she had not had a lot of formal education and understood neither Luxembourgish, nor German. However, she highlighted that her mother checked if she had done her homework and that sometimes her mother said: "now we are going to have a dictation". Dominique jokingly said that her mother read German so badly that she was always correcting her. It was hard for her also because German was one of the languages she had the least contact with outside the classroom, in the playground and in society in general. She added that at least her mother tried to help her and her sisters, but sometimes she could not even check their homework because she worked a lot. In Excerpt 2, Dominique goes on to share her lived experiences with German and Luxembourgish in primary school.

Excerpt 2

> *Alemon! Na Fransa un minin* [...] *pode ba pa skola di dois anus y meiu, anton mi dois anus y meia N ba pa skola,* [...] *kond N txiga li es torna ba po-m na skola di minin pikinin kel Spillschoul* [...] *mi N sabia skreve N sabia ale ma N ka sabia fala Luxemburges nen Alemon y N tava na un skola primaria* [*na Dudelange*] *onde ki tinha txeu nasionalidad* [*Italianu, ex-Yugoslavu, Portuges, Alemon*]*, ma ne tinha nenhun minin ki tava fala Luxemburges, era so kel profsora* [...] *anton N tivi ki ba prende Luxemburges y dispos pa primer anu di skola primaria y la ten Alemon y foi mesm difisil* [...] *Na liseu N tava na nivel Klasik y N skolhe kel section A k e section de langue y nton nhas izamis tambe N fazes na Ingles, na Italianu, na Alemon y na Franses y Alemon N faze uns dissertation y tud* [...] *mas ten ainda uns regras di bazi ki ate inda N ka sabe.*

> [German! In France a child [...] can go to school at the age of two and a half year old, so I went to school when I was two and a half year old, [...] When I arrived here they put me again in the pre-school education, *Spillschoul*[6] [...] I was already able to write and read but I couldn't speak either Luxembourgish or German and I was at a primary school [in Dudelange] composed of many nationalities [Italian, ex-Yugoslavian, Portuguese, German], but there were no pupils who spoke Luxembourgish, only the teacher could speak it [...] so I had to learn Luxembourgish and then in the first year of primary school there was German and it was really difficult [...] at the high school I was at the Classique track and I chose the stream A that is the stream of language and so I had my exams in English, Italian, German and French and I even had a dissertation in German [...] but there are still some basic grammar rules that I don't know.]

This is a situation that happened in 1991. It can give us some insightful clues about the historicity of multilingual/multicultural school population in Luxembourg, especially in the southern part of the country which is mostly inhabited by *romanophones* (Pigeron-Piroth and Fehlen 2015). Dominique stressed that she managed because of her individual motivation and aspiration as a child to learn.

According to Dominique's narrative, beyond language-in-education policies, there are some other indicators of a student identity that can make her/him struggle more. For instance, in Excerpt 3, Dominique reports drawing on her own experience about some specific moments in which some teachers and/or school stakeholders indeed misjudge pupils' capacity from the beginning of their schooling.

Excerpt 3

> *Ah ten profesors ki ten stadu na skola primaria es ta dze asin: 'ah el e minin di migrant el ka ta b apode, el ka ta ba konsgi nton no po-l na* [*Modulaire*]*.' K mi es kris ah N tinha sempri boas notas* [...] *y nha profesor el dze logu 'es mininінha ta ba pa Klasik.' Dispos na sestu anu N faze kes tests k es ta poi nos na liseu y faze kes tests y N konsgi. Es ten un komite k ta toma kel disizon ma kel profesor es dze : 'ah no ta po-l na Teknik purke el e fidj di migrant el txiga li ja un bokadinh tard el ta ba ter difikuldadi.'Nha profesor dze : 'no es minin ta pode, no po-l na Klasik si ka da es ta torna po-l na Teknik ma no da-l es posibilidadi komu pelu menus tenta.' Si el ka tinha faladu asin es tava po-m na Teknik. N ba na Klasik y nunka N falha un anu* [...] *tambe kela ten uns profesor k ka ta da kel minin kel xansi* [...] *kela e pa dze.*
>
> [Ah there have been teachers at primary school who say so: 'ah s/he is a child of migrant, s/he will not be able to manage, so let's put him/her in [*Modulaire*].' Me, I had always good grades [...] and my teacher stressed from the beginning, 'this little girl goes to *Classique*'. In the 6th grade we had all those tests to know where you would be placed in high school. I took the tests and I succeeded too, they have a committee which takes decisions together with the teacher, they said: 'ah no, let's put her in *Technique* because she is a child of migrant, and

