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CAPE VERDEAN MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES INTO LUXEMBOURG: A MULTISITED SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION

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*Cape Verdean Migration Trajectories into Luxembourg:
A Multisited Sociolinguistic Investigation*



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Abstract

This thesis investigates Cape Verdean migration trajectories into Luxembourg from a multisited sociolinguistic point of view. Approaching migration as both emigration and immigration, the thesis examines sociolinguistic aspects of both aspiring and accomplished Cape Verdean migrants to Luxembourg. Based on a narrative and the material ethnography, the thesis seeks to understand migration and its inequalities from the colonial past to the current episode of globalisation.

As a starting point, the thesis historicises Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg as initially entangled in colonisation and labour policies. It has shown that, Cape Verdean movements to Luxembourg derived indirectly from Portuguese colonisation and unexpectedly meddled in Luxembourg foreign labour policies during the 1960s and 70s. This thesis explores this entanglement and unexpectedness of migration from the perspective of individual migrants.

It explores what happened in between those *points of departure* and *arrival* by means of a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscape approach (MELLA). This approach consists of a material and narrative ethnography that studied traces of migrant presences and absences in public and private spaces on both ends of the trajectory. It was found that the linguistic landscape of Cape Verde contained numerous references to Luxembourg (e.g. *Avenida Luxemburgo* in Santo Antão) and vice versa (e.g. *Epicerie Créole* in Bonnevoie) and that some participants in the study, like myself, routinely went back and forth, sustaining relationships and engagements in both countries. However, findings also showed how unequal and exclusive South-North mobilities have become.

It is obvious that as life in general is, South-North migration is a struggle, with language being a crucial dimension of this struggle. The thesis shows how migration is a struggle from the start in the country of origin with prospective migrants making considerable efforts and investments to travel North, often in vain, and continues to be a struggle for those who succeed to arrive North. Language duties are always demanded and migrants are constructed from a linguistic deficit perspective rather than addressing the systemic and structural conditions that contribute to unequal struggles among migrant groups and between the locals and migrants, intersecting with gender, class and race. This study provides an account of how multilingualism itself is also a struggle for Cape Verdeans, as Luxembourg's trilingualism is often used as a gatekeeping device and as a proxy for race in a 'colour-blind' racism.

It is my hope that this first book-length study of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg has opened a new empirical field of research, and will be followed by many more studies to come.

Rezumu

Kel tezi li ta studa trajitoria di migrason Kabuverdianu pa Luxemburgo na pontu di vista di sosiolinguistica multi-situadu. Kel trabadju li ta aborda migrason tantu sima emigrason y imigrason y e ta izamina aspetu sosiolinguistiku di kes Kabuverdianu ki kre imigra y tambe di kes ki dja konsigi txiga na Luxemburgo. Baziadu na etenografia di materia y etenografia di narativa, es tezi li ta buska komprendi migrason y ses dizigualdadi desdi kes tempu kolonial ti globalizason di oxi.

Pa komesa, e ta analiza storia di migrason Kabuverdianu pa Luxemburgo sima foi, na si inisiu, trankadu ku kolonizason y politika di trabadju. Kel studu li mostra ma movimentus di Kabuverdianus pa Luxemburgo ben indiretamenti di kolonizason Purtuges y entra, sen esperadu, inkluidu na politika di trabadju pa stranjeru na anus di sasenta y satenta. kel tezi li ta splora kel trankamentu y di migrason ka speradu na prespetiva individual di imigranti.

E ta splora kuse ki kontisi entri pontu di partida y txigada atraves di metodu *Multisited Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Approach* (MELLA). Kel metodu li ta konsisti na etenografia de materia y etenografia di narativa pa studa trasus di prizensa y ozensia na spasus publiku y privadu na kes dos pontu di trajitoria. E diskubri ki paizajen linguistica di Kabu Verdi ten txeu referensia di Luxemburgo (pur izemplu, *Avenida Luxemburgo* na Santu Anton) y visi versa (pur izemplu *Epicérie Créole* na Bonnevoie) y ki alguns partisipantis di kel studu li, sima mi tanbe, es ta viaja di rotina di un ladu pa otu, y es ta manti ses relason y ligason na kes dos pais. Ma tambe kel studu li mostra modi ki kel movimentason di Sul pa Norti bira dizigual y skluzivu.

E klaru ki sima vida e, tambe migrason Sul-Norti e un luta, y lingua e un elimentu mutu importanti di kel luta. Kel tezi li ta mostra modi ki migrason e un luta, desdi inisiu na pais di orijen, undi ki kes pesoas ki ta prespetiva imigra es ta fazi un bokadu di sforsu y ta gasta txeu dinheru pa viaja pa Norti, txeu bes ka ta servi-s di nada, y ta kontinua ta ser un luta pa kes ki konsigi txiga Norti.

Sempri es ta iziji pa migranti sabi fala lingua y es ta konstrui kel imaji di migranti na kel prespetiva di defisi di lingua en ves di analiza kes kondison di sistema y di strutura ki ta kontribui pa kel luta entri grupu di migrantis, y entri kes pesoas di lokal y migrantis, intrakruzadu ku jeneru, klasi y rasa. Kel studu li ta mostra modi ki multilinguismu, el mesmu e un luta pa Kabuverdianu, pamodi kel trilinguismu di Luxemburgo e txeu bes uzadu sima un feremento di *gatekeeping* y sima un reprezentanti di rasismu ki 'ka ta odja kor' (*colour-blind*).

N ta spera ma kel prumeru studu li, di tamanhu di un livru, sobri migrason di Kabuverdianu pa Luxamburgu, abri un nobu kampu di empirika di peskiza, y ki mutu mas studus ta ben si tras.

Résumé

Cette thèse étudie les trajectoires migratoires capverdiennes au Luxembourg à partir d'un point de vue sociolinguistique multi-site. Abordant la migration à la fois comme émigration et comme immigration, cette thèse examine les aspects sociolinguistiques des immigrés capverdiens aspirants et accomplis au Luxembourg. Basée sur un récit et l'ethnographie matérielle, cette recherche cherche à comprendre la migration et ses inégalités du passé colonial à l'épisode actuel de la mondialisation.

Comme point de départ, la thèse historicise la migration capverdienne vers le Luxembourg comme initialement impliquée dans les politiques de colonisation et de travail. Elle montre que les mouvements capverdiens vers le Luxembourg provenaient indirectement de la colonisation portugaise et se sont ingérés de manière inattendue dans les politiques du travail étrangères luxembourgeoises au cours des années 1960 et 1970. Cette thèse explore cette intrication et l'imprévisibilité de la migration du point de vue des migrants individuels.

Elle explore ce qui s'est passé entre les *points de départ* et d'*arrivée* au moyen d'une approche ethnographique multi-site du paysage linguistique (MELLA). Cette approche consiste en une ethnographie matérielle et narrative qui étudie les traces des présences et des absences des migrants dans les espaces publics et privés aux deux extrémités de la trajectoire. On a pu constater que le paysage linguistique du Cap-Vert contient de nombreuses références au Luxembourg (par exemple *Avenida Luxemburgo* à Santo Antão) et vice versa (par exemple *Epicérie Créole* à Bonnevoie) et que certains participants à l'étude, et moi-même, allaient et venaient régulièrement, entretenant des relations et des engagements dans les deux pays. Cependant, les résultats de notre étude montrent également à quel point les mobilités Sud-Nord sont inégales et exclusives.

Il est évident que dans la vie en général, la migration Sud-Nord est une lutte, la langue étant une dimension cruciale de cette lutte. La thèse montre comment la migration est une lutte dès le départ dans le pays d'origine, les migrants potentiels faisant des efforts et des investissements considérables pour voyager vers le Nord, souvent en vain, et continuent de lutter pour ceux qui arrivent au Nord. Les devoirs linguistiques sont toujours exigés et les migrants sont construits dans une perspective de déficit linguistique plutôt que d'aborder les conditions systémiques et structurelles qui contribuent aux luttes inégales entre les groupes de migrants et entre les locaux et les migrants, croisant le genre, la classe et l'origine ethnique. Cette étude rend compte du fait que le multilinguisme est aussi une lutte pour les Cap-Verdiens, car le trilinguisme

luxembourgeois est souvent utilisé comme un moyen de contrôle et comme un substitut à la race dans un racisme aveugle.

J'espère que cette première étude sur la migration du Cap-Vert au Luxembourg a ouvert un nouveau champ de recherche empirique et qu'elle sera suivie de nombreuses autres études à venir.

Resumo

Esta dissertação tem por objetivo investigar as trajetórias de migração de Cabo Verde para o Luxemburgo mediante uma perspetiva sociolinguística multi-situada. Abordando a migração como emigração e imigração, este estudo examina os aspetos sociolinguísticos tanto dos aspirantes a migrantes, como os já migrantes cabo-verdianos no Luxemburgo. Fundamentando-se em narrativas e etnografia material, esta pesquisa pretende compreender a migração e as desigualdades que esta acarreta desde o passado colonial até ao presente globalizado.

Como ponto de partida, a migração cabo-verdiana para o Luxemburgo é analisada sob uma perspetiva histórica, inicialmente emaranhada na colonização e nas políticas laborais. A pesquisa revela que a movimentação dos cabo-verdianos para o Luxemburgo deriva indiretamente do colonialismo português, tendo interferido de forma inesperada nas políticas laborais luxemburguesas nos anos sessenta e setenta. O estudo explora precisamente estes dois aspetos, i.e. a interferência e a imprevisibilidade da migração sob a perspetiva de migrantes individuais.

Neste estudo é explorada também a questão relativa ao que acontece entre o *ponto de partida* e o *ponto de chegada* através de uma abordagem etnográfica multi-situada da paisagem linguística (MELLA). Esta abordagem baseia-se na etnografia material e na etnografia da narrativa e estuda as marcas da presença e ausência de migrantes nos espaços públicos e privados nas duas extremidades da trajetória. A pesquisa revelou que a paisagem linguística de Cabo Verde contém numerosas referências ao Luxemburgo (por exemplo, a *Avenida Luxemburgo* em Santo Antão) e vice-versa (por exemplo, *Epicérie Créo* em Bonnevoie) e que alguns participantes deste estudo, como eu próprio, se movimentam, de forma regular, entre os dois países, mantendo relações e compromissos. No entanto, o estudo mostrou também o quanto desiguais e excluidentes se tornaram as mobilidades Sul-Norte.

É óbvio que assim como a vida é, a migração Sul-Norte é uma luta, e a língua é uma dimensão crucial desta luta. A pesquisa mostra como a migração é uma luta que começa no país de origem quando os candidatos a migrantes fazem um esforço e investimentos significativos para viajar até ao Norte, muitas vezes em vão, e continua a ser uma luta para os que conseguem chegar ao Norte. As competências linguísticas são sempre exigidas e a imagem dos migrantes é construída à luz do défice linguístico em vez de serem tomadas em consideração as condições sistémicas e estruturais que contribuem para uma luta desigual entre os grupos de migrantes e entre os locais e os migrantes, entrecruzando-se com o género, a classe e a raça. Este estudo fornece um registo de como o multilinguismo constitui por si só um desafio para os cabo-

verdianos, uma vez que o trilinguismo do Luxemburgo é frequentemente usado como uma ferramenta de *gatekeeping* e como um indicador de raça, num racismo caracterizado pela cegueira de cor (*colour-blind*).

Espero que este extenso primeiro estudo, sobre a migração cabo-verdiana para o Luxemburgo abra um novo campo empírico de pesquisa e que muitos outros estudos o procedam.

Dedication

For my children: Axel Dino & Amy Lana
Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg
(or new Luxembourgers from Cape Verdean Parents)

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During the last four years, I have met several people who in one way or the other have played a part in the process of writing this thesis. On an academic as well as a personal level they have each contributed with support in various ways, even though it did not always appear to be so straightforward. My wish is to mention each one of them here in this thesis, but I am aware of this limitation and many are left unmentioned, but not forgotten.

First of all, I want to thank all the research participants who in one way or another contributed to this study and for the patient in spending their time sharing their insightful knowledge with me and also for their friendship, making me a more knowledgeable person about life in general. Among them, I would like to highlight the eleven focal participants presented in this thesis: Jorge, Orlando, Domingos, Alexandrino, Salvador, Aguinaldo, Sonia, Marku, Luis, Julio and Carlos. I also would like to thank to both: Steven Delgado (Dj Peter) for introducing me to most participants in Povoação, and for his friendship; and to my *kumpadri* Nicolau Rodrigues, for also helping in data collection. I also thank to Celeste Monteiro, Cidália Monteiro, Henrique Burgo and the ambassador Carlos Semedo for sharing information and their views about Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg.

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CHAPTER 1

General introduction

On a lucky sunny morning, I went to *Chã de Pedra*, a long valley village full of sugar cane and papaya trees between steep mountains rocks in the interior of Cape Verde's westernmost island Santo Antão. I went there to talk with two men, Antero and Sidney, about their experiences and aspirations of migration. Antero was an old retiree return migrant who now owned a guesthouse that received mainly French and German hiking tourists. Sidney was a middle-aged man who owned a small grocery shop (*loja*) in the same street. Antero's house was a well-maintained and beautifully painted three-story building with a patio and ample space in front of the house for his visitors to relax in the sun. Sidney's house was considerably smaller and erected in one floor only, with the whole right side of the house still under construction. His business occupied the middle compartment of the house and consisted of a wooden counter and shelves that were stacked with grocery items. As far as I could tell, Sidney's *loja* was typically unnoticed by the tourists his neighbour Antero received. The differences between their houses were striking and reflective of their respective economic and social status in the local community.

The two men also had contrasting mobility paths and capabilities as well as very different language backgrounds. Antero was a highly multilingual person, who spoke Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) as his first language, and was a fluent Portuguese, French and English speaker. He had lived in Luxembourg for fifteen years, after shorter residencies in Brazil (one year) and Switzerland (three years) as a political refugee (he used to be a political activist against the one party system in Cape Verde after Independence in 1975). After basing himself in Luxembourg where he married and worked different jobs in hotels mainly, he went to London, England for a course in hotel management and then returned to Cape Verde where I met him. Sidney on the other hand, had little formal education. He had brothers and sisters in Portugal and the Netherlands and several relatives in Luxembourg, but never managed to get out of Cape Verde himself as all of his three Schengen visa applications were rejected. Sidney could speak CVC and get by in Portuguese.

Sidney suggested me to go to Dona Bia's house, about half a kilometre from his grocery shop, to meet someone else with a connection to Luxembourg. Like Antero, Dona Bia also received tourists in her house. She was in her mid-seventies and had been to Luxembourg several times to visit her son, daughter and grandchildren. She felt happy when I told her about my project and was eager to share information about Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg.

In the corridor of her house she showed me a photo of her brother, Lela Neves, and her late husband, José Pedro (see Figure 1.1). Her brother used to be a migrant in Luxembourg but resettled in Lisbon after retirement. Her husband lived most of his life in the Netherlands but passed away in Luxembourg during a visit to their daughter and son. She then took me to her visiting room, and pointed to a painting made by her brother Lela. I could grasp the emotional load and affection that was discharged in her talk about these objects and the transnational memories they contained.



Figure 1.1: Photo frames in Dona Bia's corridor: Dona Bia and her husband, and her brother Lela Neves (by B. Tavares in *Chã de Pedra*, February 11th, 2016).

Dona Bia presented the painting to me and praised her brother's migration to Luxembourg. She enthusiastically took the painting from the wall of the visiting room and placed it on a chair at the entrance of the corridor so that I could gaze it better and there I took the photo that is reproduced on the cover of this thesis. The painting shows a map of Europe and Africa merged with a differently scaled map of the Cape Verde islands. The largest islands, Santiago and Santo Antão, are rendered in the same size as the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula. I interpret this to signify the equal importance of the islands and Europe in the life of the artist as a migrant. I will discuss this painting in more detail in Chapter 5 below, but I want to call attention here to the text of the letter in the bottom left hand corner of the painting (see Figure 1.2).

The letter describes the date (28th of July 1964), means of transport (by package boat) and the key stages of the artist's migration from his native Santo Antão to Luxembourg (via Lisbon and Paris). It concludes with a moral message in which he aligns his migration with European

values, ‘a national and universal spirit’ and even seems to suggests that migration is a ‘moral and civic duty’:



I, Manuel Antonio Neves, on July 28th, 1964, coming from Santo Antão, parish of *Santa Cruz, Coculi* and *Nossa Senhora do Rosario, Ribeira Grande*. I embarked on a board of the *VERA CRUZ Paquete* from the harbour of Mindelo in São Vicente Island to Portugal- Lisbon passing by Paris to Luxembourg where I have resided for forty-five years. Allied with Europe in a national and universal spirit, it is a moral and civic duty of each one of us. WITH FRATERNAL LOVE AND A BIG HUG.

Figure 1.2. Enlargement of the letter in Lela Neves’ painting with a translation in English on the right – Photograph and translation © B. Tavares in *Chá de Pedra*, February 11th, 2016.

Lela and Antero’s trajectories are very similar: full of moves to and in the privileged North and beyond. They also have in common as a destination Luxembourg that does not stand in a direct connection with Cape Verde, but follows after other destinations such as Portugal and France or Switzerland. Their stories also show that their emigration from Cape Verde does not make them absent there: throughout their lives, as migrants, they maintain different kinds of presences and involvement in the houses and lives of their relatives, and even returned home after being away. Sidney’s trajectory, however, would look very different as it is limited to Santo Antão, his island of birth, and some of the other Cape Verde islands only. Yet, he has connections outside as well, and was interested enough in living a life as a migrant like Antero and Lela, that he tried to access migration several times.

My encounters with Antero, Sidney and Dona Bia, summarize and engender the aims of this study. The objective here is to explore what happened in between those points of departure and points of arrival – i.e. after emigration from Cape Verde and before immigration to Luxembourg – as well as in understanding why Antero and Lela managed to migrate but Sidney did not. The aim of this thesis is to explore Cape Verdean migration trajectories into Luxembourg from a sociolinguistic point of view. It examines sociolinguistic trajectories of both aspiring and accomplished Cape Verdean migrants to Luxembourg and seeks to understand, via an

understanding of language and multilingualism, the social conditions of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg.

1.1 The main issues and the research questions

This research is informed by the assumption that the world is a very unequal place as mobilities are concerned. Some citizens of this world have easy access to geographic and social mobility; while for others it is extremely hard to achieve any mobility of this kind. Global or transnational mobility is highly unequally distributed and intrinsically bound up with equally unequal social mobilities. While some of us travel at ease, others are stuck in places that are not easy to get out of. And what is true for money is also true for mobility as a kind of capital: the more one has of it, the easier it is to get even more of it. The less one has of it to begin with, the harder it is to get a little more of it. This study addresses those mobile inequalities and seeks to offer a critique of globalisation.

To state something very obvious: every migrant is both an immigrant and an emigrant at once. Yet, a lot of research considers migration in terms of immigration alone, and rarely considers emigration – that is the moment of departure and the impact of migration on society at home. Various researchers however, in anthropology and sociology of migration in particular, have begun to emphasise the importance of a countries of origin perspective in studying transnational movements (cf. Batalha & Carling, 2008; Graw & Schielke, 2012; Carling et al., 2014; Åkesson, 2016 etc.). Graw and Schielke (2012, p. 10) for instance, argued that ‘the life a person lives as a migrant is often but half of his or her reality, and yet the other half remains often invisible to an outside observer, and often seems also less of a concern for national politics.’ And this is precisely what I intend to do in this work: to approach migration from a double perspective, as emigration in/from the South and immigration in/to the North. Taking as my case Cape Verdean migration into Luxembourg, I shall both look at *the point of departure* and *the point of arrival*, and consider how both points are connected in the lived experiences, expectations and imagination of migrants – older and younger – who act in between these two points and connect both societies in their transnational lives and, in fact, through their transnational living.

The thesis shall approach this from a sociolinguistic perspective, i.e. from the perspective of language and multilingualism in both societies and in the lives of the migrants. To this end, this thesis critically engages with the following main questions:

- 1) Under what circumstances has Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg been shaped and how does it continue to be shaped?
- 2) How do Cape Verdean migrants create or appropriate spaces to talk, work and navigate their migrant lives in Luxembourg; and how is their absence marked in the public space back home in Cape Verde?
- 3) What is the role of language as a facilitating, limiting and/or excluding tool in their lives?

1.2 My approach and the research context

The approach that I will be using to address these questions relies not on a single method or source of data, but combines multiple sociolinguistic methods instead. Long ago, one of the founders of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology pointed out that ‘some social research seems incredibly to assume that what there is to find out can be found out by asking’ (Hymes, 1975, p. 18; cited in Blommaert, 2009, p. 270). There is indeed a tendency to privilege interview data or even to give it an exclusive role within qualitative studies. This study attempts to move beyond an interview-only approach, and does this by turning to visual and material ethnography. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 133) remind us, in social sciences and humanities research, ‘the fields in which … [researchers] conduct fieldwork are populated not only with social actors, but with things of many sorts.’ Those things of many sorts are part of the lives of those social actors and point at ongoing or past movements. Those things similarly evidence and shed light on migration and transnational connections. This study has adopted a holistic perspective of triangulating interviews with multiple additional sources of evidence, in the form of material objects, semiotic artefacts, written texts etc. deployed in both public and private spaces, online and offline spaces, where individuals navigate their lives – aiming to gain a 360° degree understanding of the phenomenon under investigation: Cape Verdean mobilities into Luxembourg in the context of severe social and geographic inequalities.

Thus, in order to answer the above research questions, narrative interviews and a multisited approach to linguistic landscaping were taken as two complementary and interlocking approaches and instruments of data collection. The multisitedness emerges from the study’s focus on Luxembourg as the site of immigration in combination with its focus on Cape Verde as the site of emigration. Its multisitedness, however, is not only due to data being collected in different countries *per se*, but also due to the unfolding complexity of migration: situated events in contexts of migration often do not occur at a single time in a single place and space, but are impacted by what had happened or is happening simultaneously elsewhere, especially when it

concerns mobile lives that are scattered across nations and states. A multisited approach is appropriate to study phenomena that occur in ‘layered simultaneity’, to borrow from Blommaert (2005, p. 126).

The study is ethnographic as it has eclectically gathered whatever data are available to throw light on Cape Verdean migration into Luxembourg, taking complexity and multilayeredness of lives and histories as basic assumption. Through linguistic and semiotic landscaping, the study aims to show how emigration destinations are materially present in countries of origin and vice versa, i.e. how Luxembourg is part of the linguistic and semiotic landscape of Cape Verde and how Cape Verde is similarly inscribed in Luxembourg’s landscape. And this in turn, helps us situate narrated accounts of migration in a material world of physical and visual connections. This research was carried on as part of a three-year project funded by the *Fonds National de la Recherche Luxembourg* (FNR) that was entitled *Sociolinguistic trajectories and repertoires: Luso-Luxo-African identifications, interactions and imaginations*. The project explored sociolinguistic aspects of both aspiring and accomplished migrants from Lusophone West Africa (actually Creolophone would be a better descriptor) to Europe, with fieldwork in Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau in the South and in Luxembourg in the North (see Juffermans & Tavares, 2017 and Tavares & Juffermans, 2018 for publications drawing on the project as a whole; and see also Juffermans, 2018). This thesis focuses on Cape Verdean mobilities in the making and on Cape Verdean experiences before and after they become visible as migrants from the viewpoint of Luxembourg.