6 *Spillschoul* education (Pre-primary, 4–6 years old children) consists of a two-year cycle, both years being compulsory.

> she arrived a little bit late, she will have difficulties.' My teacher said: 'no, we'll place her in the *Classique* and if it is very difficult, she will move to the *Technique*, but let's give her this possibility, at least to try'. If he [the teacher] hadn't talked like that, they would have sent me to the *Technique*. I started the *Classique* and I've never failed a year [...] also there is this thing, there are some teachers who don't give children a chance [...] this has to be said.]

It seems here that being a migrant student has the connotation of failure from the onset in some teachers and other school stakeholders' eyes. According to Dominique's narrative and experience, they often think it inevitable that migrant children will fail in the *Classique* educational track. In her case, even though she had managed to pass the examinations required to enter the *Classique* track, she was about to be placed in the former *Technique* track, drawing heavily on her migrant background. Thanks to her teacher who contradicted the orientation committee intention which was judging Dominique based on her migrant background or identity. Besides her good grades, the committee seemed to persist in placing her out of the prestigious *Classique* track. The above excerpt indexes the importance of teachers who can defy the naturalised ideas about migrant-descent pupils.

A deep ethnographic study on this issue would be particularly insightful. There is a tendency to focus on migrant-state divide when analysing migrants' conditions and (im)possibilities, but this treatment can obscure a range of less obvious factors, such as race and discrimination, as ways citizens participate in migrants' struggles. At that time, parents had almost no say in the orientation phase of their children, and even if they wanted to be more active, they also had language barriers that prevented them from having a say, as Dominique highlighted in Excerpt 1. Her case shows that sometimes decisions on educational track are biased against students from certain migratory backgrounds, and linguistic and ethnic minorities. Now let us move to another participant with similar background and trajectory but who nonetheless had different outcomes in terms of success and subsequent insertion in the labour market. At some point, German literacy affected her trajectory in a more negative way than Dominique's.

6.2 Carmen: a story of making a living

Similarly to Dominique, Carmen has lived most of her life in Luxembourg. She was born in Cape Verde and came as a one-year-old baby with her mother and two older brothers to join their father in Luxembourg in 1982. She also has two sisters who were born in Luxembourg. She had all her primary and secondary education in Luxembourg. Her father was a primary school teacher in Cape Verde, but in Luxembourg he worked in construction until his retirement. Her mother worked in the cleaning industry. Carmen holds only Luxembourgish citizenship.

She got it before the Nationality Law of 2008 (see Section 6.1), when dual citizenship was not yet allowed. However, when I asked her about her identity, she replied: "I'm 100 % Cape Verdean, I hold Luxembourgish papers but I'm Cape Verdean […] my umbilical cord is in Cape Verde". She is a dark-skinned young woman who is highly multilingual in French, Luxembourgish, Portuguese and Creole of Cape Verde. She can also speak German. Unlike Dominique, she started to work earlier. She did not succeed in German literacy. She stressed: "I've never been good at school, so I wanted to work in a nursing home."

Thus, she pursued a *Certificat d'aptitude technique et professionnelle* (CATP) 'Technical and Vocational training Certificate' diploma which qualified her to look after children like a governess in a household. When she finished this course, she was informed that she could also work with elderly people in a nursing home. She has worked at the unique nursing home which responded her job application for 16 years. While working, she has completed other training courses there as *Auxiliaire de Vie* 'care assistant', then she took a caregiver course over two years. She has now worked there as a caregiver for nine years. Now she receives students – mostly of Lusophone background – who are taking internships to be caregivers. She shared that, at that time she managed to both work and finish her caregiver course, she was married but she had not had a child yet, otherwise it would have been impossible for her to finish that course. Nonetheless, she said the caregiver course was very hard for her because it was all in German. Paradoxically, it was the German literacy that contributed to her 'failure' at her primary and secondary education and meant she had to enter a professional course in which German was the main language. She pointed out: "German was always difficult for me, I had that minimum [in the tests] if it was for 60, when I got 30 I was happy".

When I asked her about the constraints to her schooling in Luxembourg, she brought up two key incidents that she never forgets:

Excerpt 4

> *Kantu ki N staba na maternel ki es ta fla Spillschoul ten un minina ki sempri ta dadji na mi y nada N ka podi fazea, pamodi si bu* […] *tambe na skola primaria N ta lembra tambe tinha un profesora ki ka mutu gostaba di mi nton tudu kuza es ta poba kulpa na mi. Mas dispos e ben doensi y ka da skola mas* […] *mas maternelle c'etait l' horreur, alvz N ka ta kreba baba skola.* […] *Pais ten ki fika derrière pamodi so es ka gosta di un mininu, dja es ten ki ta fika derrière, pa apoia.*
>
> [When I was at the pre-school that they call *Spillschoul*, I was the only black child there, and there was a little girl who hit me always but I couldn't do anything, because if you do […] also in the primary school, there was a teacher who didn't like me a lot, so whenever there was a thing, I was the guilty one. But she became ill and stopped teaching […] But it was

> horrible at the pre-school, sometimes I was afraid to go to school [...] Parents have to always be behind because when they just don't like a child, parents have to be behind, to support.]

It seems here that she experienced some discrimination from her teacher. Then I asked her about something that she would have liked to do or have that she did not manage. She shared that she would like to have been a nurse, but her grades were too low. She studied at a technical high school, but she was in the professional stream which did not grant her access to the nurse course because being good in German was one of the main requirements. Later, she thought of taking it in Belgium as her friend had, but then she had a baby, so she did not attempt it. When I asked Carmen about interactions at work with others, mainly Portuguese, Cape Verdeans and Luxembourgers, she recalled some remarks a Luxembourger made when she succeeded in her course of caregiver:

Excerpt 5

> *Un Luxemburgeza fla-n: 'ah tu t'a reusi' e fla mas ku un kuza pamodi ki bo pretu tudu kuza bu ta teni !? Bu sabi, mesmu na trabadju tudu algen kre-n txeu, mesmu bedju tout ça, mas senpri ten un algen la ki ka ta sta mutu kontenti ki tanbe dja N nota.* [...] *sima kantu ki N kumpra apartment 'ah N ka sabi modi ki bu kumpra apartamentu?!' keli e un Luxemburgeza.*
>
> [A Luxembourger told me: 'you, you managed' but she told it in a way, how come you a black person can have all things you have!? You know, at work there are many people who like me, even the old people but there is always someone who is not happy, I've observed this a lot. For example, when I bought my apartment, 'ah so how did you manage to buy an apartment?!' this a Luxembourger who disdained.]