It is important to stress here that, in spite of a relatively long history of Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg (cf. Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991; Jacobs et al., 2017), this thesis is the first book-length study on Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. ‘The absence of detailed knowledge of a phenomenon or process itself,’ Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 22) suggest, ‘represents a useful starting point for research.’ However, it comes with the disadvantage of having little previous work to build on, apart from some government and NGO reports. Much of this research is therefore exploratory in nature and descriptive and in many ways only a beginning, and by no means not a comprehensive account, of this research field. Fieldwork was carried out both in Cape Verde and in Luxembourg. In Cape Verde I made three fieldwork trips in total (one explorative trip and two subsequent longer trips as discussed in Chapter 4), while I had more permanent fieldwork phases in Luxembourg which became my country of residence since the start of the project in 2014. In Cape Verde I conducted fieldwork across the Barlaventu/Sotaventu divide in Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago islands, where connections to Luxembourg were expected to be most salient both in the public

landscape and in people's voices. Furthermore, it is estimated that most of Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg are originally from Santo Antão (cf. Forum n# 210, September 2001; Carling, 2004, p. 128; dos Santos Rocha, 2010). That island is considered to be the 'cradle' of cooperation between Cape Verde and Luxembourg, however, some decades ago, Luxembourg Agency for Development Cooperation's (Lux-Dev) headquarters were moved to Praia, Cape Verde's capital city situated on Santiago Island.

In Luxembourg, the fieldwork sites for this study were similarly chosen in function of Cape Verdean presences. Cape Verdeans are mostly visible in and around three urban centres: Ettelbruck in the north, Esch-sur-Alzette in the south and Bonnevoie in the capital (cf. dos Santos Rocha, 2010; Jacobs et al., 2017). The latter is a quartier just behind the *Gare* neighbourhood around the central railway station in the City of Luxembourg. I concentrated my fieldwork observations and encounters more on Bonnevoie which is one of the most multicultural site in Luxembourg. Many Cape Verdeans and other Portuguese speaking migrants also reside there. Most of the encounters with participants were first held in two Cape Verdean entrepreneurial spaces, *Epicérie Créo* and *Metissage*, a grocery shop and a café/restaurant respectively. Meanwhile, I also followed and occasionally visited some Cape Verdean migrant associations attending, observing and participating in their events, ranging from a football tournament I played in to a graduation ceremony I helped to organize on our university campus.

1.3 The organisation of the thesis

The objectives of this thesis have dictated its organization. By analogy, it is structured following the migration trajectories of my focal participants, from Cape Verde into Luxembourg. This means that both the sequence of chapters and paragraphs within the chapters, attempt to follow that order, i.e. events which happened first in their migrant lives are here presented first, resonating their life trajectories logically from the time before migration (in Cape Verde) until their becoming migrants in Luxembourg.

The thesis is structured into eight chapters. This Introductory chapter is a summary of what the thesis as a whole accomplishes. This serves as a guide to the reader as it introduced the topic, the context, the main research goals and questions that this study addresses and attempts to answer. Chapter 2 further sets the background of the study. It presents historical, geographical, migration and language ideological background of both Cape Verde and Luxembourg, as countries of emigration and immigration, respectively. It shows that

transnationalism is not altogether as new as it is sometimes deemed to be. The chapter concludes by sketching the history of Cape Verdean migration into Luxembourg.

Chapter 3 draws the contours of the theoretical framework of the thesis. It reviews and engages with main conceptual tools from sociolinguistic of globalisation, anthropology of migration and human geography that are mobilised to source and interpret the empirical data this study presents. Chapter 4 goes on to critically review methods used in traditional and recent sociolinguistic studies of migration. It suggests a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscape approach (MELLA) which advocates for a triangulation of interviews with other sources of evidence such as semiotic artefacts, written texts, portable objects etc. available in a given context and space of human interaction and action. The chapter concludes by going into the issue of encounters with participants, their negotiated onymity and my own researcher reflexivity, pointing at my identity that goes beyond the insider-outsider binary.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are devoted to describe, interpret and analyse the empirical data and so form the back-bone and flesh of this thesis. Chapter 5 examines landscaped traces of Luxembourg in transnational Cape Verde as *the point of departure*. Chapter 6 focuses on Cape Verdean migrants' trajectories and the linguistic dimensions imbued with them. It consists mostly of analyses of interviews with eleven focal participants, *the actors in between*, about their lives before, during and after migration. All of the focal participants hold Cape Verdean passports and were born in the archipelago. Among them, six are also Luxembourgish passport-holders (some of them for decades), and one of them also hold a Portuguese passport, but all of them, like myself, primarily identify as Cape Verdeans. Chapter 6 compiles and engages with their varied and unequal experiences in various stages of their migration in order to bring us important insights about the human conditions and (im)possibilities of being a Cape Verdean migrant in Luxembourg.

Chapter 7 goes on to describe and analyse Cape Verdean spaces in Luxembourg, focusing on entrepreneurial spaces and migrant associations, as *the point of arrival*. It shows how spaces are created for Cape Verdean migrants and how they construct spaces to navigate their lives in Luxembourg and its official trilingualism. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates how Cape Verdeans coordinate their lives between the two countries and beyond, linguistically and socially more generally, through those spaces in Luxembourg and what those transnational micro-spaces afford them.

Finally, Chapter 8 recapitulates the thesis. It summarises the main empirical and methodological points, and theoretical arguments made throughout the thesis. The concluding chapter also presents the limitation of this ethnographic study and critically suggests further

reflections on the paradoxes of our neoliberal era, like that of ‘the use and abuse of language’ (Blommaert, 2001, p. 13), including how language can be a proxy for racism (Weber, 2015), and the inequalities of mobility regimes more generally.

CHAPTER 2

The background of the study: Cape Verde and Luxembourg

2.1 Introduction

Cape Verde and Luxembourg are relatively new countries in terms of autonomy as independent nation states. Cape Verde is marked by a history of slavery and colonisation, and Luxembourg by a history of invasions and occupations before and after its declaration as a sovereign state. Although used for different time periods, situations and historical contexts, all of the four words – slavery and colonisation; invasions and occupations – ultimately carry similar meaning: the subjugation and coercion of people under relations of power and nation states' desires for domination. However, to different degrees, one may traditionally assume that slavery and colonisation may be more appropriate to the Cape Verdean context and invasions and occupations to the Luxembourg context.

Cape Verde remained a Portuguese colony (as a Portuguese oversea territory) from its settlement, which started in 1461 in Santiago Island (Baptista 2002), to its Independence on 5th July, 1975. Long colonial wars in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique in conjunction with the contemporaneous Carnation Revolution in Portugal in 1974 led to a defeat of the *Estado Novo*, an authoritarian regime that ruled Portugal from 1926 until 1974 (Swolkien, 2015; Marie, 2016). The struggle in Guinea-Bissau was led by the PAIGC (*Partido Africano da Independencia de Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde*). Amilcar Cabral, the party's founder and leader until his assassination in 1973, was of mixed Cape Verdean and Bissau-Guinean descent and is still regarded as the father of both nations, i.e. Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (Juffermans & Tavares, 2017).

Regarding Luxembourg's sovereignty, it is important to point out that after a series of partition by 'European superpowers, ... in 1839, by the Treaty of London, Luxembourg was proclaimed an independent state' (Weber, 2000, p. 83). However, according to Fehlen (2009, p. 3), it was only 'in 1890 [that] the Grand-duchy passed from the kings of the Netherlands to the House of Nassau-Weilburg and had so its own, but still German dynasty.' In addition, 'in both world wars it was occupied by the Germans and especially suffered from Nazi oppression during World War II' (Fehlen 2009, p. 3).

There are some similarities between Cape Verde and Luxembourg in terms of population and size: Both countries have a population of around half a million and a very modest land

mass, which makes them among the smallest countries in the world (4,033 km² and 2,586.4 km², respectively). Cape Verde, as an archipelago, is divided into two clusters of islands: 1) *Sotavento* [Leeward], which comprises the four southern islands of Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava; and 2) *Barlavento* [Windward], consisting of the northern islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia (uninhabited), São Nicolau, Sal and Boavista. As an island nation, Cape Verde stands isolated in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean with no direct neighbouring countries, being linked to countries such as Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Portugal and Brazil only through air (for people) and sea (freight). In contrast, Luxembourg is land-locked and well-connected to its neighbouring countries France, Germany and Belgium, being also a central and founding member of the EU.

Regionally and economically, Cape Verde and Luxembourg are comparatively wealthy within their region, West Africa/ECOWAS (Carling, 2004) and Europe/EU respectively. However, globally Luxembourg is positioned at the very top as a highly developed country with (one of) the world's highest GDP per capita (Fehlen, 2009, p. 4), while Cape Verde is categorised as a medium development country in the UN's Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2002; Carling, 2004, p. 114).

The Cape Verde's national economy is highly dependent on emigration and international development aid. According to Bourdet (2002), 'as a percentage of the GDP, remittances constituted around 25% in the late 1970s, 15% in the early 1990s and 12% in 2000' (cited in Carling, 2004, p. 126). However, more recently in 2008, the Bureau of African Affairs from the U.S. Department of State estimated that migrants' remittances represent around 20% of the Cape Verdean GDP. That positions Cape Verde among the highest level of per capita remittance receivers in the world. However, these figures suffer from some limitations for, to a great extent, migrants send remittances to Cape Verde through informal channels (e.g. friends and relatives going for holidays in Cape Verde, Carling, 2004, p. 126). Furthermore, Cape Verde's economy is service-oriented. Nowadays, commerce, transport, the growing tourism industry and public services play a key role in the economy of the country. In contrast, subsistence agriculture and fishing industries contribute minimally to the national income (Jacobs et al., 2017).

Regarding Luxembourg, it is important to stress that its prosperous economic profile is, to a certain extent, due to its shift to the tertiary economy. Its economy shifted from steel industry, which previously characterised Luxembourg economic impulses, to services and financial sectors for a large period after WWII (Kollwelter, 2007; Fehlen, 2009). According to Weber (2000, p. 86), 'productive trilingualism [has been] one of the pillars of Luxembourg's economic

success and its international attractiveness.’ Today, Luxembourg constitutes ‘a niche for international banking and special tax schemes [that have] propelled economic prosperity’ (Weber, 2014, p. 142). In addition, as one of the smallest EU member states, Luxembourg’s affluence derives, to a great extent, from it being home to important EU institutions (Weber, 2009b, 2014; Kremer, 2014) such as ‘the Court of Justice, the Court of Auditors, the European Investment Bank, the Publications Office, the General Secretariat of the European Parliament and the General Directorate of the European Commission’ (Horner & Weber, 2008, p. 75).

Furthermore, Luxembourg has benefited from massive immigration, mostly from other EU member states, and cross-border workers (the highest proportion in the EU) who form more than half of the country’s labour force (Kollwelter, 2007; Scuto, 2010; Weber & Horner, 2012). Today, due to its favourable location in the ‘heart’ of Europe between France, Belgium and Germany, it is the country with the highest proportion of foreign residents and proportional net migration rate in the EU as well as one of the highest in the world (Horner & Weber, 2008; Callens et al., 2014; Kremer, 2014; Weber, 2009b, 2014).

Regarding official relations between Cape Verde and Luxembourg, Cape Verde is considered an important partner of Luxembourg. The two countries are connected via migration as sending and receiving country, respectively. There has been cooperation between Cape Verde and Luxembourg since 1987, but the first *Accord General de Cooperation* was signed in 1993 and the first PIC – *Programme indicatif de cooperation* – was only signed in 2002 (LuxDev, 2017). The aim of this programme is to fight poverty and, so far, Luxembourg has established PICs with seven countries: in Asia (Laos), Latin America (Nicaragua) and Africa (Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Mali, Niger and Senegal). Each PIC programme lasts for four years and is renewed according to the achievement of objectives from the perspective of those countries. Under the management of the Luxembourg Development Cooperation (LuxDev), a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the countries referred to above are labelled as *pays cibles de la cooperation luxembourgeoise* (privileged partner countries of Luxembourg).

Before delving into Luxembourg as an immigration country, I will now set the context of Cape Verde as an emigration country and provide an overview of the country’s language situation to help understand Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg.

2.2 Cape Verde: emigration history

It is important to stress that, today, countries traditionally considered to be emigration countries are also becoming receiving countries. Many countries are currently becoming both, sending

and receiving countries. Cape Verde is, to a certain extent, transforming into an immigration country as well, for example through the considerable presence of West African and Chinese entrepreneurial immigrants (Haugen & Carling, 2005; Carling & Åkesson, 2009) that are visible in Cape Verde's transnational landscape. They form the two largest groups of immigrants composed of 8,783 people, according to Cape Verde's statistical institution (INECV, 2010; Furtado, 2016; Jacobs et al., 2017). However, I need to stress that the focus here is on Cape Verde as an emigration rather than as an immigration country.

One can argue that mobility and migration are at the root of Cape Verdean society and nation and have long shaped the everyday lives of people in the archipelago. As Drotbohm (2011, p. 383) puts it, 'mobility and global connectedness were integral to the formation of Cape Verdean society and still shape the islands' everyday life.' Cape Verde started to experience migration and has been shaped by migration from its discovery in 1456 to its Independence in 1975 and onwards. The country has always been marked by a history of immigration and emigration. However, there is nearly an exclusive emphasis on Cape Verde as an emigration country *par excellence*. Although its role in past immigration modes (e.g. colonisation and slave trade) is disregarded; that also helps to explain Cape Verdean identity and identifications. The Atlantic slave industry demonstrates that emigration and immigration always have coexisted in relation to Cape Verde, so one can further argue that Cape Verde was first built on immigration and than emigration.

The question of when and who discovered the islands is still an open debate. From the perspective of Eurocentric and Portuguese colonial historians (see, for example, Brásio, 1962; Amaral, 1964), the discovery of the Cape Verdean islands is attributed 'with pride' to the Portuguese. Green (2007, p. 8) points out that

the discovery of the islands is safely placed in the hands of Diogo Gomes and not Antoni di Noli¹ ... and so the great programme of Portugal's enlightenment of the dark corners of the globe is secured ... the idea that it was the Portuguese who had discovered the islands suited not only the myths about the grandeur of Portugal's historical trajectory, but also the Salazarist claim that Portugal had an inalienable right to control the archipelago.

Nonetheless, it is maintained that Arabs and Africans had already visited the islands before the arrival of the Europeans. There were signs of human knowledge of the islands prior to the

¹ Note that Antoni di Noli was an Italian navigator who, together with Diogo Afonso, is deemed to be one of the discoverers of the islands during his services to the Portuguese crown (e.g. Ascher, 2010)

Portuguese arrival, ‘holding that the islands were probably uninhabited when the Portuguese arrived’ (Green, 2007, p. 6).

Note that, as stated above, most literature portrays Cape Verde as an emigration country. From its discovery and settlement² to slavery, from colonialism to emigration and from its Independence to globalisation, the archipelago has always experienced global connectedness, in varied forms. The point is that, in the past, this global connection was determined by colonialism. Firstly, because the archipelago served as a turntable for the triangular commerce of slaves between Africa, Europe and America during the Atlantic Slave Trade, i.e. it was used as a depository for slaves brought from the coast of Africa to be afterwards distributed to Brazil, Europe, the West Indies and the U.S. (Carreira, 1983; Baptista, 2002; Carling & Batalha, 2008). And, secondly, due to its geographical location, the archipelago ‘was also a regular stop for ships sailing toward India that came to the islands to get supplies such as food and water’ (Baptista, 2002, p. 20), and for American ‘vessels on their way to the African continent … for victualling and repairs, as well for orientation and for information on trading conditions on the coast’ (Bennett & Brooks, 1965, p. 48, cited in Meintel, 2002, p. 28).

After the end of slavery in 1860s, migration from the archipelago developed through the American whaling industry. Seamen were recruited, especially on the islands of Brava and Fogo (Meintel, 2002), to form the crew of American vessels. Those Cape Verdean seamen established themselves around American port cities to where later on they often managed to bring their relatives from Cape Verde. Thus, that is why Cape Verdean migration trajectories to the U.S. are deemed to be ‘the first wave’ (Carreira, 1993) of emigration. This led to the majority of Cape Verdean migrants in the U.S. today being originally from those two islands (Halter, 1993, 2008; Batalha, 2002; Meintel, 2002; Holloway, 2008; Batalha & Carling, 2008). However, the introduction of the ‘Quota Law of 1921’ (Meintel, 2002, p. 33) and the subsequent Immigration Act of 1924 that was in effect until 1965 contributed to reducing Cape Verdean migration to the U.S. (Batalha, 2002; Carling, 2004).

² See Fikes (2007, pp. 101-102).

‘Settlement patterns had lasting consequences on the formation of Cape Verdean Creole. Santiago Island, [the first settled island], was initially populated with slaves from the western coast of Africa, namely people from ethnic groups such as the *Mandinga*, *Wolof* and *Fula*. They were from Guinea, the entire coast, especially from the areas of Cacheu and Bissau, from the Senegal River to Sierra Leone (Andrade, 1996; Baptista, 2002). Furthermore, Baptista (2002, p. 17) points out that among the black population of the Cape Verde Islands, there were not only slaves but also the free blacks like the *Banhuns*, the *Brames* and the *Cassangas* who voluntarily accompanied traders, missionaries and sea captains (Andrade, 1996). There were also *Ladinos* [a slave category]… and *Lançados* [Portuguese criminals] (Tavares, 2012, p. 2; see also note 6 below).

The Portuguese colonial power helped instrumentalise the Quota Law. Portugal signed an agreement with the U.S. which ‘ensured that insular (Azorean and Madeiran) and continental Portuguese would be allowed greater shares of the nation’s quota than Cabo Verde’ (Meintel, 2002, p. 33). This was strategically used to encourage Cape Verdean migration to other Portuguese colonies in Africa, especially that of São Tome and Príncipe to work as ‘indentured labourers (*contratados*)’ (Grassi, 2007; Mourão, 2013) in plantations (*roças*) of cacao and coffee under slavery-like conditions which lasted for many decades before Independence (Åkesson, 2004; Holm, 1989, p. 279). Thus, in order to counteract the colonial pressure that pushed them towards the Southern colonies, many Cape Verdeans fled to the neighbourhood country of Senegal. There, many worked for French colonialist who after the Independence of Senegal (in 1960) took them to Europe, thus contributing to the increase of Cape Verdeans in France (Batalha, 2002; Carling & Batalha, 2008).

It is worth noting that during the colonial period, Cape Verdean elites served as intermediaries or administrators who ‘generally played the role of proxy colonizers for the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique’ (Andrade, 1996, cited in Meintel, 2002, p. 29). They held a ‘middle men’ (e.g. Meintel, 1984; Fikes, 2009; Furtado, 2013) role within the Portuguese colonial regime. As Holm (1989, p. 275) points out, already ‘in 1879 there was ... a well-established tradition of Cape Verdeans coming to Guinea to fill middle-level positions in the colonial administration.’ The privileged status of Cape Verdeans was established according to the racial hierarchy within the then Portuguese Colonial Empire. This hierarchy was based on phenotypic characteristics of Cape Verdeans, who in general were mulattos (*mestiço*), i.e. of mixed African and European origins (de Matos, 2013), having in general lighter skin than people from other Portuguese colonies in Africa at that time. Thus, Cape Verdeans were categorised by the regime as citizens, while Angolans, Mozambicans and Bissau-Guineans had the status of *Indigenas*³ and were considered less intelligent and civilized (de Matos, 2013).

Due to this racial differentiation by the colonial regime, some tensions still linger nowadays between Cape Verdeans and people from those other former Portuguese African colonies. To

³ The *Indigenas* were defined as individuals of the Black race or descendants thereof who, by their enlightenment and customs, cannot be distinguished from the bulk of that race. No other elements of identification were taken into account ... *Indigenas* could, however, be classified as *Assimilados* [assimilated people] and gain the right to Portuguese citizenship...’ (de Matos, 2013, p. 50). For that, they had to fully relinquish ‘the usages and customs of the Black race; ... be able to speak, read and write the Portuguese language; adopt monogamy; and ... exercise a profession, craft or office compatible with European civilization, or to have income obtained by licit means which is sufficient to produce food, sustenance, housing, and clothing for him and his family’ (de Matos, 2013, p. 51).

some extent, they still see Cape Verdeans as collaborators of the colonial regime (Pardue, 2012; de Matos, 2013). After Independence, fearing a revolution, many Cape Verdean elites migrated to Portugal and stayed there holding Portuguese citizenship (Carreira, 1983). As Carling (2004, p. 115) points out, ‘independence boosted migration of colonial officials and their families toward Europe and contributed to the record outflows of the mid-1970s.’

Nonetheless, it is noted that the Cape Verdean ‘community’ in the U.S. represents the largest share of the Cape Verdean diaspora, followed by the one in Portugal (Carling, 2004; Carling & Batalha, 2008, p. 20). Officially, it is estimated that there are about two hundred thousand Cape Verdeans living in the New England, around two times greater in number than the estimate for the community in Portugal (Meintel, 2002; Halter, 1993, 2008; Lesourd, 1995; Carling, 2004; Batalha & Carling, 2008; Cardoso, 2012). Diasporic Cape Verdeans probably outnumber those residing in the archipelago (Carling, 2004; Batalha & Carling, 2008; Lopes & Lundy, 2014). However, as Åkesson (2011, p. 67) puts it, ‘there are no reliable statistics [in Cape Verde and elsewhere] on the number of Cape Verdean migrants. Some are illegal, while others have acquired citizenships from their countries of destination.’

According to Carreira (1977, cited in Meintel, 2002; Batalha, 2002), Cape Verdean migration to Portugal started in the 1940s. But as Batalha (2002, p. 198) puts it, this migration flow started to intensify only in 1960s,

when some Portuguese construction industry companies got contracts to build some of the public infrastructures in the archipelago, such as electrification, a plant for desalination of sea water, public fountains, roads, airfields, and docks. These companies began then to pick out the best workers and offer them employment in the metropole.

This was also due to huge demand for labour force to fill job vacancies left by ‘unskilled’ Portuguese workers who migrated (as *Gastarbeiter*, i.e. guest workers) further north to countries such as the Netherlands, France, Luxembourg, Belgium or Germany, in search of better jobs and salaries (Góis, 2008; Mourão, 2013). This phase of Cape Verdean migration to Portugal comprised illiterate peasants moving from rural areas, mostly from Santiago Island to the metropole (Carreira, 1977; Batalha, 2004; Grassi, 2007; Mourão, 2013). Since Cape Verde was part of Portugal at the time, many of them travelled without a passport, i.e. only with an identity card (*bilhete de identidade*) (Carling, 2004, p. 115). Many Cape Verdeans re-migrated from Portugal to the northern European countries referred to above, following the Portuguese workers or chasing after jobs in port cities (e.g. Rotterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg and Gothenburg) and the construction sector, especially in France and Luxembourg (Carling, 2004;

Jacobs et al., 2017), as will be shown below.