In the eyes of those native Luxembourgers, Carmen's identity is incompatible with those achievements. This may cast some light on how certain migrant groups are socially perceived and how their capacities are socially imagined. Carmen's and Dominique's narratives are very insightful in revealing the complexity of language-in-education policies and ethnicity issues at school and beyond, and show how a person can unequally struggle as a consequence of her/his indicators of ethnicity e.g. skin colour and migration background in general. Dominique's and Carmen's narratives index how challenging it is for children of Cape Verdean background, one more than the other, depending on some school actors' perception of them, in which language is entangled within and is perhaps one of the root causes. The most sensible option could be to enforce policies which foster greater educational equity. Otherwise, classrooms or schools in general can "become sites of unbelonging, in particular for migrant students – both internal and external migrants – with very diverse linguistic repertoires" (Muller et al. 2020: 177). As Heller and Martin-Jones (2001: 2) remind us, "education is [a] key

site for construction of social identities and unequal relations of power". If, on the one hand, schools empower certain groups, they disempower other groups on the other hand since they are sites of privileges and constraints. Similarly, migration can empower and disempower or (dis)qualify people, as Jorge's case shows below.

6.3 Jorge: a story of resilience

Jorge got a Schengen visa two decades ago. He travelled to Luxembourg, where he got married to a young woman of Cape Verdean parents. He ended up staying but he shared with me in our first interview that being a highly multilingual person also constituted his motivation to come and stay. Before coming, he had finished his secondary education degree and worked as a flight operator for the flag carrier airline of Cape Verde after taking a professional course. In the beginning of his stay in Luxembourg, he had very unstable employment in shift work. He worked as a security guard at discos for the first three years after which he moved to the construction industry. He gained the right for one year of unemployment benefits, and, during that period, he invested in language courses, especially Luxembourgish. He was so dedicated to learning Luxembourgish that he was allowed to skip some levels. When he achieved a high level in it, the institution that paid for his courses stopped the funding. Thus, he quit the Luxembourgish course, but he continued to improve it informally, e.g. by watching TV and listening to the radio. Now, he has got Luxembourgish citizenship after succeeding in the mandatory language test in Luxembourgish and attending a civic education course entitled *Vivre ensemble* 'Living together', which is about the country's history and the working of its institutions. However, today he still regrets not having invested more in German than Luxembourgish. German has been the most challenging for him as it has been the main gatekeeping tool, used several times in forms of 'language racism' (Weber 2015) – when language is used as a proxy for other human aspects such as class, gender, and race as a means of exclusion – to deny him access to jobs and studies. Currently, he is working for a major multinational security company.

Concerning his education after migration, one of Jorge's main aspirations was to enter university and earn a degree. He shared that his aspiration was at least to pursue a BA degree. He explained how language has constrained him in that sense in Luxembourg, despite being highly fluent in two official languages – French and Luxembourgish – in addition to English, Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole. He can also get by in German. Yet, being fluent in Portuguese or Cape Verdean Creole in Luxembourg does not necessarily constitute an advan-

tage; on the contrary, this particular multilingual repertoire can be easily constructed as problematic – even as a deficit – since it also implies class and racial differences (Duchêne 2019; Sharma 2018). Jorge has struggled in the process of his diploma recognition, as can be seen in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6

> *Desdi 2003 ki N da kel prumeru pasu pa N odja si N ta fazeba algun kuza, mas so ki na altura ki N txiga li, en termus di ekivalensia di diploma era estremamenti difisil, es ka konxeba sistema di ensinu kabuverdianu, y komu Luxamburges es estremamenti konservador en relason a ses propi kuzas ki es ten li* [...] *oras ki bu termina fazi ki bu sabi ma bo e kapas di frikuenta skola undi ki lingua* [...] *podi ser Franses, es ta ezijiu Alemon, nton si bu Alemon ka sta nivel, Nton automatikamenti es ta krio-u difikuldadi po ka progridi, nton nha kazu foi isu. N tinha problema ku ekivalensia* [...] *duzi anu igual a nonu anu* [...] *Prumeru bes ki N pidi es da-n nonu* [...] *Nton N ben anexa kel formason ki N fazi na Alemon y Luxamburges, N pidi novu ekivalensia la es da-n desimu tekiniku. Nton so ki na altura dja N tinha mas ki trinta y trez anu dja ka ta permitiba mi un formason finansiadu pa fundu di dizempregu.*
>
> [Since 2003 that I took the first steps to see if I could do anything, but at the time I arrived here, in terms of equivalence of diploma was extremely difficult, they didn't know the Cape Verdean system of education and since in Luxembourg they are extremely conservative in relation to their own things they have here [...] when you end a phase that you know that you are able to attend studies where the language [...] can be French, they demand German, so if your German is not at the level, so automatically they create difficulties for you to not progress, so my thing was this. I had problem with equivalence [...] 12th grade equals 9th grade [...] first time I applied they gave me 9th [...] so I added that course I took in German and Luxembourgish, I applied for equivalence anew they gave me technical 10th grade. Already, as at that time I was more than thirty-three years old so that it didn't allow me to have a course funded by the unemployment agency.]

Excerpt 6 presents us with crisscrossing layers of intersections between the rubric of language with Jorge's country of origin, ethnicity, age and economic circumstances. This robust intersectionality has made Jorge struggle more, with German playing a key role as the main gatekeeper to his higher education. It starts with the recognition of his diploma intersecting with the country where he got it (i.e. Cape Verde), his country of birth. His age has also played an important role in keeping him from having professional training institutionally funded to compensate his fragile financial condition while being unemployed.

Jorge went on stressing his challenges in the attempt to move up the educational ladder to which he believed would upscale his work trajectory, and consequentially bring him a pinch of social mobility. He was happy when he heard that a diploma course for adults was going to be opened. It would give them access to university studies. However, when he sent his application file, it was sent back to him alleging that his level of German (level 3) was too low. He phoned the institu-

tion in an attempt to convince the official to accept his *dossier*. He shared that he needed a chance to try at least, if it was too hard, he would quit the course with no implication for the institution, as he pointed out: "it's me that will pay from my pocket, if it doesn't work, I'll quit". The official responded categorically: "we are not going to accept you". Jorge said that they had some arguments on the phone and his denial to the course was confirmed. However, three years later, while reading a newspaper, Jorge learned that the same kind of course was going to take place in French owing to a cooperation between *Chambre des Salariés* 'Chamber of Employees' and the University of Metz (now University of Lorraine). He sent his dossier again and he was accepted to take the course, as expressed in Excerpt 7.

Excerpt 7

> *N aguarda ten a 2011 ki es abri, pa pesoas ki dja tinha dexadu skola pelu menus 3 anus ki tinha superior a 21 anu y ki tinha nivel di insinu ki ta permitiba el ritomaba kel formason li, nton nmunta un dossier N manda es adimiti-n, nton prontu na kel formason kustan 3 mil y tal euru* [...] *mas ka foi fasil pamodi era un Franses mas literariu. N ta tinha bons nota na kes otu disiplinas mas na Franses dja era baixu. Dipos ku trabadju y responsabilidadi di familia dja purmeru anu N ka konsigi. Ta faltaba mi sempri volta di un valor na Franses pa-n podi pasa di anu. Mas dipos N torna bai y ben konsigi y N ten nha diploma y matrikula na kursu di direito na Universidade de Lorraine*
>
> [I waited, till in 2011 that they opened to people who had left school at least for three years and who were over 21 years old and who had a level of study that allowed him/her to retake that formation. So I set up a file, I applied and they accepted me, so well that formation cost me over three thousand Euro [...] but it wasn't easy because it was a more literary French. I had good grades in those other subjects but in French it was low. Then with job and family responsibilities so I didn't manage in the first year. I missed nearly one point in French to pass the year. But then I went again and I managed I had a diploma and I registered in the course of law [open course] at the University of Lorraine.]