The Cape Verdean history of migration shows that ‘transnationalism is not altogether as new as once thought’ (Meintel, 2002, p. 26; Basch et al., 1994; Foner, 1997). The country is commonly referred to as a ‘transnational archipelago’ (Batalha & Carling, 2008), with most of people of Cape Verdean origin living abroad, mostly in the U.S. and Europe. The nation as imagined has surpassed its geographical borders due to its long history of emigration. This has contributed to a political instrumentalisation of the Cape Verdean diaspora, particularly since the change to a multi-party system in 1991 and onwards, especially Cape Verdean migrants to the U.S. who are estimated to form nearly half of the entire Cape Verdean diaspora (Batalha & Carling, 2008; Halter, 2008). In two presidential elections (2001 and 2006) the candidate for the liberal party of MPD (*Movimento para a Democracia*) won the majority of votes in the archipelago but was overcome by the candidate of the more socialist party PAICV (*Partido Africano de Independencia Cabo Verde*) once the votes from the U.S. residents arrived. One possible reason for that result was the fact that most migrants in the U.S. are originally from Fogo, where the PAICV candidate (Pedro Pires)⁴ was also from.

This enormous political influence of emigrants also fosters a common imagining of the diaspora as ‘the eleventh island (*a décima primeira ilha*)’ (Cardoso, 2004). That is why the Cape Verdean nation is seen as constructed across its assumed geographical borders or territory. However, as Carling and Batalha (2008, pp. 19-20) point out:

the size of the diaspora communities is difficult to ascertain. It is widely claimed that the diaspora population is ‘twice as large’ as the resident population, but there is little demographic evidence for this claim (Carling 1997). Since much of the migration from Cape Verde happened during the colonial rule, it is often impossible to identify Cape Verdeans in historical migration statistics.

In addition, ‘it is an open question who should be considered Cape Verdean.’ (Batalha, 2008, p. 20) For instance, there are many people who identify themselves as Cape Verdean but have never been in the archipelago and neither hold or use Cape Verdean passports in their daily life. Normally, this happens with sons and daughters of Cape Verdean parents across different host countries in the global North. Even if they do hold the ‘legal’ citizenship of the host country of their parents, where they were born, their identification with Cape Verde becomes part of their identity through family ties.

⁴ Pedro Pires participated in the war for the Independence of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. He was the first Prime Minister of Cape Verde during the one-party system (from Independence in 1975 to 1991), then he became the President from 2001 to 2011.

Migration has always impacted Cape Verde and Cape Verdean identity and identifications for the entire history of Cape Verde's existence. Identity labels such as Cape Verdean continue to manifest as powerful emblems around which people are grouped together, gather and mobilize themselves. However, the production of 'Cape Verdeanness' (Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2010; Alpert, 2012; Mourão, 2013) as an identity emblem has been a complex reality of identification ever since the colonial past until the current era of 'globalisation,' in that migration in space is key.

'Cape Verdeanness' is a subjective hybrid identity category in which colonial history overlaps with racial discrimination and migration. Being Cape Verdean is highly porous and dependent on the context in which the categorised subject is placed or places him/herself (Góis, 2010). Indeed, in some contexts, Cape Verdeanness is used to disclaim Africanness (Halter, 2008; Lopes & Lundy, 2014). Some Cape Verdeans in Cape Verde and abroad do not identify themselves as African. For example, this distancing from Africa was present in an interview I conducted with an old Cape Verdean emigrant based in the U.S., whom I met during my second fieldwork phase in Cape Verde, as he spent his holidays with his Porto Rican wife in Santo Antão. When I asked him if he considered whether he was African or not, he replied: "*nos e kabverdian, Afrika e Afrika, Kab Verd e Kab Verd* [we are Cape Verdeans, Africa is Africa, Cape Verde is Cape Verde]." Note that in spite of not using any negative markers, he shows that the point for him is to differentiate Cape Verde from Africa rather than showing the congruency between the archipelago and the mainland continent. I argue that these complexities of Cape Verdeans' identity or Cape Verdeans' hesitation in identifying with Africa are influenced by and entangled in political, colonial and migration discourses as well as the generalized (negative) image of Africa. The geographical position of the archipelago, about 500km off the West African coast, also fosters these distancing discourses. As Halter (2008, p. 41) points out, the position of being 'in-between peoples' continues to manifest itself among the current wave of Cape Verdean migrants to the U.S. (cf. Barrett & Roediger, 1997).

As noted above, the migrant's assertion is a manifestation of what Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) describe as 'acts of identity.' These acts consist on the 'uses of language that projected a desire to belong with a group, acts which can also be displayed through projecting a disaffiliation with a group' (Higgins, 2014, p. 7). This particular migrant smartly used a redundant statement to project his disaffiliation with Africa in opposition to his assumed Cape Verdean identity. As Góis (2008, p. 265) points out:

Cape Verdeanness is a complex and dynamic phenomenon, though not unexplainable. As of yet, it tends to remain obscured by various incomplete explanations. To explain complex social phenomena we need to

return to Durkheim's influential idea of 'treating social facts as things' or of 'explaining the social by the social'. In so doing we look at social identity as a system with its own rationale independent of the individual mind. The social needs to be explained by the social. It is neither a structure nor an agency but both, being complex, dynamic and intricate.

In his study on the relationship between multilingualism and education in Luxembourg with a special focus on the sociolinguistic practices of a small group of luso-descendant adolescents (including those of Cape Verdean origin), Weber (2009b) shows us the limitations of identity labels. The author stresses that 'people are constantly categorized as part of imagined communities such as immigrants, foreigners, the Portuguese, the Luxembourgers, etc. – not only in everyday and popular discourses but even in much academic discourse' (Weber, 2009b, p. 20). Thus, it is important to stress that in this thesis, I use "Cape Verdean" to mean all the participants who identify as such independently of their documents or place of birth. The point here is to know why and how they identify as Cape Verdeans. After all, 'who can impose her or his categories?' (Weber, 2009b, p. 21)

2.3 Language situation in Cape Verde

Although the focus of this thesis is not on the study of language as a system in its own right or on linguistic variation, a reflection on the origin of Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) and its island variability are of great relevance to understanding the language situation in Cape Verde. It is important to stress that since colonisation until now, Cape Verde has officially been an example of a 'diglossic'⁵ situation. Currently, Portuguese remains the only official language, while CVC remains mostly used in informal situations. However, contemporary everyday life in Cape Verde is conducted mostly using CVC. Outside of state buildings, schools and administrations, one hardly hears Portuguese being used. Usually, its use outside of the administrative arenas almost automatically indexes the user as holding higher social status, unless it is a situation when one is addressing a foreigner or a Portuguese person.

Historically, as is the case with many creole languages, CVC emerged under special circumstances and started to become the 'first or second language' of people born in the archipelago. Baptista (2006, p. 93) points out that 'the origin of CVC is a controversial issue' (cf. Bartens, 1996). Some scholars hypothesise that CVC first emerged in Portugal (Naro, 1978), others assume it did in Guinea-Bissau (Rougé, 1986) or in Cape Verde (Kihm, 1994;

⁵ when two related languages or dialects are used for different functions by the same linguistic "community" (Ferguson, 1959).

Lang, 1999, p. 185) and more specifically on Santiago Island. Jacobs (2010) is the most convincing study concerning the origin of CVC. He draws on socio-historical and linguistic evidence to defend the thesis that CVC originated on Santiago Island, Cape Verde.

Beyond CVC's place of origin, it is important to stress here that this language probably resulted from the contact between slaves from different ethnolinguistic groups (e.g. Wolof, Fula, Serer, Balanta, Manjak, Mankan and Bola among others), free blacks, *Latinos* and *Lançados*,⁶ as well as the colonisers (Quint, 2000; Baptista, 2002, 2006; Lang, 2006). Furthermore, a lack of white women among the colonial society (made up of slaves and their owners) in Cape Verde led to a considerable miscegenation which favoured the origin of CVC (Bartens, 1999; Jacobs, 2010). It is widely agreed that most of the CVC lexicon came from Portuguese, which was the dominant language in Cape Verde during the colonial period (Quint, 2009; de Matos, 2013, p. 223). Note that this assertion of a dominant language does not mean that Portuguese was the most spoken language, but rather that it was used by the elites and colonisers, thus showing the intrinsic relations that exist between language and power. Colonisers and slaves had to communicate with each other, so they probably (coercively or not) drew on different (linguistic) resources to understand each other and get along.

Moreover, scholars attribute the dialectal variation from island to island, mainly between the clusters of *Sotavento* and *Barlavento*, to the islands' different periods of settlement by 'different populations of Portuguese settlers and African slaves' (Baptista et al., 2010, pp. 275-276). For instance, Santiago and Fogo were settled as early as 1461, while Sal and São Vicente as late as the first half of the 19th century (cf. Baptista et al., 2010; Tavares, 2012).

One of the most remarkable language ideological changes in Cape Verde ever since is the end of explicit punishment of those speaking CVC in any given space in the archipelago. Indeed, as Holm (1989, p. 274) points out, 'after the independence in 1975 ... the domains of spoken Portuguese receded in favour of Creole [i.e. CVC], a symbol of new nationalism' (cf. also Cunha, 1981), which was subsequently and emblematically promoted to the status of the national language. During the last two decades, there have been some political debates around the issue of officialising CVC and the status of Portuguese, the only official language. Today, the debates have been highly marked by the '*Barlavento* and *Sotavento* divide' (Batalha, 2002) and, more specifically the *sampadjudu* and *badiu* divide. On the one hand, *badiu* is a term that

⁶ *Latinos* were slaves who were converted to Christianity and had learned the basics of the Portuguese language, and for these reasons they were more expensive than the other slaves. *Lançados* were often former criminals or marginalized Portuguese sent to the Islands as intermediaries between the slave traders and the people of the interior (for further details see, e.g., Quint, 2000; Baptista, 2002, 2006; Lang, 2006; Jacobs, 2010; Tavares, 2012; de Matos, 2013)

originated from the Portuguese word *vadio*, meaning vagabonds (cf. Ascher, 2010, pp. 43-44). The colonial regime used it to refer to people from Santiago Island ‘who refused to participate in domestic and plantation slave labor’ (Fikes, 2007, p. 105). On the other hand, *sampadjudu* has come to refer to people from the other islands, ‘especially São Vicente’s mixed race elite, the traditional rivals of *badius*. It has been suggested that the etymology of *sampadjudu* is from the Portuguese *são para ajudar*, (i.e. they are helpful), a far more positive association than with *badiu*’ (cf. Batalha, 2004, p. 75; cited in Martin, 2012, p. 8).

Thus, let us return to the ‘old’ language debates in Cape Verde that might lead us to understand better the more recent ones. As stated above, during the colonial period CVC was forbidden in certain spaces in Cape Verde. Valkhoff’s (1975) article offers relevant insights concerning language ideologies in the archipelago before Independence. The author remarks that ‘Creole [had] its advocates and detractors both among the Capeverdians themselves and the Portuguese and Brazilians’ (Valkhoff, 1975, pp. 43-44). It was depicted for some colonial linguists, poets and writers as a non-language, a dialect, a broken Portuguese, so that it should have been avoided in order to not spoil Portuguese, the dominant language. For instance, in 1844, José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, who was ‘a learned specialist of the Cape Verde islands’ (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 44), wrote the following, advocating a strict inspection against the use of CVC in two newly created preparatory schools:

these schools must be subjected to a Government inspection, and be administered by European teachers who pronounce Portuguese without the errors of African Creole, which is a ridiculous slang ... and monstrous mixture of Old Portuguese, Guinean languages, which is loved by that people and which the Whites themselves like to imitate. (translated by and cited in Valkhoff, 1975, p. 44)

Furthermore, Valkhoff, in turn, critically shares some talks he had with two dynamic young priests who ardently defended the use of Portuguese:

Creole is not appropriate to express the values of Christianity, for it has no spiritual and literary tradition...without Portuguese, [young Capeverdians] would have no success either in the mother country [i.e. the metropole, Portugal] or even in the Cape Verde Islands. The more thoroughly they learnt Portuguese, the better they would pass their indispensable examinations. (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 45)

Valkhoff notes that ‘nevertheless they heard confessions in Creole, which they knew well, and they spoke it currently and regularly with their parishioners. In this way they made up for what their faithful might not have understood in Portuguese Mass’ (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 45). In spite of the fact that more than a century had passed since the above-cited assertions, Valkhoff points out that ‘in 1972 [he] still heard similar judgements pronounced about Capeverdian Creole’ (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 44). There was a stigma, a negative attitude toward CVC (assumed as an

entity) and its use, both by the colonisers and Cape Verdean elites, which I argue still lingers to some extent today, but in kinder reformulations as will be shown below.

The evaluations pointed out above are salient examples of what Cameron (2007) calls ‘verbal hygiene,’ i.e.

the impulse to meddle matters of language ... by defining its nature, by suggesting ways of cleaning or improving it, and by attempting to regulate and control it – as natural component of the linguistic life of any human society, and it is often deployed as a response to not only linguistic but also, and most importantly, non-linguistic concerns. (Del Valle, 2007, p. 242)

It is interesting to note that, to a certain extent, the advocacy for this verbal hygiene has been very prominent in discourses against immigrants in host countries, often under the umbrella of linguistic competence, a subject I will return to later in this thesis (see Chapter 6 below).

Despite the hygienist discourse noted above, it is agreed today that CVC is a symbol of Cape Verdean nationhood and identity that should be supported, thus re-enforcing ‘the language – culture-nation ideological nexus’ (Heller & Duchêne, 2007, p. 7). On the one hand, there is less controversy in assuming that CVC is one of the strongest identity markers of Cape Verdeanness. There is a salient ‘upscaling’ (Blommaert, 2007) of CVC within Cape Verde’s ‘linguistic regime’ (Kroskrity, 2000). During the last decade, CVC has been used in more formal social circumstances, in which for decades before and after Independence exclusively Portuguese was spoken. For example, it is now often used in the parliament in political speeches as well as some debates and programmes on the state-run TV channel TCV (*Televisão de Cabo Verde*). A notable and highly mediatised moment of formal use of CVC was when the then-prime minister José Maria Neves gave his speech in CVC for the 66th session of the United Nations General Assembly that took place in 2011 (Semedo et al., 2015, p. 69).

Nevertheless, despite this changing role of CVC, the topic of its officialisation is highly controversial. Still, some Cape Verdean writers, elites and other actors have been producing ambivalent discourses towards CVC, marked by a fear of Portuguese depreciation in Cape Verde. This fear also existed during the colonial period and was expressed in the voice of the contemporaneous elites and Portuguese writers under racial prejudices as ‘discourses of endangerment’ (Heller & Duchêne, 2007), as shown above. Situating language debates historically can thus cast some light on current attitudes toward CVC and Portuguese language in Cape Verde and beyond, in the Cape Verdean diaspora.

Some social actors or ‘ideology brokers’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 9), e.g. writers, politicians, the media producers, academic and non-academic experts, elites and individual citizens, view CVC as one of the most important loci of postcolonial nation building. They support the

upgrading of CVC to the second official language in parity with Portuguese, which would then be introduced into the education system of the archipelago. However, among those ‘ideology brokers’, there are those whose discourses, in spite of frequently portraying and highlighting CVC as “the language of the heart” or the language of everyday life (*quotidiano*), stigmatise CVC as a language. As Blommaert (1999, p. 10) puts it:

debates are excellent linguistic-ethnographic targets. They are textual/discursive, they produce discourses and metadiscourses, and they result in a battery of texts that can be borrowed, quoted, echoed, vulgarized etc. In sum, they are moments of textual formation and transformation, in which minority views can be transformed into majority views and vice versa, in which group-specific discourses can be incorporated into a master text, in which a variety of discursive means are mobilized and deployed (styles, genres, arguments, claims to authority), and in which socio-political alliances are shaped or altered in discourse.

Since they are seen as ideology brokers of legitimate authority and have expertise in areas of certain prestige in society, their points of view are often taken for granted as the truth. As a result, these viewpoints are reproduced and quoted in various information channels, appropriated and instrumentalised by their colleagues or other social actors, both to re-enforce and contest them.

Recently, language policies in the archipelago have revolved around the writing system, ALUPEC, which was officially approved in 1998, four years after its creation. However, it was recognised as the alphabet of the Cape Verdean language only in 2009 (Tavares, 2012, p. 8). The long period it has taken the government to recognise the created alphabet shows that it has been eventful and the decision not consensual among Cape Verdeans. Voices against the official writing system are more dominant in São Vicente, claiming, for example, that it is a *badiu*’s invention. One of the reasons that moved the detractors of ALUPEC to not approve it is that it deliberately moved away from the Portuguese writing system by, for example, replacing the consonant c (when pronounced /k/) for the consonant k (cf. Tavares, 2012, p. 9 for more details). However, it is possible that this is not the real reason for denying that script. The motives seem to be grounded in the long historical rivalry between São Vicente and Santiago islands as Cape Verdean cultural centres, causing ALUPEC to also be seen as an act of imposition. Nonetheless, this casts some light on how ‘language [or even bits of word] serves as a terrain for competition’ (Heller & Duchêne, 2007, p. 11).

From the colonial past to the present, there has been a fierce competition between the two main cities of Cape Verde, Praia, the capital (on Santiago Island), and Mindelo, the main city of *Barlavento* (on São Vicente Island). For instance, according to Pereira (2016), the city of Mindelo was colonially designed as the city of the civilized in opposition to Santiago Island,

which was depicted as more African and less civilized for the revolts against colonial rules (Fikes, 2007). Thus, tensions between Praia and Mindelo have persisted until now and are reflected in ‘language ideological debates’ (Blommaert, 1999) in Cape Verde.

Thus, from Independence until now there have been struggles for what Blommaert (1999), drawing on Silverstein and Urban (1996), calls ‘authoritative entextualization,’ i.e. ‘to fix certain metadiscursive perspectives on texts and discourses practices’ (p. 9). In the Cape Verde context, those struggles are shaped by the debates (written and spoken) on whether the CVC should be introduced as the medium of instruction in the educational system and gain the status of second official language. National and international ideology brokers such as creolists and linguists advocate for the ‘mother tongue’ instruction in CVC. For instance, drawing on Cummins (2000, 2001) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), Baptista et al. (2010, p. 277) highlight that ‘mother tongue instruction also promotes better retention of information in other subject areas.’

Hence, prominent writers, educational experts and political figures, i.e. people with societal authority, have expressed their views and contested official representations of language. However, they have often acted ‘on the basis of an almost journalistic time frame ... with a fuzzy beginning and end, of which we usually only remember the highlights, the most intense and polarized episodes’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 9). Oftentimes, some media spaces such as newspaper columns and TV have been dedicated to language debates that are also published in their websites, triggering positive and negative reactions from the public or civil society.

For example, I present an interview excerpt below where an ideology broker expresses his opinions concerning the officialisation and introduction of CVC in the educational system (see *A Semana*, October 5th, 2014). It is an interview given to a Portuguese newspaper, *Diario de Notícias* (DN), by Germano Almeida, one of the most prominent Cape Verdean writers (as well as a lawyer), who writes almost exclusively in Portuguese with a hint of CVC. He is originally from Boavista Island but has resided in Mindelo for more than twenty years. The interview was reproduced in *A Semana*, a Cape Verdean weekly newspaper. Almeida proclaimed himself to be a:

defensor do ensino do crioulo rigoroso, mas o português tem de ser ensinado como uma língua estrangeira, porque não é a nossa língua nacional... com o crioulo não vamos longe, não saímos das ilhas. Com o português vamos para Portugal, para o Brasil, para Angola. (A Semana, October 5th, 2014)

defender of rigorous teaching of Creole [i.e. CVC], but Portuguese must be taught as a foreign language, because it is not our national language ... with the CVC we would not go far away, we would not be able

to leave the islands. With Portuguese we will go to Portugal, to Brazil, to Angola. (my translation)

Almeida's statement above is an ambiguous and fuzzy instance of 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). While not specifying how, he identifies himself as a defender of rigorous teaching and learning of CVC, but at the same time he highlights that with CVC Cape Verdeans will not be able to leave the islands. According to him, Portuguese, which he considers a foreign language, is an instrument that makes Cape Verdeans more mobile to the Lusophone world. In this excerpt, Almeida embodies the official diglossia, the linguistic *status quo*, highlighting CVC as the national language and Portuguese as the language to speak out to the world, i.e. its international counterpart. It remains unclear how one can defend a rigorous teaching of a language, yet at the same time and in the 'moment of textual formation' (Blommaert, 1999) stress that the very same language is a burden. It is, however, interesting to observe how Almeida connects one language with mobility (Portuguese) and another with immobility (CVC).

I see here some similarities between Almeida's statement and both the former statements of Lima and the two priests in 1844 and 1972, respectively, cited above by Valkhoff (1975, p. 44). The only difference is that Almeida advocates for a Cape Verdean 'ownership' of Portuguese, but as a foreign language. Thus, he manages to show his disaffiliation to the officialisation of CVC in a 'kind' re-formulation by saying he is "a defender of rigorous teaching of CVC," while Lima and the two priests overtly and racially spoke out against the use of CVC. As Blommaert (1999, p. 6) puts it:

every language fact is intrinsically historical. The author advocates a need to have a perspective on language which captures both the intrinsic historicity as well as the social nature of language and language use ... language processes are seen as real, socioculturally and historically anchored phenomena ... co-constructive of reality.

The above-given examples of language ideologies and attitudes 'demonstrate that what we are seeing is part of a reshaping of old discourses by the same actors' (Heller & Duchêne, 2007, p. 8). For this reason, as Blommaert (1999, p. 7) points out, it is important to have a materialistic

ethnographic eye for the real historical actors, their interests, their alliances, their practices, and where they come from, in relation to the discourses they produce – where discourse is in itself seen as a crucial symbolic resource onto which people project their interests, around which they can construct alliances, on and through which they exercise power. Power (including the (re)production of ideology) must be identified as a form of practice, historically contingent and socially embedded.

Cameron (2007, pp. 268-269) draws an analogy between the reports on climate change and reports/discourses on 'language endangerment', stressing for the former that, 'to make such

issues newsworthy, it is necessary to inject drama and urgency by framing them as grave crises which we ignore at our peril,’ which are tendencies that the latter, i.e. reports on endangered languages, also show. In this vein, Heller and Duchêne (2007, p. 8) in their critique of ‘discourses of endangerment’ point out that

while we tend to think of language endangerment discourses as being about marginalized languages, we can see a number of threads of historical continuity that allow us to understand why this discourse appears as often with respect to so-called dominant languages as with respect to marginalized ones.

Weber and Horner (2012, p. 35) critically observe that ‘the topics of language shift vs. language maintenance have become highly emotional ones, with languages being anthropomorphically referred to as dying or being killed by other languages.’ It is important to stress that ‘discourses of endangerment’ toward one language (assumed to be the dominant or dominated language) are always constructed in opposing language dichotomies, i.e. by exaggerating the “dying” of one language at the expense of another or others, as if languages had a life like human beings or other living beings, such as plants and animals.

In Cape Verde, from its colonial past to the present, the ‘discourses of endangerment’ toward Portuguese (the dominant language) have been articulated at the expense of deprecations of CVC. CVC is the language of the ‘dominated’ and not prestigious, and is paradoxically considered to be one of the greatest symbols of the nation. Perhaps more wisely, we could stress here that there is no such a thing as dominant or dominated language in Cape Verde. CVC is used by most people, illiterate or literate, in their everyday lives and to express their dreams, aspirations and hopes. In contrast, Portuguese occurs as impositions (official) at schools and during some states ceremonies.

It seems that the past ‘discourses of endangerment’ concerning Portuguese have transformed into current discourses of its degradation in Cape Verde. In the past, the elites exaggerated discourses on CVC as a ‘bastard lingo’ (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 44), i.e. a way of speaking associated to a certain social group that are seen as the unfortunates, and as a symptom of ‘the lack of a culture’ (Valkhoff, 1975, p. 50) as Gilberto Freyre remarked on his visit to the islands. Freyre was a famous Brazilian sociologist, honoured and deemed as the main advocate of *lusotropicalismo*, ‘the nationalist ideology of Portuguese exceptionalism defined by the belief that the Portuguese are naturally understanding in intercultural situations and thus were excellent colonizers and accommodating postcolonial partners’ (Pardue, 2014, p. 55). This shows that these discourses concerning language in Cape Verde were (and are still) also constructed beyond it, by other actors within the (former) Portuguese empire.

Similarly, today, certain Cape Verdean elites exaggerate CVC difficulties while highlighting

the role of Portuguese as an international language, using arguments like the number of Portuguese speakers in the Lusophone world. Thus, this fosters that ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983) of *lusofonia*⁷ as a niche market, fabricating a kind of a selective remembering or ‘discourse projects’ (Stroud, 1999). However, as Del Valle (2011, p. 395) points out,

since imagining a community entails not fabricating it but believing in the existence of commonalities beyond the evidence offered by immediate sensory experience, the scholar’s task is not (should not be) to distinguish communities by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.

Whether aware of their impact or not, these discourses recreate ‘the rhetorical opposition between “good” European languages and “bad” African ones which characterized colonial language ideologies’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 28). Those social actors struggle to disassociate Portuguese from its negative connotation as the language of the former oppressor by trying to re-historicize and re-invent Portuguese in the postcolonial Cape Verde, underlining Portuguese’s assumed role under new conditions, i.e. that of globalisation, in that the state focusses ‘on positioning national markets on the international scene’ (Heller & Duchêne, 2007, p. 10). In doing so, the actors often prefer ‘the synchronic plane, where questions about the origin and the causes of distribution and impact of ideologies can be avoided’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 6). These actors, who frequently present themselves (and are presented by society) as experts and authorities, reinforce a certain kind of selective forgetting by casting ‘language as neutral space assuring access to global markets’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 5; cf. Del Valle, 2007).

In the globalised era, ‘nation states retain their central role in the construction and protection of markets for their own bourgeoisie’ (Blommaert, 1999, p. 10). However, CVC is at the same time officially, socially and discursively portrayed as the language that connects the ‘imagined’ Cape Verdean diasporic communities among themselves and with Cape Verde. Furthermore, it is also important to note that, in practice, for most children in the archipelago Portuguese is in fact a foreign language that they start to learn around the age of six and use only in the classroom. Yet, it is assumed that Portuguese is the language that connects the archipelago to the world, while CVC is depicted as having little international economic value. Thus, all these factors contribute to undermining its way to being introduced as a language of instruction in the educational system.

⁷ *Lusofonia* has been recurrently instrumentalised by (successive) Portuguese governments as one of the tropes to strengthen cooperation between Portugal and its former colonies (Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor). This process is produced under a formal institution named *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP [Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries]) in which Portugal and Brazil possess the strongest voice (cf. Sanches, 2014). It is important to note that the sharing of Portuguese language was initially considered the basic condition toward membership of this institution. As Sanches (2014, p. 10) points out language is the primary element that brings the CPLP together (cf. Tavares, 2017).

In this vein, the use of Portuguese has remained a mark of power and high social status in Cape Verde. As the official language, Portuguese is virtually positioned on the top of Cape Verde's language hierarchy. Considerable economic value is attached to Portuguese, as stated above, under the umbrella of *lusofonia*. Some social actors also advocate more investment in English, as an even more global language than Portuguese, by introducing its learning from primary school onwards instead of the first year of secondary school. Likewise, French is learned from the first year of the secondary school onwards. As in most parts of the world, both English and French seem to hold more prestige than Portuguese in Cape Verde, even though Portuguese is still the official language.

It is important to note that, in the political agenda, there is an "idealized" project of officially making Cape Verde a bilingual country. However, for historical reasons, language debates in Cape Verde are also emotionally loaded. Some actors view CVC as an emancipating tool in opposition to Portuguese as the language of former oppressors, while others assume the 'ownership' of Portuguese and consider CVC as the language of the heart, thus defending the official language *status quo*. Still others envisage a Portuguese-CVC official parity as a language reality in Cape Verde. For example, for the last four years there has been an ongoing pilot programme in the primary school on Santiago with CVC as the language of instruction while Portuguese is taught as a 'second' language (and another subject). Reports have been published in local newspaper comparing the mainstream programme (i.e. Portuguese as the medium of instruction) with the pilot one. The reports may help to legitimize the pilot programme. However, the introduction of CVC all over the archipelago is a very complex task given the insularity, the historical reasons given above and its potential economic impact (rather than CVC's variability per island per se). Nonetheless, the reports and reactions to them are useful sites for understanding how actors are constructing CVC in opposition to or in collaboration with Portuguese.

I conclude this section by stressing that, during the last decades, CVC has been upscaling economically, symbolically and politically in the hierarchy of Cape Verde's language regimes. For instance, it is offered at the Cape Verdean Multilingual School for migrants, who are interested and view it as social capital and important in the business arena. As Martin (2012, pp. 2–3) asserts,

Cape Verdean radio and television broadcasters have begun to provide more programming in CVC, advertisements are produced in CVC, and politicians communicate with constituents in CVC, demonstrating the understanding that profit- and voter-driven institutions must meet the linguistic needs of the majority consumer base.

To some extent, this and the advent of social media, especially Facebook, have changed Cape Verdeans' attitudes towards CVC and helped increase its use across the diaspora. Lately, we have been witnessing a proliferation of social media spaces and web pages, often based and constructed from the outside by emigrants, that index Cape Verdean migration and identity in which members chat nearly exclusively in CVC, thus contributing to promoting the language. For example, the Facebook pages '*Do you ... Papia Kriolu?*'⁸ (DYPK) and *Onda Kriolu*, among others, appear as complimentary information channels that privilege the use of CVC to critically discuss a wide range of topics which affect the everyday life of Cape Verdeans in Cape Verde, in that society is marked by deep inequalities, and beyond in the diaspora.

Given this history of emigration and language overview of *the point of departure*, i.e. Cape Verde, I now turn to the context of *the point of arrival*, i.e. the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

2.4 Luxembourg: immigration history

More than a century ago, at the end of 19th century, Luxembourg was considered an emigration country, especially for the outflows to the U.S. and France (Kollwelter, 2007; Scuto, 2010), due to its poor agricultural sector. It is important to stress again that as Cape Verde is mostly approached in this study as a sending country, Luxembourg is approached here only as a migrant-receiving country, which best characterises it today (i.e. at least from the end of WWII onwards). Luxembourg started to become an immigration country at the end of 19th century, with migrants initially coming from Germany, France and Belgium, and shortly followed by Italy, to work in the expanding steel industry after 'the discovery of iron mineral deposits' (Kollwelter, 2007, p. 2). Note that during both World Wars (WWI and WWII) many of those migrant workers returned to their respective home country (Fehlen, 2009; Scuto, 2010).

Afterwards, the Italians are deemed to be the first wave of migrant workers to Luxembourg (Scuto, 2010). This Italian migration trajectory to Luxembourg is dated back to the end of the WWII and intensified in the mid-1950s with the *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) contracts signed between Luxembourg and Italy (Heinz et al., 2013). Most Italian migrants were single, young workers who worked mostly in the steel industry in the southern areas of Luxembourg, such as Dudelange and Esch-sur-Alzette, where they concentrated. However, by the end of the 1950s, they started to leave Luxembourg, finding jobs in Italy or other European countries such as Germany which paid better wages (Scuto, 2007).

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/Do.you.papia.kriolu/>

In order to counteract the return migration of Italians, which caused a shortage in the labour force in Luxembourg, the government signed labour contracts with Portugal (and ex-Yugoslavia) allowing migrant family reunification. The government adopted a policy of family-based immigration from the 1960s onwards (Kollwelter, 2007). Thus, Portuguese migrants could come straightaway with their family. Most of them received little formal education and worked primarily in the construction and industrial sectors (Beirão, 1999; Weber, 2009b, 2014; Vasco Correia, 2013). They outnumbered their predecessors, i.e. the Italians who mostly came as single, young workers (Scuto, 2010; Heinz et al., 2013). Today, the second largest ethnic group in Luxembourg (after ethnic Luxembourgers) hails from Portugal and, according to Statec (2017), 16.4% of the population hold Portuguese passports. This has made them the most researched migrants groups in Luxembourg. There is an abundance of literature concerning various aspects of the Portuguese ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983) in Luxembourg, regarding language, education, job, discourses of integration and citizenship, political participation etc. (Beirão, 1999; Weber, 2009b, 2014; Vasco Correia, 2013).

The second largest migrant community hails from France, which is followed by Italy, Belgium, Germany, former Yugoslavia, Cape Verde as well as Brazil, USA, Canada, and other African countries (Scuto, 2010; Heinz et al., 2013; Statec, 2017). However, it is important to stress here that very little research has been conducted on African and other non-EU communities in Luxembourg. Jacobs and Mertz’s (2010) and Jacobs et al.’s (2017) reports offer insightful knowledge concerning non-EU migrant’s ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1983). The two reports are the only qualitative studies exclusively concerned with migrants from ex-Yugoslavia and Cape Verde, and with Cape Verdeans as non-EU migrants in Luxembourg, respectively. Both reports were compiled under the coordination of the *Centre d'étude et de formation interculturelles et sociales* (CEFIS) and funded by the European Integration Fund and the Ministry of Family and Integration of Luxembourg.

The first report recognises the more difficult situation of Cape Verdean and former Yugoslavian communities in juridical terms compared to migrants from other non-EU communities (Americans, Swiss, Chinese, etc.). Both the reports of 2010 and 2017 emphasise the question of integration, on which discourses are proliferating in Europe in this era of modern capitalist society. The reports show that integration is taken as a problem mainly when it concerns non-European immigrants, due to the differences between their cultural and religious practices and those of the native population. From a political perspective, there is a demand for social cohesion and integration through the reciprocal will of immigrants and natives,

respectively. It is a process ‘à double sense’ (Jacobs & Mertz, 2010, p. 15) with various dimensions (political, economic, cultural and social). According to the first report, the social dimension has a stronger influence on the integration of immigrants than the political dimension. The reports highlight that education, training and employment are important indicators of integration; however, immigrants face difficulties in getting their certificates recognized. Both reports highlight the social, educational and employment bottom level strata that Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg have occupied compared to the other migrant groups.

2.5 Language situation in Luxembourg

Luxembourg is one of the most diverse countries in Europe in terms of language use and its population background. However, its triglossic situation ‘takes a central place’ (Deprez et al., 2000, p. 8). Luxembourg is officially declared a trilingual country and many Luxembourgers take pride in the fact that it is a multilingual country. As Horner (2009, p. 111) points out, ‘in relation to the increasing degree of societal multilingualism in Luxembourg together with intensifying processes of EU consolidation, the active promotion of Luxembourgish has been gaining momentum steadily since the 1970s.’ Luxembourg’s official trilingualism has been marked since 1984, with the institutionalisation and ‘upscaling’ (Blommaert, 1999) of Luxembourgish as the national language and, in theory, as another administrative language alongside French and German, the other two official language of the country (Horner & Weber, 2008; Hu, 2014; Horner, 2015).

Deprez et al. (2000, p. 8) point out that Luxembourgish ‘is the exclusive means of oral communication between native Luxembourgians under all circumstances, irrespective of social standing.’ However, Horner and Weber (2008) in their comprehensive description of Luxembourg’s language situation, draw on the *Baleine* project (Fehlen et al., 1998) as a good start for a more comprehensive study of Luxembourg’s multilingualism. According to them, the *Baleine* study casts doubt on the generalization that all Luxembourgish citizens have Luxembourgish as their (only) home language. The survey results suggest that language use in the home is not limited to Luxembourgish, i.e. that the language situation is more diversified than most academic publications indicate (Fehlen et al., 1998, p. 79). Likewise, Weber (2014, p. 142) highlights that ‘the distinction between spoken and written language has been pivotal to understanding long-standing norms and patterns of language use in Luxembourg.’ Furthermore, Weber asserts that ‘most spoken communication among native-

born [takes] place in Luxembourgish and written functions [are] carried out primarily in standard French and German' (Weber, 2014, p. 142).

Traditionally, French has been considered the 'language of prestige' (mostly in writing) in Luxembourgish society. However, its spoken role is 'thorny' because Luxembourgish speakers often find it difficult to speak French, although this is not normally mentioned in official discourses and academic literature (Fehlen, 1997; Davis, 1994; Horner & Weber, 2008; Hu, 2014). Horner and Weber (2008) criticize the traditional studies of the language situation in Luxembourg for viewing it as composed of the dichotomies of: majority vs. minority or instrumental vs. integrative: 'it may be more productive to view the Grand Duchy as a space in which there exist different communities of practice and/or a community of multiple practices' (p. 84). French remains the dominant language at work in the private sector and it is used as a *lingua franca* (a language used for communication between peoples of different languages) between speakers of Luxembourgish, romanophone immigrants (Portuguese-, Italian- and Spanish-speaking) and commuters, mostly French-speaking from France and Belgium. German still remains a powerful language as the means of literacy during primary education and secondary vocational courses at technical high schools (Weber & Horner, 2012; Weber, 2009a, 2014).

If we are to understand the dynamics of language (and migration) in Luxembourg in relation to and beyond the official Luxembourgish-French-German trilingualism, there is a need for more holistic ethnographic and critical research on smaller and less visible communities. This thesis seeks to contribute to this through investigating language and flows of migration from Cape Verde that are historically linked to the sizeable and relatively well-researched Portuguese community in Luxembourg; however, there are some tensions between Portuguese and Cape Verdeans migrants (for more details, see Chapter 6 below).

The Portuguese language has a vital and visible presence in Luxembourg. It is spoken by Portuguese migrants and their children as well as migrants from former Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé, Príncipe, and Brazil, which altogether form about 17% of residents in Luxembourg (cf. Statec, 2017). This vitality of Portuguese is also salient in the linguistic landscape of Luxembourg through the naming of front façades and advertisements of migrants' business spaces and places like restaurants, coffee shops and grocery shops. However, Portuguese is marginal in Luxembourg's official self-imagination as a multilingual country.

Weber (2009a) analyses the linguistic ideologies and processes of identity construction in second- and third-generation Lusophone adolescents. He carried out a study with the aim of

learning the extent to which adolescents adhered to the mainstream language ideologies and of shedding some light on educational integration issues in Luxembourg. The study shows that many adolescents encounter difficulties in their studies due to the social hierarchy of languages in Luxembourg. According to the author, students who speak Romance languages struggle with German. And some of them express frustrations that they are constantly reminded that Luxembourgish is the national language and mother tongue of the Luxembourgers. Despite the linguistic difficulties they encounter, Weber argues, these teenagers are ‘integrated’ into Luxembourgish society. He claims that a new identity or ethnicity emerges:

The teenagers tend to orient towards a tri- or multilingualism but their own tri/- multilingualism is different from the traditional trilingualism of Luxembourgish society Indeed, they construct new and emergent multilingual ethnicities and identities on the basis of residual (mostly Portuguese) and dominant (mostly Luxembourgish and French) cultural elements; the residual, dominant and emergent elements combine to form a new structure of feeling which ... could be referred to as Lusobourgish or Romanobourgish identities. These new Lusobourgers are “integrated” linguistically. (Weber, 2009a, p. 144)

This new ethnicity brings along an alternative form of integration that has nothing to do with the ‘intransigent nativism’ or ‘forceful assimilation’ processes that ‘desire to eradicate everything that is foreign in society, either by removal of the immigrants themselves or through forced surrender of the immigrants’ languages and cultures’ (Weber, 2009a, p. 145). Weber insists that the future of social cohesion is in the hands of politicians and policy-makers with respect to rethinking Luxembourg’s language-in-education policy.

In this vein, Horner (2009) criticises the way Luxembourgish is taken for granted as a key to integration. Her observations draw attention to questions like: Are all Luxembourgish speakers (or those with Luxembourgish nationality) “fully” integrated? This integration discourse has revealed some emptiness and it can be seen as an attempt to control migration and to protect ‘socio-economic privileges of certain members of the ethnic core’ (Horner, 2009, p. 124).

The official multilingualism of Luxembourg has been controversial as far as its educational system is concerned (Hu, 2014). Several studies have shown that there is a problematic coexistence of both monolingual and trilingual constructs of national identity in Luxembourg in that the first is based on the ideal of the homogeneous nation-state, the essentialist criteria of one nation, one language. This is problematic especially in the context of the changing heterogeneous composition of Luxembourgish society. This change, ironically

caused by growing immigration, is also leading to the increasing visibility of Luxembourgish also as a written language. As pointed above, this is also re-enforcing the role of French as a lingua franca, since most immigrants are romanophone speakers, and the strong presence of cross-border workers who are mostly French-speaking. German as the medium of instruction functions as a ‘gate-keeping device’ (Weber & Horner, 2008; Weber, 2014) for a large number of residents. That leads some non-*germanophone* residents to opt for education across the border in Belgium or France. This situation has led Weber and Horner (2008, p. 96) to suggest that

the logical – and long overdue – consequence would be the establishment of a “two-track literacy system.” A choice between German-language literacy and French-language literacy would seem even more obvious as both German and French are officially recognized in the 1984 language law.

In this vein, Weber (2014) advocates more flexibility in Luxembourg educational system and analyses the actual language and educational situation in Luxembourg in the light of immigration and processes of globalisation. According to him, Luxembourgish has been accorded a higher position in the hierarchy of languages in Luxembourg as a consequence of attempts to construct it as an endangered language. This debate has been fuelled by fears over the survival of Luxembourgish in the presence of French as a lingua franca and fears of Luxembourgers becoming a minority in their own country. This ‘discourse of endangerment’ (Heller & Duchêne, 2007) concerns both the survival of the Luxembourgish language as well as the nation itself. Weber (2014) sees this as the reason why language policy makers introduced a language clause in the constitution (the language law of 1984). And he recognizes that there is a constant increase in the use of Luxembourgish in written domain and more visibility of its standardization.

Policy makers presuppose ‘that children who do not speak Luxembourgish will acquire it through natural interaction with other pupils and teachers’ (Weber, 2014, p. 146). However, they neglect the other direction, i.e. that Luxembourgish- speaking children may learn other languages (e.g. French) by interacting with their peers with a different linguistic repertoire. As Weber points out, ‘the official language-in-education policy does not build on the whole of the children’s home linguistic resources; instead, it simplifies the children’s complex multilingual use and reduces it to monolingualism’ (Weber, 2014, p. 148). In short, one can argue that there is a tension between educational policy concerning language and actual language practices in Luxembourg. A more flexible multilingual education with greater access to French and English, as argued for by Weber, would potentially offer students better education as well as social, economic and professional

integration.

After setting the sociolinguistic scene of *the point of arrival*, I will now focus specifically on the description of Cape Verdean moves to that point, i.e. Luxembourg.

2. 6 History of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg

It is worth pointing out that, when talking with other researchers working on migration and language, the first question I am usually asked is why Luxembourg? Direct colonial ties do not serve as a point of common reference here; on the contrary, as I indicated above, both countries used to be occupied, but in different ways. However, I will show here that, indirectly, Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg started via colonisation, i.e. Cape Verdeans came to Luxembourg together with Portuguese *Gastarbeiter*s in the 1960s and 1970s (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991; Beirão, 1999; Correia, 2013).

Cape Verde and Luxembourg are linked historically, economically and politically through their connection to Portugal via colonisation and migration, respectively. As seen above, Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg started even before the archipelago became independent from Portugal (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991; Kollwelter, 2007; dos Santos Rocha 2010; Angel, 2015). Many Cape Verdeans migrated to Portugal from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. At that time, there was an enormous demand for *main-d'oeuvre* in Luxembourg. As pointed above, Luxembourg was attracting Portuguese contract labourers to come and work in construction mainly as the influx of Italian guest workers began to decline. Contracts of *main d'oeuvre* between Portugal and Luxembourg were signed and, as Cape Verdeans had Portuguese citizenship at that time, they started to re-emigrate from Portugal to Luxembourg.

However, the Luxembourg government and the Portuguese fascist government later signed an agreement to stop Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991). The former government stipulated in the revised labour contract with the latter that they allowed only '*portugais de souche* [white/European Portuguese]' (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991, p. 38; Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 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. Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg consolidated in the 1970s and 1980s and continues under tightened conditions. Considering this, I argue here that Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg was doubly unexpected, i.e. for the host country as shown above and by migrants

themselves as evidenced by their trajectories and migration aspirations. For example, one of my key participants, Aguinaldo, stated that:

Luxamburgu e ka era konhesidu nas alturas, nomi di Luxamburgu ka txigaba Kabu Verdi inda, N bai na Portugal, nha aspirason era França ou Holanda, ki era konhesidu ki dja tinha imigrantis di rigresu na Kabu Verdi... mas komu mi nha aspirason e ka era so skodjeba pais, nha aspirason era tra nha dia di tarabadju ... nton na penson undi ki N staba kel sinhор sempri nu ta falaba di ves enkuandu ... fla-n: "odja, manhan ten ten un amigu ki ta ben di Luxamburgu ki e Kriolu," ... e fla-n: "...y si bu kre bu ta ba pa Luxamburgu djuntu ko-l," N fla: "N ta bai", e fla Luxamburgu, N atxa nomi fedi... ma bon, mi N fla "nha boka ka sta la, N ta bai," nton N kunpanha kel omi.

Luxembourg wasn't known at that time, name of Luxembourg hadn't arrived to Cape Verde yet, I came to Portugal, my aspiration was France or Holland that were known, from where there were migrants who had returned to Cape Verde already... but as my aspiration wasn't only choosing countries, my aspiration was to have a day of work...at the pension I was, that man that we used to talk always, from time to time... told me: "look tomorrow I have a friend who will come from Luxembourg, he's Kriolu" ... he told me: "... if you want you go to Luxembourg together with him," I said: "I will go," he told Luxembourg, I found it not a nice name ... but well, I said: "my mouth is not there [I don't care], I will go," so I accompanied that man.

Despite the lack of reliable statistics, we can observe a significant Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg as the largest non-European community and the most long-standing African community in Luxembourg (Statec, 2017; Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991). Estimates of their number vary between 2,855 (Statec, 2017, for those holding Cape Verdean passport only) and 7,000, 8,000 or even 15,000 (including descendants born in Luxembourg or other European countries) in various sources linking to the Embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg (dos Santos Rocha, 2010; Manço et al., 2014; Gerstnerova, 2016). In addition to the migrant presence, strong cooperation is developing between Luxembourg and Cape Verde, fostered or inspired by the Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg (see Chapter 5 below). The islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago are home to most Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg (Carling, 2004; dos Santos Rocha, 2010).