The temporality that marks Jorge's struggle to enter the university is huge. He took the first steps in 2003 with the recognition of his diploma, but he only managed it almost one decade afterwards in 2011. He first registered in the course of law, but in 2016 he changed to English studies. He is happy and proud of himself, but still struggling. For example, recently, after getting Luxembourgish citizenship, he shared with me that he applied to be a police officer, he obtained good grades in all the tests except in German in which he underperformed; this made him fail to start training as a policeman. He usually shares with me his hardship of studying by distance and the difficulties of gaining access to the online course materials, as well as coping with all his family and job responsibilities. He has traced a "finishing line": "I've planned that when I

am fifty years old that I have at least a bachelor degree." His long experiences of struggle to requalify and overcome other barriers have made Jorge more aware of the complexity of migrants' trajectory as "rarely a straight line forward" (De Boeck 2012: 81).

7 Comparison, discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I have presented mobile and language struggles in educational arenas of three residents of Cape Verdean origin in the officially trilingual Luxembourg: two women in their thirties – Dominique and Carmen; and one man in his forties – Jorge. By now, all of them hold Luxembourgish citizenship, but they have had different migration trajectories to Luxembourg. On the one hand, the two women had similar migration trajectories – family relocation from France and reunification from Cape Verde, respectively – into Luxembourg. They both came at an early age, and thus, they experienced the same educational system, but with different outcomes in terms of success and insertion into the labour market. They both had German, which is the least used official language outside the classroom and in society in general, as their language of literacy (see Decamps and Monthéard 2020). They faced similar challenges in the educational system, but one more than other: Dominique managed to succeed and her teacher strongly supported her; while Carmen managed less well and had a teacher who did not like her, but she managed to make a living nonetheless. Beyond schooling, they had differences in the type of jobs they held and requirements for those jobs: Dominique became a French teacher (a highly qualified job), while Carmen became a caregiver (less qualified job). German competence played a key role on these outcomes.

On the other hand, Jorge, who had a different educational and migration trajectory to Luxembourg, faced challenges derived from his migrant conditions and a devaluation of his linguistic repertoire and diploma in his attempts to enter higher education. He managed it almost a decade later, but in France. As mentioned above, France and Belgium have long been alternative educational arenas, in diverse ways, for Cape Verdean migrants and their descendants in Luxembourg (Fehlen 2002; Horner and Weber 2008; Jacobs et al. 2017; Decamps and Monthéard 2020). These cases shed light on how Cape Verdean migrants and their descendants whether or not born in Luxembourg struggle in many sectors of their lives, with education the most influential space of struggle given the centrality of it in people's lives.

Dominique's and Carmen's interactions in the school system index how fragile migrant children can be in educational settings in the host country. This is

similar to other groups of migrants, more notably, other African migrant groups.[7] Dominique and Carmen had a very different educational trajectory compared to Jorge, but all of them have suffered from combined stigmas of having a migrant background and lacking proficiency in German, which is positioned as "the norm to which all national subjects should aspire [...] regardless of whether anyone actually adheres to those norms in practice" (Flores and Rosa 2015: 151). Their cases have also shown that multilingualism is not always sufficient and that multilingualism is not just multilingualism, other aspects of a person's identity may count more or less than their multilingual repertoire, even when language is loosely declared to be the root cause. Yet, one may be highly multilingual in various languages, including official languages, but low proficiency in one official language seems to make one feel 'stuck' (Baynham 2013) as Jorge's case shows well.

It may seem paradoxical to present three apparently successful cases of residents of Cape Verdean background in order to display migrants' and their descendants' struggles in the school system and later labour market insertion in Luxembourg. However, it is important to explore the whole process behind their success or lack thereof. It is evident that Dominique, Carmen and Jorge have had different levels of success, but all of them have struggled, in different ways, in settings and encounters in and with the officially trilingual Luxembourg, entangled with the societal perception of their identity based on their race and ethnicity, linguistic repertoire, and for being migrants or descendants thereof. They have managed to sustain a living and proved to be resilient to social positionings and language requirements (especially German) which have real-life consequences, although, relatively, with more positive effects in Dominique's case than in Carmen's or Jorge's.