However, the number of Cape Verdeans in the Grand Duchy is controversial. This controversy is even revealed in my multisited statistical data collection itself. For instance, I obtained an official document from the Cape Verde's *Ministério das Comunidades* (Ministry of Communities), estimating 15,000 Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg (including descendants born in Europe or other European countries), while the Embassy of Cape Verde estimates 12,000 and Statec only 2,965 (those holding only Cape Verdean passport). Many Cape Verdeans have entered Luxembourg as European citizens. According to Statec (2001), almost

half of the Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg (49%) had European passports. They do not register at the Cape Verdean Embassy in Luxembourg and many have acquired Luxembourgish citizenship (Besch et al., 2011, p. 135).

Thus, that is how the essentiality and importance of nationality as the main tool for identifying people is questioned and challenged by migration and the everyday practices in this globalised world. Cape Verdeans are relatively invisible in the statistics, as it were ‘erased’ (Irvine & Gal, 2000) by statistics, but quite visible in the landscape, especially through soundscapes (hearing Creole and even Portuguese contributes to this visibility in public transports and places), through moving bodies, mobile texts and spatial semiotics that index Cape Verde in Luxembourg.

Regarding employment, there is a tendency for Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg to work in the construction sector (dos Santos Rocha, 2010). This is a phenomenon also noted by Åkesson (2016) concerning jobs of Cape Verdean migrants around the world. Despite structural causes, this is a cultural working aspect transferred from the Portuguese to Cape Verdeans whose culture and way of life are highly assimilated to the Portuguese for historical reasons. In addition, most Cape Verdeans who came to Luxembourg a few years before or after Independence of Cape Verde have received little formal education, and thus their working options are limited to the construction industry for men and cleaning industry for women. However, today this restriction is also imposed by the enormous demands on linguistic competence, especially on German and Luxembourgish, which are required to enter many jobs in Luxembourg, whose labour market is very stratified by language.

Furthermore, some Cape Verdeans – in spite of their high school degree and professional training in other areas or even with some years of university studies (e.g. some newcomers from Portugal) – find work in the construction industry. Family responsibilities leave them with little time to invest in language learning or further professional development, as I will illustrate in Chapter 6. Furthermore, the construction and cleaning industries in Luxembourg employ mostly Portuguese workers and this also allows Cape Verdeans to make a living within branches of work in which Portuguese is the most used language (Manço et al., 2014).

Housing is a central issue of Cape Verdean migration. Throughout interviews with some focal participants (see Chapter 6), who have lived in Luxembourg for at least ten years (to be more specific: retirees, transmigrants and business owners), the issue of housing in their migration situation is also raised. Housing is culturally and strongly rooted in the Cape Verdean way of living in that it is traditionally considered to be one of the main reasons of emigration, i.e. from the start Cape Verdeans migrated in order to “*buska bida* [search life]” and to be able

to build a house in Cape Verde (Batalha & Carling, 2008). This fundamental idea of owning a house is still present among Cape Verdean immigrants in Luxembourg.

Furthermore, Cape Verdeans today often consider owning a house in Luxembourg. As a result, the house in their country of origin is becoming a second alternative (for holidays and/or for letting). Cape Verdeans' concern of owning a house in Luxembourg is not only as a mere business opportunity, but to provide their children with a home. The initial idea of returning after retirement fades with time for this very reason (see Chapter 6). Thus, they invest in creating spaces to obtain a sense of belonging, and they navigate and capitalize on space- and place-making to accomplish their hope of having a better life near their closest relatives.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has offered an overview of the socio-historical and language situation of both Cape Verde as the point of emigration and of Luxembourg as the immigration setting for this study. The chapter has shown that the two countries are situated on opposite poles regarding geographical location and economy, with Cape Verde in the global South and as a medium developing country, while Luxembourg is in the global North and as one of the richest countries in the world. However, in terms of history, demographics and territorial size, the two countries share some similarities within their geopolitical regions of Africa and Europe, respectively. Historically, both of them have a long history of occupation and wars, and both of them are among the smallest nation states in the world in terms of territory and population.

The chapter has also demonstrated how Cape Verde is intrinsically connected to migration in the past, at its origins as a country and after. We have seen that migration to the U.S. is assumed to be the first wave of Cape Verdean migration, while trajectories to Luxembourg remain under-researched. Cape Verdean migration and identity have ever since been marked by the *Sotavento-Barlavento* divide and we have also seen that 'Cape Verdeanness' (Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2010; Mourão, 2013) is a complex tangle of identity that is still impacted by the colonial past and its discourses.

The chapter has shown that the Cape Verdean first wave of migration to Luxembourg was mostly unexpected, both on official levels and by migrants themselves. The number of Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg presented in the official Luxembourg documents can be misleading, since those who use Portuguese documents are not included in this group. However, most Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg came holding the citizenships of other European countries, especially Portugal for historical reasons stated above. All of these factors make it difficult to

determine the precise number of Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg. Moreover, there is no reliable statistical data concerning the (geographical) distribution of Cape Verdeans in the Grand Duchy. Most Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg are originally from Santo Antão and were followed by people of *badiu* origin (Santiago Island) and from São Vicente (Carling, 2004; dos Santos Rocha, 2010).

With respect to language, we have seen that, officially, while Cape Verde is portrayed as a 'diglossic' language situation (Portuguese and CVC), Luxembourg is celebrated as a 'triglossic' situation (French, German and Luxembourgish). In both countries, there is a discourse of 'language endangerment' (Heller & Duchêne, 2007), albeit in different ways. Today, in Cape Verde this 'discourse of endangerment' concerns the dominant language, Portuguese, the colonial language which, in informal situations, is spoken by a minority (especially the elites), but is still the official language of the islands. This fear is also due to the increasing use of English and French in Cape Verde as a more highly valued and global language than Portuguese as well as the upscaling of CVC in some formal situations which is the national language used by most Cape Verdeans in their everyday interactions.

In contrast, in Luxembourg, Luxembourgish has been constructed officially as the language of integration, which stands in a sharp contradiction with the societal multilingualism in the two biggest cities of Luxembourg (e.g. Luxembourg City and Esch-sur-Alzette). Oftentimes, this discourse concerning the protection of Luxembourgish is taken in opposition to Portuguese, as a language widely used in society, and to French, as another official language whose use is increasing due to the large numbers of Romance languages speakers and cross-border workers from France and Belgium, making French the *lingua franca* in Luxembourg.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical framework: main conceptual tools

3.1 Introduction

Informed by the need to explore ‘the interface between language and mobility’ (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 1) in general, this chapter engages with theoretical notions from diverse academic perspectives. It draws on multidisciplinary sources of enquiry that can provide as full an account as possible of the lived sociolinguistic experiences of Cape Verdean migrants to Luxembourg. From this point of view, the investigation of their migration trajectories and language repertoires is paramount. As Keating (2015, p. 143) puts it, ‘a focus on life trajectories brings to the foreground the crossing of dynamics of movement and mobility of objects, people, goods and symbolic capital inherent in the migratory process itself, both in space and time (my translation).’

Here, the focus is to pursue the study of ‘language(s) as a communicative activity rather than as objects of study in their own right’ (Juffermans, 2010, p. 130). As Juffermans puts it, ‘speaker is in the first place a person with social life, and not just a speaker of a particular set of languages.’ This is a study that primarily ‘places human first, and language(s) second’ (Juffermans, 2010, p. 130; cf. Weber & Horner, 2012, p. 35). Given this, I am interested in examining how sociolinguistics can be informed by broader paradigms concerning mobility. As Pennycook (2012, p. 27) remarks, the concern is for ‘an understanding of languages not as entities stuck in one place but rather as mobile resources that move across landscapes,’ as the speakers do. Furthermore, as Kerfoot and Hyltenstam (2017, p. 7) point out, ‘language is used as a resource in constructing, naturalizing, or resisting inequality in everyday interactions and institutional sites.’ Thus, in the context of mobility and migration, ‘the analysis of linguistic practices can ... provide a lens on the often invisibilized workings of power and the construction, reproduction, and contestation of inequalities in social processes’ (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017, p. 7).

For this, the multidisciplinary sources are drawn from the following three theoretical approaches: a) the sociolinguistics of globalisation, with repertoires and trajectories as key conceptual tools; b) the anthropology of migration, with transmigration, transnationalism, deportation and immobility as key concepts; and c) human geography, with crucial theoretical reflections on space and place. Driven by this multidisciplinary impulse, these concepts are

explored via discussions of original data from interviews, fieldwork notes, Facebook posts, photographs and other semiotic resources concerning Cape Verdean migration trajectories to Luxembourg, from multiple sites resembling the multiple social and geographical embedding of the participants' lives.

Note that all the concepts listed under the approaches above imply dynamism in themselves. To a certain extent, they overlap with one another and are interlinked concepts. This is a result of an ongoing epistemological shift or, as Lefebvre (1974/1991) puts it, of 'a reversal of tendency and of meaning' (1991, p. 26) of space and from static 'ways of seeing' (Berger, 1972; Jaworski & Thurlow 2010; Del Valle, 2015) language, territory and social practices to more dynamic views of seeing them as spatially and temporarily constructed. This is, to a great extent, due to mobility paradigm changes in the wake of globalisation, which is strongly marked by far-reaching developments of new technologies of information. Thus, the static views of geopolitical developments such as nation-state formation, community, place, private property and of past colonisation ideologies, which still persist, have been challenged by mobility of people, ideas and objects across borders in this era characterised by 'time-space compression' (Harvey, 1999) in that time annihilates space, i.e. 'to reduce to a minimum [their] time spent in motion from one place to another' (Oudenampsen & Robles-Durán, 2011, p. 93). With the development of technologies of communications one can get access and be informed of distant world events in a blink of an eye in this globalised world. This leads to a shift to 'non-representational theory' (Thrift, 2007) i.e. the focus shifts from 'what' to 'how' as the objective of enquiry. As Canagarajah (2017, p. 9) puts it, 'the focus is more on the practices and processes, and affective and material factors, which explain the way meanings and identities are constructed.' From this perspective, scholars focus on how the external world and identity work are produced rather than their definitions, i.e. what they are assumed to be.

Drawing on de Certeau (1984) and other scholars of 'practice-based orientations' here, my focus moves from language as a system to 'repertoires' (Gumperz, 1964; Hymes, 1967; Blommaert, 2005). In this vein, language is considered as practice and embedded in social life and processes that need to be historicised in order for us to gain a nuanced understanding of how language ideologies are constructed in time and space. Thus, in what follows, drawing on key scholars in the fields referred to above, I review and attempt to present definitions of those theoretical tools and show how they relate to and emerged from my empirical data, and how they are intertwined within themselves and with language.

3.2 Repertoires and trajectories

Investigating migrants' trajectories through the lens of their language repertoire will facilitate nuanced accounts not only about their migrant lives but also about their country of origin and their host countries. As Blommaert (2010, p. 155) reminds us, 'sociolinguistic repertoires index full histories of people and of places' (cited in Pennycook, 2012, p. 23). Repertoire and trajectory are intrinsically linked and reciprocally influenced. One's (linguistic) repertoire is a result of one's life trajectory and navigation of communicative and physical places that shape one's repertoire.

As a sociolinguistic notion, repertoire is associated with the work of Gumperz (1964). Based on fieldwork in multilingual India, Gumperz proposed the notion of repertoires to describe the totality of linguistic-semiotic resources available in a given space (considered local or global) that individuals strategically draw upon in their communicative practices, transactions on the market place, involving not necessarily full competence in each of the individual languages, but also minimal forms of competence. He stressed that verbal repertoire 'contains all the accepted ways of formulating messages. It provides the weapons of everyday communication. Speakers choose among this arsenal in accordance with the meanings they wish to convey' (Gumperz, 1964, p. 134). Thus, the concept of repertoire points to a shift of interest from the study of language as a system *per se* to an interest in the social life of language. That is why, as Rymes (2014) explains, repertoire was initially a radical concept in linguistics meant to challenge purist orthodoxies and destabilise linguistic definitions of language as self-evident, *sui generis* entities.

According to Rymes (2014, p. 7), Gumperz' work remained by and large concerned with language: 'he never expanded that concept to include other features of interaction that are beyond language.' Gumperz' notion of repertoire was also concerned with the 'speech community' as a whole or with individuals as members of that community. Under globalisation, communities are becoming more and more complex and diverse, up to the point where the usefulness of the notion of community itself, like language, becomes questioned and rethought. Community is commonly conceptualised now either as a myth or historical invention, i.e., as 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1983), or as more or less flexible, transient networks of members engaged in shared activities, i.e., as 'communities of practice' revolving around doing rather than being (Lave & Wenger, 1991). As Del Valle (2011, p. 395), drawing on Anderson (1983), puts it,

our task is ... to understand the conditions that facilitate or even encourage some imaginings and not others. Of course, nations are not the only type of community that is (that has to be) imagined: all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined.

Busch (2012) and Blommaert and Backus (2013) have recently revisited the concept of repertoire, situating it not primarily within communities, as Gumperz did, but within individuals. One's repertoire reflects the spaces and networks one navigates and bears the traces of one's biography. Repertoires are dynamic and constantly changing: as one proceeds through life and encounters new individuals or participates in new networks and institutions, one is socialized into new registers, styles, genres and varieties which supplant and supplement previously acquired ones (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). A difference between Busch' treatment of repertoire and that of Blommaert and Backus is that for Busch, desire or future potential is as important in the formation of multilingual subjectivities as the traces of one's individual or collective past. For Busch (2012, p. 509), 'a linguistic repertoire may not only include what one has but also what one does not have, what one was refused but is still present as desire.'

Takahashi (2013) explores the language learning efforts and frustrations of Japanese women studying in Australia, in terms of their desire for creating a new lifestyle and transforming their identities. Other than motivation, desire is 'socially and historically constructed at the intersection between individual practices and macro-discourses' (Takahashi, 2013, p. 153), thus located not only within but also around the individual learner. Their desire is seen against the background of a more general Japanese desire (*akogare*) for English and Western countries as well as for personal (romantic) relationships with Western men. Repertoires (whether of language, identity, etc.) are therefore as much indexes of people's past as of their present and future actions and identifications.

Similarly, the notion of trajectory is meant to capture the changes over time in one's repertoire as movement between past, present, and future. It is a recurrent theme across the humanities and social sciences, ranging from applied linguistics, migration studies, and anthropology to education, and occurs in collocation with themes as diverse as 'life', 'text', 'learning', 'migration', 'family', 'work', 'career', 'home ownership', 'population', 'integration' and 'policy'. The notion is, however, often little theorized and taken as a common sense metaphor for movements across time and space.

A trajectory is to be imagined straightforward as a line (Ingold, 2015), connecting A to B with the field in between being a complex of hierarchically ordered relations. Such lines, of course, are rarely straight lines and are entangled in complex and often unpredictable ways with other trajectories (De Boeck, 2012, p. 81). Grillo (2007), for instance, has argued for a trajectory

perspective on migration that treats migration not as a static phenomenon but as a dynamic process that unfolds over time and is managed by immigration and emigration regimes as well as individual agentive strategies in response to these changing regimes. Such an approach importantly leaves room for a degree of agency distributed across multiple actors and institutions within biological and historical conditions (cf. Wong & Scollon, 2005; see also de Saint-Georges & Filliettaz, 2008).

In a longitudinal study of students transitioning to secondary education in Germany, Budach (2014) critiqued the idealized secondary education trajectories of the late-modern nation-state. Since the beginning of industrialization and the rise of the nation-state, she explains, formal education was gradually reconceived from heterogeneous, freely developed trajectories of individual *Bildung* through voyage, discovery, and experience, to homogenised and rationalised ‘straight lines without any detour or aberration and at fast pace’ in the service of the labour market. Whereas the former is flexible and unpredictable and can be compared to ‘wayfaring’ (backpacking is a more contemporary term), the latter can be compared to a package holiday, the modalities of which are pre-set in terms of locale, duration and activities. Budach shows how language learning is consequently valued very differently in primary and secondary education, changing from a flexible tool of learning and social inclusion into a rigid target of assessment and social distinction.

The notion of trajectory, loosely theorized as a metaphor for how individuals pass through educational institutions and curricular content over time, serves to explain how learning experiences and outcomes are shaped by different cultures and environments of learning, but are also ‘managed’ by parents, schoolteachers and learners themselves. Budach’s (2014) work leaves room for a degree of agency distributed across multiple actors and institutions within biological and historical conditions.

For de Costa (2010), learner trajectories are key to understanding the structural and agentive forces that shape adult English second language education. De Costa draws on Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, habitus and field to explain the language and literacy development of one Hmong-speaking Laotian refugee to the U.S. Capital, understood as participants’ (and the host society’s) investment in language learning in view of increasing the individual’s linguistic, cultural and economic resources, is in itself not sufficient to conceptualize learning. It needs to be situated in habitus formation and transformation – i.e., the durable but not eternal skills, dispositions, values, and tastes a learner embodies – as well as in the social field of English language teaching in America. De Costa paints an image of an agentive language learner who

is neither free of his/her own biography and wider ideological and political agendas, nor determined by it.

Migration researchers have also argued for a trajectory perspective on migration, i.e., for seeing migration as a dynamic process unfolding over time. This process is managed by immigration and emigration regimes as well as individual agentive strategies in response to changing regimes. Ho (2011), for instance, describes the experiences of Singaporean highly-skilled transnationals in London in terms of ‘accidental navigators’ and ‘self-initiated global careerists’, emphasizing the dynamics of migrant strategies, subjectivities and categories over time. Their migration experience, she points out, is often sliced into episodes with shifts in visa status and social positioning (Ho, 2011, p. 118). Grillo (2007, pp. 204-205) has criticized postmodernists for merging ‘different states of in-between-ness’ and for celebrating cultural hybridity while overlooking social class in analyses of transmigration. One of these postmodernists, for Grillo, is Appadurai. What Appadurai says is sometimes astonishingly naïve: ‘Everyone has relatives working abroad’ (1996, p. 171). How true! We are all transnationals now, but some more than others, and certainly in different ways. Carling’s (2002) aspiration/capacity framework shares many of these concerns, but complements and complicates the picture with ‘involuntary immobility’ as a state of being.

A trajectory approach to migration and language attempts to makes sense of the practical and cognitive challenges, structural and agentive forces, and the changing subject positions in individual projects of (trans)migration, after, during and before migration. This is what this thesis attempts to offer for the context of Cape Verdean migration trajectories into Luxembourg.

3.3 Mobility and migration

Mobility is an outcome of various economic, geopolitical, gendered and racialized relations and is constitutive of people’s locations as social and political subjects. Castles (2000, p. 272) points out that ‘migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade investment or cultural ties.’ Czaika and de Haas (2014, p. 285), drawing on Mabogunje (1970); Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik (1992); and Massey et al. (1998), point out that ‘one form of exchange, such as trade, between countries or places is likely to engender other forms of exchange, such as people, in both directions.’ For example, migration from Cape Verde to Luxembourg was indirectly and is to a great extent engendered from past colonization of the archipelago by Portugal, as shown above, and its entanglement with past political and economic relations. This has subsequently

contributed to producing ‘solidarity’ cooperation and other forms of mobility between the archipelago and the Grand Duchy, triggering not necessarily more mobility but instead reproducing ‘elite’ mobilities in the last two decades.

Here is one of the greatest paradoxes of our time: Those who need migration the most for the basic reasons, i.e. to survive, are most often denied access to migration. Thus, migration constitutes a struggle for them and it is fundamentally economic and a salient indicator and manifestation of power. Those from the global North possess worldwide ‘ease of movement’ (Carling, 2002), while people from the global South are mostly constrained, confined and restricted to the South-South mobilities.

Carling (2002) highlights the inability to be mobile at a time labelled ‘the age of migration.’ Note that this does not mean that there is more migration than ever, but that migration, forced or voluntarily, is central to most people’s lives and nation-states today. Based on the Cape Verdean case, the author questions traditional migration theory for its inconsistencies and proposes an ‘aspiration/ability’ model that puts ‘involuntary immobility’ at the centre of migration studies. According to him, in theorizing migration it is important to explain why people are unable to migrate alongside why they wish to migrate. He highlights that powerful European countries have adopted different immigration policies in the past, including policies encouraging immigration, but now tend to restrict immigration.

Similarly, as Kluitenberg (2011, p. 11) argues, ‘borders are opened only selectively, on the basis of specific socioeconomic criteria, but are increasingly closed to a majority of the world’s population.’ This led Czaika and de Haas (2014) to question: ‘has the world become more migratory?’ They conclude that

migration has globalized from a destination country perspective but hardly from an origin country perspective. This implies that migrants from an increasingly diverse array of non-European-origin countries have been concentrating in a shrinking pool of prime destination countries. The global migration map has thus become more skewed (Czaika & de Haas, 2014, pp. 32-33).

They have pointed out that ‘globalization has been a highly asymmetrical process, which has favored particular countries – or rather cities and agglomerations within countries – and social, ethnic, class, and professional groups within them, while simultaneously excluding or disfavoring others.’ They also observed that migration policies often ‘give employment and residence rights to certain favoured (generally skilled and/or wealthy) groups, but at the same time exclude lower skilled migrants from such rights’ (Czaika & de Haas, 2014, p. 319). Indeed, inequalities are salient in any migration context. At the individual level, as soon as one leaves one’s country of origin one loses certain rights and gains duties. For instance, one may lose the

right to vote or, as we will see, the right to do certain jobs and qualifications, to enter or create certain spaces, but one ‘gains’ the ‘duty’ to learn and speak one or more other languages (Horner, 2011).

Yet, due to globalisation processes, those who remain in their country of origin participate in transnational exchanges and networks and may have opportunities to change their involuntary immobility to voluntary mobility, depending on their degree of social-economic capital and family relations in the immigration country. Carling (2002) calls for a more analytical distinction of factors between those who want to migrate and those who can migrate, indicating the large group of individuals who aspire to but are unable to migrate, i.e. the ‘involuntary immobile.’ The author advocates that both aspiration and ability to migrate can be analysed on both macro- and micro-levels. On the macro-level analysis of aspiration, the emigration environment should be taken into account (i.e. what are the historical, social, economic or political settings that encourage or discourage migration?). The micro-level, in contrast, concerns the questions of who wants to migrate and who wants to stay; it considers ‘individual characteristics such as gender, age, family migration history, social status, educational attainment and personal traits’ (Carling, 2002, p. 13). Thus, aspirations to migrate are formed by the interaction between these ‘individual characteristics and the specific historical and cultural environment’ (Carling, 2002, p. 23).

As Carling (2002) puts it, to understand the effects of the immigration interface we should address the barriers (individual or contextual) related to different modes of migration. And although it may seem contradictory, involuntary immobility and globalisation take place together. Thus, ‘the problem of involuntary immobility reflects the different hierarchies of globalisation’ (Carling, 2002, p. 37): (1) the ‘hierarchy of ease of movement’ in which unskilled young people stay in the lower strata, and (2) the ‘hierarchy of enmeshment in which they might be situated much higher up’ (Carling, 2002, p. 38). Thus, globalisation does not reduce differences between places, rather it makes these differences noticeable and raises awareness in (aspiring) migrants or the involuntary immobile that there are geographically different opportunities.

Generally, migration is defined in terms of movement from one place to another, and it is also measured in time. For instance, the United Nations’ definition of a migrant in 1998 stated that a migrant is a person who moves to a country other than that of his/her usual residence for a period of at least 12 months, so that the country of destination becomes his/her new country of residence (cf. Czaika & de Haas, 2014). Migration is generally seen as crossing the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period (cf. Castles, 2000). This

definition points to the case of internal and international migration. However, this is controversial, because in this globalised world there is an increasing tendency for some ‘privileged’ people to have residences in more than one country.

Becoming a migrant mostly means stepping outside of the comfort zone of one’s home, and that home has a cultural, religious, professional, historical and linguistic dimension. After mobility, all of these often become an issue, and none of these can be taken for granted any longer. Official discourses normalize mobile inequalities based on the place of birth (cf. Nyers, 2003, 2004), race, ethnicity, language, social status, economic capital and so on. The sheer fact of being accidentally born in a geographical area of the globe and/or speaking certain languages, having a specific ‘accent’ and colour of skin, attending certain kinds of educational spaces, rituals and religions entitles or denies people access to entire parts of the world. Yet, in some countries a person can be considered an ‘immigrant’ in his country of birth and also have to struggle to acquire certain ‘dimensions of citizenship’ (cf. Bloemraad et al., 2008). For example, this applies to children of immigrants in many European countries and in the U.S. Furthermore, some people still consider themselves migrants even after acquiring the legal citizenship of their host countries. In Chapter 6 we will see several examples of Cape Verdeans who have become Luxembourgish citizens but still define themselves as migrants.

Hyndman (2004, p. 177) argues that ‘unofficially, racial, ethnic and national backgrounds are *de facto* criteria for exclusion in industrialized countries.’ The belief that people from certain regions or nations do not qualify to participate in certain modes of travelling and ways of life, and can therefore legitimately be denied access to certain spaces, is hardly ever challenged and is in fact the basis for migration policies throughout the globe, but especially in the more affluent North.

Movement and mobility is not a human right, but a privilege to be struggled over. As Lebbe (2011, p. 82) puts it, mobility is ‘no longer seen as a primary right, it has become a privilege of the elite: travelling to far-off places is part of the good life.’ It has become ‘the favoured indicator of social stratification’ (Bauman, 2007, cited in Lebbe, 2011, p. 82). Physical movement from one country to another is just a small basic act of mobility. The core of mobility is the continuous struggle that can come after this act, of living and working in a host country and adapting to a new social environment. As one of our ‘well’-established Cape Verdean participants, Luis (see Chapter 6.8 below), who has lived in Luxembourg for more than thirty years, pointed out: “*nos nu ten ki da sempri dobru pa nu konsigi* [we always have to give the double of us to succeed],” resilience is his call here. Certainly, migrants have to make more efforts than non-migrants, due to work, skills, language requirements and other social and legal

striations they encounter in the host countries. Many migrants resist the hardness of migration regimes, envisioning an increase of their economic capital, but also other gains that come with it, for example that of their social mobility that may occur in their country of origin. However, migration is not only envisaged through an economic lens, i.e. migrants also posit their migration decisions as a way to experience difference and for family reasons, as will be shown in Chapter 6 below.

Urry (2007, p. 10) suggests ‘twelve main mobility forms’ and highlights that the ‘forms overlap and impinge upon each other.’ Thus, he places asylum, refugee and homeless travel as well as migration as one of those forms. Migration is a stage in the mobility continuum, although it is sometimes difficult to situate the exact moment in the continuum when migration takes place. In an arrow of mobility, many other kinds of ‘mobilities’ (studies, tourism, labour, family, asylum etc., cf. Urry, 2007) can transform into migration. However, many more people have strong aspirations to be mobile, but do not have the capacity to accomplish it. And, as Urry (2007, p. 7) has put it, many are left only with the technologies of long-distance communication, as ‘physical prostheses that enable the disabled immobile to acquire some means of movement.’

From a critical discourse analytical perspective, Wodak (2011, p. 223) points out that ‘in EU countries, specific terms with very different meanings, such as ‘asylum seeker’, ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’, are used interchangeably, and are frequently collapsed into the single category of ‘foreign’ or ‘other’.’ These concepts are still open questions, there is no political and social clear-cut definition between those mobility categories, despite their long history of use. Furthermore, migration is mostly associated with the search for a better economic life, and this term is used mostly for the global Southern moves to the global North, or from a country of origin often considered economically poorer than the receiving country. As Duchêne et al. (2013, p. 6) assert:

the definition of 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 the Western world.

Oftentimes, people who make similar moves but within affluent countries (or the global North), are labelled ‘expats.’ Thus, migration is indirectly defined on the basis of the sort of job the moving people perform. The global competition for skilled labour, changing migration regulations and the points allocation system all affect the way migrants are viewed by immigration officials and the host society (cf. Ho, 2009). Similarly, Canagarajah (2017, p. 5)

reminds us that ‘in policy and public discourse, the privileged who enjoy the resources and access for travel are considered mobile, and the less privileged are referred to as migrants.’ The above assumptions, labels and categories concerning mobility resemble the economic distinction made between workers’ categorization at the beginning of industrialisation, distinguishing blue-collar workers (whose work is more manually and physically oriented), white-collar workers (who typically perform work in an office environment) and pink-collar workers (whose work is related to customer interaction, entertainment, sales or other service-oriented work).

There is growing prejudice toward the term immigrant in Europe and the U.S. This is often related to the economic insecurity that people are facing and their fear of immigrants taking their jobs. There are many power relations behind the construction of this immigration discourse. This (societal) discourse is entangled in many other discourses (e.g. political and media) that often portray immigrants as a problem and cast them as ‘the scapegoat of the present era’ (Wodak, 2011, p. 223), i.e. they are blamed for the problem of ‘globalisation’. Wodak and Busch (2004, p. 113) point out that ‘whenever scapegoats are needed to channel anxieties, insecurities, aggressions, or failures, racist and anti-Semitic discourses appear and are reproduced through the media.’ In contrast, the term ‘expat’, which is etymologically a blending of the Greek words *exos* (out of) and *patrida* (country), seems to have a more positive connotation and is used to refer to ‘more prestigious’, higher-skilled and often whiter immigrants (cf. Hübinette & Lundström, 2014). Thus, there is much more control and pressure on those considered simply immigrants than on ‘expats.’

Achieving a certain geographical mobility is not permanent. One can simply return to a state of immobility in the blink of an eye. It is enough to be in the ‘wrong place’ at the ‘wrong time.’ This is often the case for people being deported from the global North. Deportation is often used by democratic states to punish or exclude unwanted migrants. Foucault (2004/2007, p. xxii) refers to deportation as a form of ‘governmentality,’ i.e. as a ‘mode of action on the action of others.’ It is a channel to govern, and to enforce mobility and immobility on others, i.e. to discipline and to control those who are not citizens of certain nation states. As Drotbohm (2011, p. 381) points out:

Deportation is a burdensome outcome of this most recent phase of globalisation, which is shaped not only by an accelerating flow of communication, images, transport and travel, but also by the increasing impact of closing national borders, especially in the European Union and North America.

As I will show in the following chapters for the Cape Verde context, being deported or an ‘empty-hand returnee’ (Carling, 2004), i.e. a migrant who is back being no better off financially

than when s/he left, or an otherwise ‘unsuccessful’ migrant (Åkesson, 2011) often triggers societal stigma. This stigma usually manifests through attitudes of social distancing and suspicion of having committed crime abroad, e.g. like drug-dealing, murder or robbery, which may not correspond to the real conditions or reasons for one’s deportation. For example, these are not the typical reasons for the deportation of Cape Verdeans from Luxembourg, as I will show in the two cases in Chapter 6 below, and as the Ambassador of Cape Verde in Luxembourg reported:

*A maioria dos casos é por estarem ilegais no país.
Não por prática de crimes violentos. Portanto, mais tem a ver com a situação dos papéis, dos documentos ... já conheci pelo menos uns cinco casos, de pessoas que queixaram que estavam ai num bar sossegados, né, e que foram interpelados pela polícia... mas não apresentavam nenhum tipo de documento. Eu acho que nesse aspecto o numero não é assustador, temos estatísticas ai que posso verificar, mas o numero anual não chega não chega dez, mas nenhum caso é relatado, é relacionado com práticas violências assim gráves, não é.*

Most of the cases are for being illegal in the country. Not for practice of violent crimes. Therefore, it has to do more with the situation of papers, of documents... I've known five cases more or less, of people who complained that they were there serene in a bar, isn't it, and that they were interpolated by the police... but they didn't have any kind of document. I think that in this respect the number is not striking, we have statistics that I can check, but the annual number doesn't reach doesn't reach ten, but none of the cases reported, is related with practices of serious violence so, it isn't.

(Personal interview with the Ambassador; Luxembourg, July 18th, 2017)

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 9, ‘no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.’ However, as Lundy (2011, p. 63) asks, ‘who could have guessed that the word “arbitrary” would have such a significant semantic distinction with thousands of people’s fates resting on the outcome?’

There is often a false perception of deportation on the part of the alleged society of origin that usually psychologically – and negatively – influences the forced or ‘empty-hand’ returnees’ social, political and economic re-adaptation. Along these lines, independent of numbers, they often suffer a double-subjection for being doubly ‘rejected,’ i.e. in both the host country and back in the society of their country of origin. Portes (2001, p. 185) points out that:

actions conducted across national borders fall under four broad categories: those conducted by national states; those conducted by formal institutions that are based in a single country; those conducted by formal institutions that exist and operate in multiple countries; those conducted by non-institutional actors from civil society.

According to him, migrant entrepreneurs are examples of actors who conduct actions from the fourth category, i.e. 'those conducted by non-institutional actors from civil society.' Although he does not mention it, I draw on this to further argue that migrant entrepreneurs implicate or are implicated in all the four across-national border actions presented by Portes (2001).

Larner (2007) argues that 'diaspora strategies are now integral to neoliberal emigration regimes seeking to harness the capital and skills of their citizens abroad' (cited in Ho, 2009, p. 118). Thus, as part of the strategies, immigrants in general and immigrant entrepreneurs in particular are constantly remembered of their assumed role or duty in the development of their country of origin through embassies and other formal institutions or corporations. In this case, migrants are evoked to have a sense of moral obligation to contribute to the development of their country of origin. As Åkesson (2011, p. 66) puts it, 'the idea that an individual belongs to a specific country and has special responsibilities toward this homeland.' The state activates certain (legal, political and economic) mechanisms to capitalize on their citizens abroad, 'second' generations, retirees (see Chapter 6 below) etc. and tries to facilitate those transnational practices.

However, (trans)migrants are often aware of their attributed responsibility for development, so that they feel the legitimacy to criticize the state when the mechanisms do not meet/match their requirements and subjectivities. Furthermore, migrants perceive these as a kind of control, monitoring or ways of profiting from or harnessing their economic capital, which they gained under harsh living conditions they have endured in the host countries, by the governments of their sending countries and their individual members (cf. Åkesson, 2011, p. 66). These views often lead to some tensions and contribute to migrants oftentimes being seen as arrogant within their society of origin.

Besides the importance of remittances and investments of migrants, as Portes (2001, p. 190) points out, sending countries governments portray migrants, in particular entrepreneurs, 'as potential ambassadors or lobbyists in defence of national interests abroad'. From the perspective of a sending country government like Cape Verde, migrants in general are 'ambassadors.' Governments are aware of the importance of remittances for the economy and migration is often seen, by aspiring and accomplished migrants, as 'the only viable means of gaining access to some of the wealth and well-being of the powerful globalizing world' (Åkesson, 2010, p. 141). Thus, the government targets migrants individually and collectively through embassies, migrant associations and other forms of organisations or commercial corporations. This leads to acts of differentiation and distinction between, for example, the entrepreneur and non-entrepreneur migrants during official visits of communities in the

diaspora. This practice is saliently performed by Cape Verdean officials (ministers, ambassadors, etc.) during encounters with the diaspora communities, usually in the form of praising those entrepreneurs and honouring them with ‘medals’ as tokens of a symbolic recognition of their (economic) contribution to their country of origin.

Transnationalism and transmigration are and have been two of the most salient consequences of mobility. These two modes of life in this globalised world are intertwined and conflated (in that they may be confused with one another) to the point that one can be considered both a transnational person and/or (trans)migrant. The difference between them is that transmigration always implies physical mobility to another nation state, while transnationalism does not always imply this mobility. In this view, a (trans)migrant is always a transnational but not vice-versa.

Ho (2009, p. 127) underlines that (trans)migrants are ‘agents who are simultaneously embedded in the immigration and emigration contexts.’ They ‘forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their society of origin and settlement’ (Glick Schiller et al., 1995, p. 48). They become ‘firmly rooted in their new country but maintaining multiple linkages to their homeland’ (Glick Schiller et al., 1995, p. 4). Furthermore, those who return to their country of origin after retirement still maintain multiple linkages to their country of immigration through family, politics and economics, as is the case for the three retirees presented in Chapter 6 below.

Vertovec (2010, p. 86) points out that ‘more people from more places migrated into more and different places and for more and different reasons and motives than before.’ However, Juffermans (ftc 2018) reminds us that also more people are now stuck, ‘aspiring to migrate but practically incapable to do so … [due to] more strict certification regimes in the North’ that force them to remain in the state of ‘involuntary immobility’ (Carling, 2002).

Yet, people can have a sense of ‘homeland transnationalism’ (Åkesson, 2008, p. 269) that can both involve aspirations to migrate and ‘frustrations about non-migration and the impossibilities of mobility’ (Juffermans, ftc 2018). As indicated above, to be a transnational person does not necessarily mean moving physically (i.e. to migrate) to another country. Transnational practices do not always involve mobility between places. More and more people who have never travelled abroad are very well informed about life abroad because of their constant interactions and communication with friends and relatives in other parts of the world. This is, to a large extent, due to technological change that allows a greater number of people to gain access to different and physically distant worlds without materially moving (de Fina, 2009). As Urry (2007) stresses ‘one can also be mobile along corporeal, geographical, virtual, imagined and communicative dimensions’ (cited in Duchêne et al., 2013, p. 7). Furthermore,

with the technological development and new means of communication, today we find more and more people working (virtually) in a country other than their country of residence as, e.g., *les frontaliers* (cross-border workers), a phenomenon Franziskus and de Bres (2012) seminally investigated for the context of the Luxembourg labour market. What is more, some may work there while not being physically present there.

3.4 Space and place

Vigouroux (2009, p. 63) argues that ‘a spatial perspective seeks to propose a relational understanding of language practice, by emphasizing the multiplicity of the social and symbolic dimensions that participate in its construction and by articulating the relations among these dimensions.’ Here, space and place are analysed from the perspective of philosophy, human geography, semiotics and linguistic landscape. Moving from the concept of space as a natural fact to space as socially constructed and produced, the French social philosopher Henri Lefebvre, in his book *The Production of Space* (1974/1991), offers a triadic understanding of space to which ‘the spatial turn’ in the humanities and social sciences can be tracedback. This ‘spatial turn’ recognises space not only in its physical dimension but also the social and communicative elements that produce it. There is a shift in looking at space not on its own, but at how it is produced in social interactions.

Lefebvre redundantly remarks that ‘(social) space is a (social) product … the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, hence of domination, of power’ (1974/1991, p. 26). He goes on to stress that ‘if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The object of interest must be expected to shift from things in space to the actual production of space’ (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 36-37). In this view, space today is increasingly viewed as dynamic and the ongoing construction of human activity and practices instead of as a container for language (cf. Higgins, 2017) or as an ‘empty grid of mutually exclusive points’ (Prinsloo, 2017, p. 366).

Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) three-dimensional spatial conceptualization consists of perceived space, conceived space and lived space, *l'espace perçu*, *l'espace conçu* and *l'espace vecu*. These three dimensions of space correspond to: a) the material or physical space itself, b) mental or represented images of spaces, and c) the intersection/interaction of both perceived and conceived space, respectively (see also Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011, p. 363).

Similarly, Michael de Certeau is another key scholar in the theorisation of practice in relation to space and place. In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984, p. 177) distinguishes space from place by stating that:

A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place) ... a place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability ... a space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by ensemble of movements deployed within it ... in short, *space is practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.

As Cresswell (2004, pp. 38-39) notes on de Certeau's above-cited distinction of space and place, the latter 'is the empty grid over which practice occurs, while [the former] is what is created by practice.' In this vein, Urry (2007, pp. 71-72) points out that 'for de Certeau, while a place, such as a street, is ordered and stable, spaces only exist through movements, velocities, activated by the ensemble of everyday movements occurring within it.'

In the migration context, the ways migrants are conducted (by systems of rules, structures of society, policies, etc.) and conduct/navigate themselves (individual ways of positioning) in places result in the production of space through their appropriations and use of the places they interact with and create a sense of belonging. Drawing on de Certeau, I argue that the concepts of space and place are intertwined in so far as space includes place and vice-versa. There is a dialectic relation between them; however, place implies fixity, while space often implies mobility and movement. Place is connected more to *locus* as physical, i.e. as material and space to *locus* as practiced, i.e. as relational and interactions (cf. Vigouroux, p. 2009).

In their book *Mille Plateaux* [A thousand plateaus], Deleuze and Guattari (1980) present a dual conceptualization of space as '*le lisse*' [smooth] and '*le strié*' [striated]. They define smooth space as an open-ended space, informal and with no hierarchy, while striated space is structured, formal and hierarchical. As Bayne (2004, p. 303), drawing on Deleuze and Guattari, puts it:

movement happens differently within each of these spaces. Smooth space is a space of becoming, of wandering (nomad space), where the movement is more important than the arrival. In striated space, what is most important is arrival at the point towards which one is oriented.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, 'the two spaces actually exist only by their entanglement with each other: the smooth space does not stop to translate, transverse in a striated space; the striated space is constantly reversed, returned to a smooth space' (1980, p. 593, my translation).

‘Smooth’ space is always transforming into ‘striated’ space and vice-versa. The authors present six models (*technologique, musical, maritime, mathématique, physique* and *esthétique*) as variants of both spaces and their interrelationship. For instance, in their maritime model they define the ocean as an example of smooth space *par excellence*, pointing out that ‘in the striated space, lines or trajectories tend to be subordinated to points: one goes from one point to another, [but] in the smooth space, it is the contrary: the points are subordinated to the trajectory’ (1980, p. 597).

For the migration context, I focus on their maritime model, which I believe can be applied to explain how migrants have navigated and constructed space from their country of origin to their host countries (for more details on spaces that Cape Verdean aspiring migrants have to navigate, see Chapters 5 and 6 below). For example, taking Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980) concepts of ‘smooth’ and ‘striated’ space, I analogously attempt to compare early Cape Verdean migration trajectories (i.e. at the end of the colonial period, for some years that precede and succeed the archipelago’s independence) to Luxembourg with relatively recent ones (since the last years of the twentieth century). This can mean that, before, Cape Verdean (or African, in general) migrants navigated ‘smoother’ space (e.g. in relation to be allowed to enter Europe, easier paths to jobs etc.) than they do now, a time which is largely assumed to be characterised by globalisation and mobility. Note that by ‘smoother’ here I mean not necessarily that, earlier, their space of navigation was easier than now (as shown below in Chapter 6), but rather that migrants now have to navigate longer social and physical spaces along their moves, i.e. their waiting, ‘standstill’ moments increase in time and space, and migration to Europe is less straightforward than before.

Migration paths are becoming more and more ‘striated,’ compartmentalised, structured with more divisions. Communication technology has impacted mobility in a contradictory way. As Seijdel (2011, p. 4) argues, there are

internal contradictions of prevailing mobility regimes and their effects on social and physical space. Advanced communications technology, rather than revealing itself to be a clean alternative for physical movement from place to place, seems to pave the way for an increase of physical and motorized mobility. The accelerating flows of data and commodities stand in sharp contrast to the elbowroom afforded to the biological body, which in fact is forced to a standstill. And while data, goods and capital have been freed of their territorial restrictions, the opposite is true for growing portion of the world’s population: border regimes, surveillance and identity control are being intensified at a rapid pace.

Human geographers have long directed their scholarship toward the conceptualization of space and place as theoretical tools. The use of these two concepts has expanded to other areas of the

humanities and social sciences like sociology, anthropology, sociolinguistics and migration studies. They have been used interchangeably by some scholars, while others prefer to favour distinctions between them (as shown above in de Certeau's case, for example). In this thesis, I highlight how spatialization, i.e. 'the production of space' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) can facilitate our understanding of migration and mobility as key phenomena of our era as well as the sociolinguistic aspects intertwined with them. Let us now turn to the next conceptual tool, that of place.

Place is also socially constructed and it is a result of human interaction and part of identity work. Cresswell (2004, pp. 8-10) points out that:

space is more abstract concept than place. When we speak of space we tend to think of outer-space or the spaces of geometry. Spaces have areas and volumes. Places have space between them...space, then, has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning- as a fact of life which, like time, produces the basic coordinates for human life. When human invest meaning in a portion of space and become attached to it in some way (naming is one such way) it becomes a place.

The relationship between language, place and space is that they are mutually constitutive in society. Cresswell (2004, p. 30) stresses that 'to say something is socially constructed is to say that it is within human power to change it.' Space is constructed through language (written or spoken) and other semiotics resources, i.e. 'the little things that make space into place, such as a poster on the wall' (Cresswell, 2004, p. 83), and by naming space we turn it into a place (Cresswell, 2004, p. 9). This act of naming turns space into sites of identities that seek to represent human interactions, history and culture.

Massey (2005, p. 85) points out that:

space – here global space- is about contemporaneity (rather than temporal convening), it is about openness (rather than inevitability) and it is also about relations, fractures, discontinuities, practices of engagement. And this intrinsic relationality of the spatial is not just a matter of lines on a map; it is a cartography of power.

Massey draws attention to the global space, i.e. globalisation. She highlights the uneven effects of globalisation and the spatial economic disparities it reflects. According to her, the effects of globalisation mark and map power relations across the globe.

Urry (2007, p. 34) advocates a theoretical perspective and research that demonstrate that 'social relations are spatially organized and such spatial structuring makes a significant difference to social relations.' In his analysis on societies and systems 'on the move', he points out that 'historically much literature on social inequality ignored the complex ways in which

the notion of space makes significant differences to understanding economic, political and cultural processes that produce and reinforce social inequalities' (Urry, 2007, p. 185).

Following de Certeau, Higgins (2017, p. 103) stresses that 'a dynamic view of space allows us to examine how migrants, transnationals, and other highly mobile populations experience space, and how they use their language resources in their practiced places.' According to her, in order to understand processes that intrinsically imply mobility, as migration does, space should be examined as a range of interactions between humans and between humans and non-humans (e.g. material culture objects) in a given place (physical, open or closed settings) as well as in terms of how they are mediated by language (written or spoken) and how language is spatially organised and distributed.

Along the same lines, from a semiotic/linguistic landscape perspective, Jaworski and Thurlow (2011, p. 349) point out that most social scientists nowadays recognise that space is as much a social construction as it is a physical phenomenon.' As they put it, 'spaces are culturally and communicatively constituted, and the meanings of spaces are established by the way they are represented ... and by the nature of social inter/actions that take place within them' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011, p. 363). Similarly, echoing the theorist Henri Lefebvre, Oudenampsen and Robles-Durà (2011, p. 92) remark that 'space is not a given, but is continuously produced, reproduced and reconfigured.'