Large numbers of migrant children start to experience inequality early with the German-literacy system that is enforced on them, in which Luxembourgish or Germanophone students are at an advantage (Weber 2007; Sharma 2018). As Dominique's and Carmen's narratives particularly show, parental inability to help their children do homework, their low social strata *per se*, their positioning in unskilled and usually low-skilled and poorly-paid job sectors, and the devaluation of their multilingual repertoire (as in Jorge's case) factor in compounding their challenges. In addition, there are teachers' and other school stakeholders' attitudes towards migrant students, as Dominique's and Carmen's different experiences show. As Goldstein (1997: 233) puts it, drawing on Freire (1970)'s central

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7 For more details see https://today.rtl.lu/news/luxembourg/a/1432886.html. and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zh282gIa8ww

premise, "education is not neutral and the interaction of teacher and student does not take place in vacuum" for good or for bad. The language-in-education policy in Luxembourg saliently indexes the notion that language is not only a means of communication; it is also 'an instrument of power' (Bourdieu 1991; Fehlen 2002). Dominique's and Carmen's narratives, in particular about their navigation within this system, index that students of Cape Verdean background (or, more generally, romanophone students) may suffer a strong impact of individual and institutionalised discrimination in the school language policies and in the heterogeneity of contemporary Luxembourgish society. Fortunately for Dominique, the language policy did not jeopardise her aspirations much. Though she succeeded, it does not mean that others also will, as we saw in Carmen's case. Finally, positive steps have been taken in order to have more equitable education opportunities with the opening of some public international schools in which students can choose between German, French or English as the language of literacy.

Jorge's case shows us that some migrants come to Luxembourg because of the official multilingualism of Luxembourg, as mentioned earlier in this paper, i.e. Jorge came partly because he was highly multilingual (in French, English, Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole) prior his migration to Luxembourg, as part of his job in Cape Verde. Yet, Dominique's, Carmen's and Jorge's cases also show us that Luxembourg's official multilingualism – French, German and Luxembourgish – can pose mixed feelings for certain migrants. Migrants whose repertoire corresponds, at least, to one of these official languages may navigate their lives in Luxembourg but will need to be resilient. Those whose repertoire is distant from all the three official languages may fear migrating to Luxembourg if their repertoire does not include at least English (as a global language and highly valued in Luxembourg). However, not all 'Englishes'– and English speakers – are valued in the same way (e.g. a Canadian English speaker is not valued as a Nigerian English speaker). Thus, all these assumptions are not straightforward, since the country of origin of the migrant, their race and ethnicity, individual capacity and spirit of resilience further play key roles as well, as the three cases show. One should not forget that a society that brands itself as multilingual can be just as exclusionary and oppressive to foreign-born/migrant-descended and racialised speakers as one that is strictly monolingual. For, multilingualism is also an ideological regime that produces difference and potential inequalities (Duchêne 2019).

Applied and anthropological linguists, as well as sociolinguists, have much to offer not only by addressing serious social inequalities imbricated with language, but also in helping to redress them from the bottom-up. Even so, because I am quite certain that we should be conscious of how language is pretty much implicated (both as a cause and excuse) in maintaining the privileges of those citizens who are seen as ideal for Luxembourg's self-image as a European multi-

lingual country. I believe that social resilience channelled through collective action movements will lead to beneficial turning-points. Drawing on Massey (2007) in their attempt to unveil root causes of migrants' struggles in the United States, Aysa-Lastra and Cachón (2015: 10) have shown that struggles of "individuals or social groups [have their] foundation in the holy trinity of inequality: class, race and ethnicity, and gender. Frequently, these inequalities are combined and create additional interactive and multiplicative negative effects". For the context of the officially trilingual Luxembourg, it can be suggested that there is a *holy quadruple* of inequality by adding one more element – language. This element is so engrained in processing inequalities that in several cases it retains the strongest impact. The data presented above exemplify how language is the fourth element that is often mobilised discursively when the other three are politically incorrect – and this can happen in both officially monolingual and multilingual contexts.

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