Early days linguistic landscape studies (LL) focused on the measuring of linguistic and cultural vitality in places, mainly urban spaces highlighting the use of lingua franca like English in the cities. Today, the field of LL has expanded from the nearly exclusive presentation of linguistic vitality in a given space to a more ethnographically defined research to capture the ways changes in society are reflected in the landscape, space and place, as a result of movements of people (e.g. migrants and their language, which was neglected by early LL studies), signs, and material objects. For example, Blommaert (2013) contributes to expand LL research by addressing the intersection of the LL with the social change through the lens of language in public spaces. According to him, 'signs turn spaces into specific locations filled with expectations as to codes of conduct, semiotic practices, and interpretation.' (cited in Higgins, 2017, p. 106).

3.5 Summary

This chapter explained the main theoretical concepts that guided this study. It revised and engaged with the dynamic concepts of repertoires, trajectories, mobility and migration, as well as space and place from the perspectives of sociolinguistics of globalisation, the anthropology of migration and human geography, respectively, as complementary to the sociolinguistics of migration that this study identifies with. The concepts play a central role in the experiences of Cape Verdean immigrants in Luxembourg. They illuminate our understanding of how Cape Verdean migrants create (produce), appropriate and experience spaces in Luxembourg as well as how spaces/places are created for them.

I draw on the ideas of ‘space as practiced place’ and ‘space and place as socially constructed’ through semiotic/linguistic resources to discuss the complex interrelations of activities in a place as well as how migrants construct spaces and places of belonging. Given the theoretical background of this study, let us turn to the methodological tools I used in the process of data collection.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology: a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach

4.1 Introduction

Given the complexity of our time marked by globalisation, social phenomena such as migration are almost impossible to investigate using a single method. There is an increasing need in the humanities and social sciences to integrate various methodological strategies to disentangle, differentiate and uncover particular phenomena, practices and discourses that result from different interconnected sites. In order to better deal with contemporary realities of social relations, textual practices and life in general, the social sciences need to reinvent methods for dealing with accelerated social, sensory and oftentimes chaotic changes of our world (cf. Law & Urry, 2004, p. 403). Due to these accelerated movements, ‘research methods also need to be on the move, in effect to simulate in various ways the many and interdependent forms of intermittent movement of people, images, information and objects’ (Urry, 2007, p. 39).

Because of the awareness of this ‘fleeting world,’ in this chapter I lay out the methodological procedures for my thesis on Cape Verdean migration and language to Luxembourg. I adopt an interdisciplinary ethnographic approach, a mobile combination strategy which is the result of interlocking fieldwork in Cape Verde (a total of six months) and in Luxembourg. I define my method as multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach (MELLA), a combination of the linguistic landscape (LL) approach with ‘multi-sited ethnography’ (Marcus, 1995).

In what follows I will explain what I mean by this, beginning with ‘classic’ and ethnographic approaches to LL (Chapters 4.1 and 4.2). Then, in Chapter 4.3 I introduce the concept of ‘multi-sited ethnography.’ Finally, in Chapter 4.4 I explain why MELLA, a mobile method, is arguably one of the most appropriate methods to investigate ‘a people on the move’ and in-between places.

4.2 A linguistic landscape approach

Linguistic landscape studies (LL) is by now a well-established field of sociolinguistics that takes a spatial approach to multilingualism. It investigates the ways in which languages function in public spaces. It has been used as a sociolinguistic toolkit to unpack the operation of power in societies. Early definitions of LL such as those by Landry and Bourhis (1997) are concerned

with public space as that which is open and accessible to the people but often not owned by the people. Leeman and Modan (2009, p. 334) point out that these authors ‘were interested in how relative frequencies of English and French in the LL reflected ethnolinguistic power relations in Canadian French communities outside of Quebec’. As Juffermans and Abdelhay (2016, p. 6) put it, ‘early days linguistic landscape studies tended to be rather positivistic in the sense that it was primarily concerned with occurrences of different languages in a given multilingual space’ to measure linguistic and cultural vitality in urban spaces. For instance, Gorter (2006) investigates the visual makeup of cities and regions like the Israeli cities, Bangkok, Tokyo, Friesland and Basque country. He adopts Landry and Bourhis’s (1997) notion of LL as ‘the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration’ (cited in Gorter, 2006, p. 2).

Ben-Rafel et al. (2006) present an empirical study of the LL in Israel with the purpose of demonstrating how the use of Hebrew, Arabic and English on written signs is a symbolic construction of the public space. Huebner (2006) examines the use of English as a lingua franca in Bangkok. His study stresses the influence of English on the development of Thai in the form of lexical borrowing, orthography, syntax and pronunciation. It ‘provides evidence of a nascent Thai variety of English’ (Huebner, p. 50). Backhaus (2006) presents differences between official and nonofficial multilingual signs in Tokyo and demonstrates that the nonofficial ones make use of foreign languages, especially English, while the official ones reflect the power relations in Japan. Cenoz (2006) and Gorter (2006) compare the LL of two regions in the Netherlands and Spain, Friesland and the Basque Country, respectively, with respect to the use of minority languages in both regions and the influence of English as an international language.

During the early stages of LL research, linguists took a more quantitative approach to language in the public space. It embraced a language vitality perspective which consisted of counting languages visible on signs in the public spaces that pointed to multilingualism of countries, regions or areas. Leeman and Modan’s (2009, p. 334) critique of the early stage of LL research is, as they point out, due to its

primary concern with whether and how the LL reflects and/or informs language policy. Language policy is not the only type of planning that impacts the built environment, however. Particularly in cities, the linguistic environment is also shaped to an equal or greater extent by urban planning policies.

Thus, one of the shortcomings of early LL studies is their almost exclusive focus on ‘the use of language in its written form in the public sphere’ (Gorter, 2006, p. 2), i.e mostly on a macro-level that, while recognizing the symbolic function of language in constructing social spaces,

neglects other semiotic artefacts and interactions present in places that, together with the ‘purely’ linguistic signs, allow a nuanced reading of ‘spaces as socially constructed’ through the everyday life of practices as discussed in the previous chapter, i.e. spaces are constructed by the ordinary processes of actions and relations people take in order to create a place of belonging.

4.3 Ethnographic linguistic landscape studies

In order to go beyond the more quantitative mode of LL research referred to above, an increasing number of LL researchers have stressed the embedding of language, social and political histories in the construction of public spaces. The scope of LL research is expanding by including ‘semiotic landscapes’ (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009, 2010) and multimodal ways of approaching languages in public spaces. These new concerns of LL research draw on Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) concept of ‘geosemiotics,’ i.e. ‘the study of social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and our actions in the material world’ (p. 2). Jaworski and Thurlow (2011, p. 363) point out that ‘spaces are culturally and communicatively constituted, and the meanings of spaces are established by the way they are represented (e.g. written and talked about) and by the nature of social inter/actions that take place within them.’ Thus, this new strand of LL research advocates for data collection not only centred on photography supported by observations and field notes but also by including interviews in order to ‘avoid the misleading one-sidedness of textual interpretation resulting from researchers’s own reading of his or her data’ (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 15).

Although they do not frame their study as LL research, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) advocate for studying ‘spatial repertoires,’ i.e. ‘how individuals, objects, and language form the communicative activity within spaces’ (cited in Higgins, 2017, p. 107). They bring to the fore the notion of ‘smellscapes’ (Low, 2009; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), i.e. the spatial relations between smells, identities, places and languages. Furthermore, spatial repertoires also include what Scalvagiari et al. (2013) have termed ‘soundscapes’, the acoustic environment formed not only through spoken language but also through other sounds (e.g. music played, noises etc.) provoked by interactions and movements of people, animals and objects in the landscape.

Ethnographic LL research goes beyond detailed and accurate inventories of urban multilingualism to include broader semiotic, critical ethnographic concerns and methodologies (cf. Blommaert & Maly, 2014). Signs emplaced in spaces inform us not only about the past and present, but they also index to transformations of those places due to societal mobility and

migration. Thus, changing the LL of a place represents power struggles in which authorities (e.g. the government, municipalities etc.) or dominant groups and ordinary people try to make visible their ideologies, policies and desires. All of these are often contested, opposed or embraced and advocated for as signs of evolution, development and diversity as well as for symbolic reasons, making LL a site of both ideological tension and compromise. This new wave goes beyond the language vitality perspective referred to above in order to understand the meaning of signs and their emplacement by looking at (their) semiotic landscapes, i.e. as ‘any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making’ (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 2) by listening to ‘discourses in transit’ (Sebba, 2010). It also considers mobile texts, both by migrants themselves, media, societal or official institutions, that index and are associated with people who navigate the places or spaces of the signs emplacement.

As Pennycook et al. (2013) put it, we need to do ‘ethnographies of signs’ by deep immersion, or in other words, we need a ‘biography of objects and signs’ (Thurlow, p.c. 2017). To expand LL research beyond the focus on language attitudes and language policies, Milani (2013, p. 202) advocates for a sociolinguistic inquiry also concerned with gender and sexuality, another important facet ‘in which public spaces are structured, understood, negotiated and contested as are other forms of social categorization such as ethnic and national identity’.

Authors referred above, recommend an ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach which ‘[does not leave] the task of interpretation solely to the researcher who, on the basis of singular instances makes assumptions about a trajectory of learning and factors presumably significant in the structuration of an individual’s linguistic repertoire’ (Budach & de Saint-Georges, 2017, p. 70). And they argue for an approach that integrates multiple variables (e.g. gender, age, sexuality etc.) instead of the over-prioritization of language over other modes of representation (such as images, music, dance etc.), senses and semiotic practices that may help reach a nuanced understanding of social complexity in dense migration settings. In investigating migrants’ trajectories, this understanding can facilitate researchers’ engagement with research participants and with the semiotic/linguistic signs associated with them and their trajectories across national, linguistic and cultural borders. For all these, multisited research is needed to demonstrate the simultaneity and ‘multiple embeddedness’ of migrants’ lives.

4.4 Multisited ethnography

Geertz (1973, p. 5) points out that ‘eclecticism is self-defeating not because there is only one direction in which it is useful to move, but because there are so many: it is necessary to choose’. Drawing on Max Weber, he stresses that ‘man’ is attached to the webs of significance and he takes culture as those webs and so its analysis is interpretative ‘in search of meaning’ but ‘not in search of law’ (Geertz, 1973, p. 5). This means that knowledge is not conceived as a given truth, instead it depends on our interpretations, for example when doing ethnography, which are always biased by the researchers’ experiences. It is thus constructed by an entanglement of researchers and research participants’ relations and juxtaposed lives in juxtaposed sites. Geertz (1973, p. 6) defines ethnography as the process of ‘establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on’. However, according to him, it is not these procedures that define science, rather it is the intellectual way of elaborating these procedures, i.e. what he describes as ‘thick description.’

In a world of transnationalism, migration and movement, we need thick descriptions not only of places in their own right but also of how places are connected and who connects them. According to Marcus (1995, p. 102), ‘multi-sited ethnography’ studies are informed by comparative dimensions of sites over the ‘fractured, discontinuous plane of movement and discovery among sites as one maps an object of study and needs to posit logics of relationship, and association among … sites’. This approach is paramount mainly when ‘the object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated’ (Marcus, 1995, p. 102). This mobile object is in fact the subject of study, as for instance are migrants, transnational people and their lives scattered in multiple sites. Thus, in order to gain a nuanced reading and understanding, researchers need to have multiple observations of juxtaposed moments, trajectories and emplacement in time and space of those subjects and sites of their navigation that ‘conventionally have appeared to be (or conceptually have been kept) worlds apart’ (Marcus, 1995, p. 102).

Falzon (2009, p. 1) points out that ‘conventionally, ethnography has involved the idea – if not necessarily the practice – of a relatively long term (typically several months upwards) stay in a field site of choice’. He calls for reflections on this idea of sites as (linear) containers of social relations which can be compared one to another. As Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) put it, there is a tendency to draw on ‘methodological nationalism’, i.e. by taking ‘nation-state as the natural container for analysis’ (cited in Dick & Arnold, 2017, p. 401). Marcus (1995, p. 102) disparages operating on a ‘linear spatial plane, whether the context is a region, a broader culture area, or the world system … comparisons are generated for homogeneously conceived

conceptual units [like] people, communities, locales [or countries]'. According to Dick and Arnold (2017, p. 401), this is partially due to the opening up of economic borders in that 'many nation-states have powerfully re-asserted their rights to defend national borders, making the nation-state a potent physical reality and frame of reference for many migrants'. Instead, Falzon (2009, p. 1) advocates for a 'multi-sited ethnography', which breaks with this convention, and draws on Marcus (1995), who defines it as 'the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site'. Moreover, Dick and Arnold (2017, p. 401) stress that 'rather research should attend to the sites and contexts of practice that are salient for ... research participants, remaining alive to how, when, and why the nation-state is significant, and when it is not'.

In our era of 'free' market capitalism, in which nation states are tightening their national borders and constraining mobility to certain many mobile populations, the most salient example of these multisited social phenomena is migration. As Dick and Arnold (2017, p. 397) put it, 'perhaps more than any other activity, it is migration that has inspired and informed the development of multisited ethnography.' However, it is important to note that living or researching multisitedly is not a new phenomenon. For instance, in the past (until the 1980s) people experienced and lived simultaneity through exchanging letters, telephone calls, watching TV etc. Even earlier, some scholars (e.g. Thomas & Znaniecki, 1958) already did 'what came to be called multisited' (Dick & Arnold, 2017, p. 398). The point is that in our contemporary world (especially since the last decade of the 20th century) this multisitedness is much more evident and more intensely lived for reasons like the development of communication technologies, increasing geographic inequalities, 'power-geometries' (Massey, 1999) or 'political economy' (cf. Gal, 1989). These have 'amplified cross-border practices' (Dick & Arnold, 2017, p. 398) and thus placed mobilities (especially migration) at the center of ethnographic research.

Technological development helps investigate migration by the accessibility it allows us to track processes across sites. However, it does not determine it, i.e. processes of contemporary mobility or immobility cannot be fully justified by technological change. Yet, as Urry (2007, p. 11) puts it, 'there is the proliferation of places, technologies and gates that enhance the mobilities of some while reinforcing the immobilities of others.' The use of technologies is constantly repurposed to deny and limit mobility to many and facilitate the mobility of some. This limitation, exclusion or facilitation is constructed multisitedly while reproducing economic premises, i.e. 'systems' (Urry, 2007), that characterize our neoliberal world.

Marcus (1995, p. 105) points out that ‘multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines ethnography’. Multisited ethnography is a particularly pertinent research method for investigating Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. It is especially important for this study of language and migration, not only because it involves research in two or more locations – resonating here with the sending (Cape Verde) and receiving (Luxembourg) countries –, but mainly because it is a mobile method informed by the idea of following people, objects, ideas, conflicts etc. that makes us see the interconnectedness of peoples, places and practices.

Researchers of migration and language have argued for a trajectory perspective of migration, i.e. for seeing migration and language as dynamic processes unfolding over time. Dick and Arnold (2017, p. 407) pinpoint the advantages of using ‘multisited ethnography and language in the study of migration.’ According to them, in these free market economies, multisited ethnographies ‘have an important role to play in understanding our era of increasing inequality, for they illuminate how mobile populations emplace themselves within and potentially push against that inequity’ (Dick & Arnold, 2017, p. 407). Likewise, Kell (2017, p. 426), drawing on Sayad (1999), suggests ‘much more multisited and diachronic or longitudinal forms of ethnography of migration, and of networks across all kinds of translocal and transnational spaces’.

Moreover, Kell (2017, p. 426) reveals that ‘much research in this area is centered on migrants and refugees’ experiences [but] in the receiving countries’ neglecting those individuals, as many Cape Verdeans, who are struggling (in their countries of origin or elsewhere) to travel to those receiving countries (cf. Carling, 2002). Those individuals (i.e. aspiring migrants) live connected to various sites outside and inside of Cape Verde. They navigate spaces like embassies and consulates to make sure that they have achieved the minimal conditions to be authorized in the ‘mobile world,’ but frustration is the feeling most associated with and heard about those spaces. At the same time, they are connected to other countries (their aspiring receiving countries or not) through ties of family and friendship. Thus, it is important to track their experiences even if they have not yet experienced migration physically. That is why I advocate and follow a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach (MELLA) that allows me to investigate migration processes by interviewing migrants or aspiring migrants complemented by images, objects and discourses, or vice-versa, that circulate the spaces where

they navigate. As Dick and Arnold (2017, p. 399) put it, ‘a method that could document ... internal logics from the perspectives of people who lived them’.

4.5 A multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach

Leeman and Modan (2009, p. 332) have advocated a ‘contextualized, historicized and spatialized perspective on linguistic landscape which highlights that landscapes are not simply physical spaces but are instead ideologically charged constructions.’ The methodological approach I use here complements the LL approach referred to above with ethnographic methods like interviews, observations and ‘deep hanging out’ (Geertz, 1998) by immersing myself with research participants in social, cultural activities to understand their aspiring or migration trajectories to Luxembourg. Being also Cape Verdean myself facilitated and accelerated my immersion. Perhaps it is reasonable to state that I had been partially immersed before I took the position as a researcher, in the sense that I shared many positionalities with my research participants who I considered as co-researchers.

Thus, I adopted a collaborative method, that of multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach (MELLA), which I mean by taking a participatory action research by following people, their objects, ideas throughout the landscape which are linguistically and materially marked and transformed in this ‘rapidly changing and unequal world’ (Gellner, 2012, p. 4). I mostly collected data through biographic interviews, (participant) observations and linguistic landscaping, i.e. collecting every kind of information about objects and people in the public/private spaces that index Cape Verdean migration or other kinds of mobility to Luxembourg, i.e. semiotic resources like photographs, advertisements, scripts on the streets, semiotic artefacts etc. I moreover talked with people to see how they perceive and make sense of signs in public/private spaces in their daily lives. I also took pictures of official, festive, ceremonial and commemorative events as well as of portable objects like t-shirts, flags and paintings. I also interviewed participants about the signs and their connections to Luxembourg.

In terms of the early LL approach, i.e. by considering the visibility of Creole and Portuguese in the macro-linguistic landscape of Luxembourg, Cape Verdeans are not very visible. That is one of the reasons I needed to move beyond the ‘traditional’ LL method in order to understand Cape Verdean navigation in Luxembourg. By looking at (their) semiotic landscape and listen to ‘discourses in context’ (by migrants themselves, media, societal or official institutions) that index and are associated with Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg, I obtained, as Urry (2007) puts it, ‘a cultural biography of signs’. Thus, I consider multisited ethnographic linguistic

landscaping approach (MELLA) as the key combinative methodological approach to investigate migration connections, in my case traces of Cape Verde in Luxembourg and vice versa.

I use the suffix -ing with ‘landscaping’ because I consider landscape not as static or fixed. It is always on the move, not only in terms of the ephemerality of the placement of visual data (like posters, warnings, flyers etc.) in this fleeting era, but also in terms of the moving bodies that navigate the landscape. The suffix -ing turns it into a verb, showing that the landscape is a process, and it appeals to actions and it is always changing (e.g. an analogy with the fridge in the *Epicérie Créole*, see Chapter 6 below) as people move through spaces and interact with each other. To better capture and understand the meaning of the linguistic and visual signs ‘in place and context,’ we need to interact with the people who navigate those spaces (owners, producers, clients, etc.). This makes the interview a complementary tool in understanding the meaning of signs (especially not official ones) and observing interactions ‘in place’ helps us to understand the meaning making of spaces.

Drawing on the notion of ‘multi-sited ethnography’ (Marcus, 1995), I consider MELLA as an enriching methodological approach to investigate transnational people (Cape Verdeans), since their actions and connectedness are materially and virtually scattered through multiple (specific) spaces and places. Note that multisited here does not mean only in various countries, it can refer also to a single country or even in a single place in that its materiality points to the distant, as I will show below in Chapter 7. Furthermore, site is usually viewed with a geographic lens, but my research here is informed by the idea of site as a practice or set of practices, as social practices are dynamic and as migration is a site of struggle. The point is to look at the *actors in between* (migrants and aspiring migrants, see Chapter 6 below), i.e. the people who link and transform the sites, and to study how they link them and what they mean, to see the consequences of the links for their lives. Thus, following, in physical presence or in absence through emails, telephone, internet platforms, etc., as well as through the participants as co-researchers, is crucial.

Thus, MELLA is an insightful methodological approach for studying mobility in general and Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg in particular. This approach allows me to investigate the navigation of spaces and places of Cape Verdean immigrants in Luxembourg and aspiring migrants in Cape Verde. It helps me understand the complexities of mobility and gain an adequate glimpse into Cape Verdean migrants’ trajectories, i.e. how migrants’ hopes and aspirations are pursued, constrained and represented in practice and through language both from the place of departure and to the place of arrival.

4.6 Meeting participants

In this section I present an overview of how I met my participants. I would like to show how my relationship with the focal participants evolved and emerged, which is a result of my ‘casual’ and planned encounters with them in Cape Verde or Luxembourg, and for some in both countries. More detailed information about participants will be presented in Chapter 6 below.

Before moving on to more details of my encounters with the participants and the interviews, it is important to problematize the conflated questions of ethics and anonymity in research. I would like to stress that every participant in this research was asked to sign an ethical form, i.e. a consent form (see Appendix A). In addition to reading the form, which included a summary of our project in English and Portuguese, I also tried to clarify the project to them before or after they read it. Participants could choose to remain anonymous or to participate with their onymy (i.e. real name).

Among more than 70 interviewed participants, only one preferred to be anonymized. Curiously, she was one of the most mobile participants, born in Portugal to Cape Verdean parents, but had lived in France and Sweden for a long time. All other participants chose to use their real names. Some reacted proudly, saying that they would like to see their real name in my thesis, and others remarked that they did not need to anonymise themselves because they were not lying or had not done anything wrong. As the second participant interviewed in Luxembourg said: “*mi parsen ma N ka koba ningen* [it seems that I haven’t insulted anyone].”

Obviously, there can be no ethnography without research participants (Juffermans, 2010). However, blindly (i.e. without checking consent) anonymising them, as researchers informed by a positivist notion usually do, arguing that they need to keep distance from the object of study in order to be objective (cf. Juffermans, 2010), can be an act of disrespect towards the participants and in fact unethical towards them. Furthermore, one must remember that one is researching ‘human subjects’ who, similar to the researchers, have their own agendas, desires and life goals. As Juffermans points out, one of the positions researchers need to keep in relation to the people they work with is that of ‘empowerment’ (Juffermans, 2010, p. 11), which recognises the collaborative production of knowledge.

Moreover, I also realised that if I anonymised some of my participants, it would render my ethnography meaningless. For instance, in Chapters 6 and 7 below, describing the case of Luis (see 6.8) and Orlando (see 6.9) without mentioning that they own a Cape Verdean restaurant and a grocery store in Luxembourg, respectively, would be pointless, since there are only a handful of Cape Verdean restaurants or stores in Luxembourg. Not only for the benefit of their

businesses, they are proud of their spaces and want to be socially recognised at least by using their real names. Several of my participants were public actors and I would stress that anonymising them would mean not writing about their business place and space, indeed almost not writing about them at all. I am not arguing that researchers need to press the participants not to be anonymised, but as Juffermans (2015, p. 15) puts it, we do not need to anonymise them ‘unless required by the sensitive nature of the data collected’ or by themselves. As the work of scholars ‘referred to in the body of the text is not anonymised for their protection or privacy, so should participants in ethnographic research not be made invisible by default, unless of course warranted by special circumstances’ (Juffermans, 2015, p. 15). 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. For example, during this study, in order to avoid misinterpretations of the research participants, I shared with the focal research participants what I had written from our interviews and asked again for their approval or not. I had to negotiate with them about what to be included in the thesis and some of them asked me cautiously to reformulate some passages ‘fearing’ that they might be misunderstood, as they are migrants.

The participants’ narratives are taken as a construction and interaction between them and the researcher (me in this case), the point being to reach a profound reflection on their trajectories in particular and on migration regimes in general. As Juffermans (2015, p. 15) puts it, ‘ethnography is a collaborative practice between researchers and research participants, and ethnographic research falls or stands with the input given and the collaboration granted by human subjects in the field that is being researched’. In the analysis of their narratives, I highlight the points (family, education, language, employment etc.) investigated in existing literature and focus on how the narratives engage with and the light they cast on the literature on migration in general and previous work on Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg in particular. The latter has been practically overlooked, despite the significant Cape Verdean presence and long cooperation programmes between the two countries. This arguably makes this thesis a pioneering academic work on Cape Verdean migration trajectories into Luxembourg.

Interested in describing and understanding the constraints of migrants’ life, interview fragments (excerpts) are chosen in the light of their relevance in answering the main research questions of my thesis, as presented in Chapter 1 above. Those questions aim to show the links between migrants’ repertoire and their migration trajectories as well as to investigate the role of language(s) as a facilitating, limiting or excluding tool in the participants’ life trajectories:

socially, economically, in their everyday life and in the labour market, to Luxembourg. All of these considerations helped me choose the focal participants.

Furthermore, I focus on interview excerpts which foreshadow some problems. As a researcher, my objective is to discover how the research participants view the situation they face as aspiring or accomplished migrants, i.e. how they see themselves and ‘how they regard one another’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). I analyse, interpret and reflect on the ‘foreshadowed problems’ (Malinowski, 1992, cited in Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 21) by drawing on previous studies concerning migration in general and on Cape Verdean migration in particular. This is a familiar setting for me since I am also a migrant.

Here I include as focal participants not only individuals who have already been in Luxembourg and those who are in the archipelago voluntarily or involuntarily for various reasons (family, deportation, retirement, holidays etc., see Chapter 6), but also individuals who have tried and are trying to come to Luxembourg but were unable to for some reasons, meaning that they are kept physically in their country of origin and outside the country of their chosen destination.

For about six months in total (between January 2014 and March 2016), I undertook three fieldwork trips to Cape Verde: a first exploratory fieldwork trip to establish contact and conduct some interviews as well as two longer, subsequent field trips in which I conducted more interviews, follow-up interviews, and collected information in the public (e.g. on the streets) and private (e.g. photographs and paintings inside the participants’ houses) landscapes. I had more permanent daily fieldwork visits in Luxembourg, the country of my residence since the start of the project in March 2014. After the initial contacts were established, I interviewed (and re-interviewed) several dozen Cape Verdeans about their language life and mobile experiences or aspirations.

All interviews were open-ended and only minimally structured, lasting from 15 minutes to over an hour (see Appendix D). As a CVC speaker myself, I conducted the interviews in the CVC variety of Santiago Island while the responses varied according to the variety of the participants (Santiago, Santo Antão or São Vicente) as reflected in the transcriptions, with occasional insertions of Portuguese and French (for an example of a complete interview transcription with one of the eleven focal research participants see Appendix E). Variations are explicitly recognised in the transcriptions. In the interviews, both with *badius* from Santiago and *sampadjudus* from São Vicente and Santo Antão, I tried to follow as much as possible the official writing system ALUPEC, *Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano*. However, I had to adapt it mostly for interviews with *Barlavento* participants, to transcribe

them as closely as possible to the way the participants pronounced the words. For instance, since there is a tendency to stress the last syllable of verbs in the *Barlavento* varieties, I used accents in the transcriptions to show this distinct pronunciation. The participants' responses are taken as autobiographic accounts (Pavlenko, 2007) and are analysed not as chronological histories but as narrations of multilingual and mobile/immobile selves. Key events and anecdotes are taken to reconstruct their language lives, their mobile experiences and/or desires, and the social worlds in which they are situated.

In Cape Verde, I approached participants at meeting points like gas stations, bars, language schools, squares, street corners etc., and some key participants were suggested by referral from other participants or people I approached through 'cold-callings' (Small, 2009, p. 14) in the street. For instance, on my first fieldwork day in Santo Antão, I was looking for people with connections to Luxembourg and visible connections in the built environment. I went to Povoação, the main business area in the city of Ribeira Grande. When I left a *Hilux* (a small van car), I came by from *Coculi* (a small village in Santo Antão), where I was hosted in the backyard room of a nun's house (one of the nuns being my sister's sister-in law), where I saw Peter. He is a DJ and was sticking some poster for a *soirée* on the walls of *Rua Grande* (one of the main streets in Povoação). When I heard him speaking English to some young people passing by, I approached, greeted and asked him in creole: "*bu ta fala ingles* [do you speak English]?"

I was trying to establish contact, and he replied: "*sin ta dzenraská* [I can get by]." Then, we started to talk and I told him what I was trying to do, giving him the flyer of the STAR Project. He nicely offered to introduce me to many people with connections to Luxembourg, and so meeting participants turned into a 'snow-ball' (Small, 2009, p. 14). We spent the whole day together, we had lunch and went to an Enacol gas station in *Avenida Luxemburgo*, where we took a seat outside and had a beer. He added that there was a student residence formerly called *Internato Grão Ducado de Luxemburgo* (see Figure 5.4 in Chapter 5) and that most infrastructures (like high schools, roads, electricity etc.) on the island had been built by Luxembourgish cooperation. We exchanged mobile phone numbers, and I recorded him talking about his linguistic repertoire and aspiration to migrate.

Since then he has become my best friend in Santo Antão, and during the stays I went to his house regularly, and some days we met at the gas station. He became my 'co-researcher' and guided me to most of my participants in Povoação. For instance, he put me in contact with Julio, a Cape Verdean transmigrant who is retired and lives between Luxembourg and Cape Verde

(see Chapter 6.10 below). Julio was in Povoação for holidays at that time. Afterwards, Julio became one of my focal participants. We have had interviews both in Cape Verde and in Luxembourg. Peter also introduced Carlos to me. Carlos is a young man (mid-twenties) who lived ‘clandestinely’ in Luxembourg for some years but was deported to Cape Verde after being apprehended by a police road patrol (see Chapter 6.3 below) on an unlucky day for him.

In São Vicente, focal participants were suggested by the *paroco* (i.e. the head priest) during my first stay in Santo Antão and by Dominika Swolkien, a professor at the University of Mindelo, and her housekeeper. For instance, I met Aguinaldo (a transmigrant, see Chapter 6.12 below) during my first exploratory fieldwork trip, when I was looking for connections to Luxembourg in Santo Antão Island. Talking with the *paroco* priest about our project, he told me about Aguinaldo (who lived in Mindelo) and gave me his phone number. In São Vicente I stayed in Mindelo, hosted by Dominika. Like me, Dominika also studied at Coimbra University, and our former professor had put us in contact. She is originally from Poland and has lived in Cape Verde for fifteen years. After installing myself at Dominika’s house, the next day I contacted Aguinaldo, and he invited me to his house, where we had our first formal interview. For the subsequent fieldwork I also went to his house. Furthermore, he has been to my apartment in Luxembourg, and we have since become friends; when he comes to Luxembourg for medical treatments, the renewal of documents and family visits, he usually informs me via Facebook so that we arrange to meet each other.

In Luxembourg, most of the key participants were first contacted at *Epicerie Créo* (see Chapter 7.2.1 below) in Bonnevoie, a neighbourhood situated just behind *Gare Centrale* in Luxembourg City. Some participants were suggested by other Cape Verdeans immigrants I also met at the *Epicerie Créo* or were approached via Facebook, when I noticing posts concerning Cape Verdean migration in Luxembourg that I considered relevant to investigate more. Others were approached during Cape Verdean events like football tournaments, book launches, musical concerts to celebrate dates important to Cape Verdeans, such as Independence Day (July 5th), which were organized by Cape Verdean migrant associations in Luxembourg (see Chapter 7.3 below). After the first contact, we had interviews in restaurants/bars and sometimes at my apartment. The interviews were mostly conducted on weekends, since participants worked during the week. The interviews are, in a sense, recorded conversations about migrants’ trajectories to and their language lives in Luxembourg. The participants also had time to ask me questions about, for instance, how I managed to come to Luxembourg, about my family, from which part of Santiago Island I am originally, if I was going to stay or return to Cape Verde after my PhD project, and so on. All of these questions were very important, because

they helped build rapport and trust between us, something on which I will focus in more detail in the following section on reflexivity in research.

4.7 Reflexivity

In her study on migrant women in London, Ryan (2015), critically analyses the fixity of the category of ‘insider status’ attributed to migrants. She argues that ‘migrants cannot be neatly contained within fixed insider ethnic categories; instead it is more illuminating to consider how identities are re-constructed through migration’ (Ryan, 2015, p. 1). This resonates and should be applied to the overused binary categories of ‘insider’ versus ‘outsider’ when referring to the researcher’s role in the humanities and social sciences. This is even more demanding when the researcher shares similar ‘positionnalities’ (nationality, migration experience, gender, age, language etc.) with his/her participants. In my case, my research participants share with me the same ‘homeland,’ similar migration trajectories, the same first language and so forth, but the situated moment of interviewing puts us in different albeit overlapping positions. And this affects the narrative moments which I see as situated constructions of the research participant(s) and the researcher(s) (myself in this case). I am a native of Cape Verde but had been living outside of Cape Verde (mainly in Portugal) for seven years prior to the start of my doctoral project in Luxembourg. I am originally from Santiago Island, but my fieldwork concentrates on the islands of Santo Antão and São Vicente (Mindelo).

Considering my case, there is a danger of being labelled an insider focusing strongly on some positionnalities and neglecting others. There is a long tradition to focus on positionnalities that are ‘imagined’ and constructed, like nationality and ‘community’ (cf. Anderson, 1983), thus neglecting the individual experiences and how the labelled person perceives his/her own experiences. There is a need to go beyond the ethnic lens even in migration studies, because the lives of research participants and researchers go beyond ethnic categorizations that make them neither truly an insider, nor completely an outsider (cf. Ryan, 2015).

Hacking (1983) points out that ‘knowing is not just (or primarily) about passively representing the world but about intervening in it’ (cited in Brinkmann, 2014, p. 722). There is the knowledge of many and the knowledge of few. As knowledge is constructed, it is always changing as people themselves are changing. Thus, knowledge is always partial and never absolute. For instance, as I have mentioned before, when doing ethnography, the knowledge was constructed by the interactions (e.g. in interviews) between the researcher and the research

participants, making it situated. In the humanities and social sciences, especially when it comes to marginalized groups, cases matter independently of their quantity.

I would like to point out that I also reflect on my position as a researcher, sharing an ‘assumed collective identity’ (cf. Patiño-Santos, 2014) with the participants. I am not saying that I am insider or outsider, because I think it is not coherent to categorise myself like that, but what I can say is that sharing the same nationality and country of birth with the participants does not *per se* facilitate my research. Indeed, it is the lived experiences and practices, the navigation of similar social and physical sites, overlapping linguistic repertoires and migration trajectories that facilitated my research and helped me build up rapport and trust with the participants, thus creating a sense of ‘complicity’ between us. This is also to argue that in the humanities and social sciences research, ‘neutrality’ is an ‘empty signifier, for … there is no hard and fast line between life, research, theory, and methods … there is no division, in practice, between work and life’ (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 722). As Dervin and Byrd Clark (2014, p. 234) stress, ‘researchers should move away from God-like positions (pseudo-objectivity), take responsibility for their actions, and question and criticize systematically what they say and do. Only reflexivity can lead to these processes!'

My cultural knowledge of the ‘Cape Verdean way of life’, together with my lived experiences in Cape Verde, Portugal, France and Luxembourg, allowed me to give a nuanced interpretation of what my participants said about their lives in Luxembourg, Cape Verde and beyond. Although this is not auto-ethnographic research, it is research that also mirrors my own life trajectory, i.e. about the lives of Cape Verdean migrants. This makes it is impossible for me to be disassociated from them or to struggle for what traditionally is termed ‘neutrality’ or ‘objectivity’, for many interviews with participants mirror my own personal experiences. For instance, visa problems or visa denial, the struggle to obtain a residence permit, being shocked by colonial discourses of superiority and inferiority are very frequent in their narratives; but these are also things I have experienced myself through my trajectories as a Cape Verdean student and migrant in Portugal, France and Luxembourg (for an example of my migration trajectories into Portugal, see Lechner, 2015).

However, when the researcher does not share such positionalities with participants, their narratives may be conditioned differently than when research participant(s) and the researcher(s) do share them. For example, in talking to me, they may omit some information, taking for granted that I am aware of it, since I am also Cape Verdean. Yet, sometimes influence of what I would call ‘peculiar discourse’ (e.g. of superiority-based on phenotypic characteristics) and social status may make the participants look down upon or up to me.

As Dervin and Byrd Clark (2014, p. 236) point out,

wrongly, one often asserts that the researcher has power. Certainly she sometimes does, but in some situations, because of her accent, gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, or other obvious identity markers, the researcher can be othered and positioned in her fieldwork as having a lower status. It is thus important for researchers to be aware of power differentials and to reflect before, during, and after entering the field on how power circulates ... in order to prepare themselves and to protect others.

My participants shared their experience with me in ways influenced by how they perceived me not only as a researcher and Cape Verdean but also my body, being a *badiu* (i.e. originally from Santiago island) that is historically depicted as uncivilised during the colonial period (cf. Fikes, 2007; Ascher, 2010). I have been observing this through interviews and my lived experience. This peculiarity is also salient within Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg, for instance. In my opinion, this is partially due to the small size of Luxembourg, which leads to a ‘condensation’ of the Cape Verdean imagined community.

When I was in Cape Verde, I was aware of these discourses, but during my fieldwork there, particularly during my stays in São Vicente, I lived that experience. For instance, one night in a bar in Mindelo, a local man who is a professor at a local university echoed, as if to provoke me in Portuguese and literally behind my back: “*voces não são da nossa categoria* [you are not from our category]”. In that statement, the pronoun – *voces* [you] – means *badiu* in general, as I am, and the prepositional phrase – *da nossa* [from our] – means from Mindelo, as he is. This example illustrates that in the field a researcher can be looked down upon for many reasons, including this persisting colonial discourse.

In Luxembourg, I sometimes had to correct an impression of my identity to some migrants who were assuming that I was a secret police officer. For instance, at the *Epicerie Cr  ole*, I usually ask questions of the clients, the shopkeepers and the owner about the products they offer and the kind of clients they serve. One day a Cape Verdean migrant I used to meet and greet, shake hands with, have drinks with and talk to, as everybody does when entering the *Epicerie*, asked me for a more private conversation in a corner of the *Epicerie*. He told me: “*man abo N obi ta fladu ma bo e polisia judisiaria* [man I heard people saying that you are a secret police officer].” I had to negotiate my position again by explaining that I was a student doing research on Cape Verdean migration, and we continued our conversation. I felt that he understood me then, and as it was almost 1 p.m. he invited me to have lunch in a Portuguese restaurant near the *Epicerie*, and so we went there and had lunch together.

Thus, having ascertained my identity for him, we became closer, and whenever I found him at *Epicerie* we had drinks and chatted. The last time I met him, he was worried about being unemployed and receiving *Revenu minimum garanti* (RMG). He was afraid of accommodating to RMG, and he expressed his desire to find a *mudjer ku kabesa* [a responsible woman] to live with. He used this metaphoric phrase to express his aspiration to have a better life and to start a family. It is important to point out that, when conducting observations in research, researchers are also observed by participants or other people met in the field.

4.8 Summary

In this chapter, I presented my methodological approach, which is a combination of multisited ethnography and linguistic landscaping. I reviewed previous work on these complementary approaches and presented some of their advantages, innovations and shortcomings. For instance, LL studies have been subjected to some criticism due to their assumed descriptivity of events. I suggest that the two approaches, if combined, have a great deal to offer to studies of language and migration. Through MELLA, I will explore the data from Cape Verde and Luxembourg to construe how the lived experiences of Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg and of the aspiring migrants in Cape Verde reflect the interconnectedness of those sites and the world more generally as well as how their lives are affected by their mobile trajectories and aspirations.

In this chapter I also reported on how I met my participants as a result of ‘*cold-callings*’ (cf. Small, 2009) which turned into a ‘*snow-ball*’, gradually exposing me to numerous people with connections to Luxembourg. In Luxembourg, this snowballing was channelled via my encounters with Cape Verdean migrants at the *Epicerie Cr  ole*. Apart from increasing the number of participants, I believe that this snowballing process translated into a greater openness and more in-depth interviews with participants, because it strikes me as true that participants usually ‘become more receptive to a researcher when the latter has been vouched for by a friend as trustworthy’ (Small, 2009, p. 14).

The act of simply holding a camera and taking pictures in the street may draw people’s attention (and also apprehension). In some cases, this may make them wonder about the purpose of the photographs, especially when their body or other belongings (e.g. their shops or houses) might appear in the shot. During my fieldwork, this was on some occasions the source of my first contact with future participants, who were wondering what I was doing. I then took the

opportunity to introduce the project and asked them for participation or if they knew other people who might participate. Likewise, I reflected on my position as a researcher, sharing many positionalities (same country of origin, language, similar migration trajectories etc.) with my participants, which helped me establish rapport quickly.

Multisited ethnographic linguistic landscaping approach (MELLA) enables me to understand how Cape Verdeans imagine themselves as a ‘community’ in Luxembourg and express their identities of belonging; it also allows me to see how the two countries are connected by transnational practices of migrants and aspiring migrants. Those practices imply a certain level of commodification of identities and language but entangled both with the feeling of pride and satisfaction, as well as the awareness of inequalities of migration regimes. Having familiarised with the methodological contexts of this study, we shall look at the analytical Chapters 5, 6 and 7, which present and analyse data collected multisitedly, in Cape Verde and Luxembourg.

CHAPTER 5

The point of departure: traces of Luxembourg in Cape Verde's transnational landscape

'The lives even of people who have never left the neighbourhood can nevertheless be transnational.' (Dick & Arnold, 2017, p. 42)

5.1 Introduction

Most studies on migration tend to focus on the immigration country, neglecting the emigration side. As Carling et al. (2014, p. 38) critically put it, 'the emphasis on the immigration side of migration processes appears to be the norm also in research conducted by researchers of migrant origin.' This chapter attempts to move beyond this limitation by focussing on both Cape Verde as a sending country and Luxembourg as a receiving country, but from the perspective of Cape Verde's transnational landscape. Obviously, to better understand migration processes and migrant lives in the receiving countries, one needs to investigate the socio-historical, economic and language conditions of *the point of departure*, i.e. in this case Cape Verde. As a 'transnational archipelago' (Batalha & Carling, 2008), most people of Cape Verdean origin live abroad (cf. Åkesson, 2016), sustaining multiple engagements and relationships with relatives in Cape Verde. Logically, these engagements are not made only through the back-and-forth travelling of human bodies between Cape Verde and other countries, but also through the back-and-forth exchanges of objects and communications. As Hornberger (2007, p. 1) points out, 'these cross-border movements of bodies, as of goods and information, are direct result of globalization.'

Cape Verde's landscape is abundant with signs such as street names, squares and identity building plaques that point to the distant world and praise Cape Verdean diasporic communities. Traces of abroad are salient everywhere in Cape Verde, especially in the public spaces of major urban agglomerations, but they are also audible in people's conversations about their relatives abroad. They were also largely implanted by the colonial past, visible in monuments and administrative buildings all over the archipelago. Today, those traces of abroad are more marked by inter-state cooperation, migration and tourism, i.e. by globalisation. However, it is important to note, for example, that still not all streets in urban places in Cape Verde are officially named, and in villages they are not officially named at all. However, all the streets have names attributed socially by people in everyday interactions. For example, in Achada

Moirão, a small village in the interior of Santiago Island (where I'm originally from), there is a street that is named *Lem Morera* because many of the people who live there have *Morera* as their surnames. However, for an outsider is impossible to know that without asking because the name is not fixed at the beginning and ending of that street.

Cape Verde landscape is saliently marked by migration. In the urban parts and beyond, migration is present in every corner of the archipelago, which can often be seen by the presence of a contrast between outstanding migrants' houses and the ones of many non-migrants. This contrast indexes the more favourable economic condition of migrants relative to their non-migrant compatriots. On the other hand, those migrants' houses serve, to a certain extent, as an impetus to migration. Thus, the public and private spaces in Cape Verde act as a prism to see the distant world for people in Cape Verde. For example, about one month before my second fieldwork stay in Cape Verde, two streets in Praia (the capital city of Cape Verde) were given foreign names, i.e. *Avenida John Kennedy* and *Rua Cidade de Brockton* (see Figure 5.1 below).



Fig 5.1a) and b): Inauguration of *Avenida John Kennedy* and *Rua Cidade de Brockton* in Praia, Santiago Island, Cape Verde (photographs taken from *Do You ... Papia Kriolu* Facebook page, December 5th, 2015)

The first street name, *Avenida John Kennedy*, can be also found in many countries in Europe, making it a kind of global street name. As a way to include Cape Verde in this global process, Cape Verdean authorities may consider this purpose by giving names of well-known Western people to local streets. The first street was inaugurated by the then-Mayor of Praia and the U.S. Ambassador in Cape Verde, while the second one was officiated by the Mayors of Praia and Brockton. The *Rua Cidade de Brockton* in particular is an honourable marker of the long history of Cape Verdean migration to the U.S. It carries the symbolic meaning of praising the Cape

Verdean migrants there, and especially in Brockton, where most of Cape Verdean migrants in the U.S. reside (Meintel, 2002; Halter, 2008). However, note that the aim of this chapter is not to focus on Cape Verdean migration to the U.S. or to show Cape Verdean connections to the world by the presence of immigrants in Cape Verde *per se*. Rather, the chapter focuses on traces of Luxembourg in Cape Verde to show how Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg has impacted the transnational landscape of Cape Verde and vice versa.

Cape Verdean transnationalism has been investigated almost exclusively through the lens of the anthropology of migration (e.g. Batalha, 2002, 2004; Meintel, 2002; Carling, 2002; Batalha & Carling, 2008; Åkesson, 2004, 2008; Góis, 2008; Mourão, 2013). Here, I propose a sociolinguistic investigation of Cape Verde's transnational identity, as reflected in its linguistic and semiotic landscape and through the material objects under human 'horizon' (Graw & Schielke, 2012), displayed in both public and private spaces in Cape Verde. In order to read the transnationalism of Cape Verde, one needs to expand the scene from the linguistic side of signs to material culture enquiry, grasping the meaning of both linguistically defined objects and material objects connected to migration. This is what this chapter attempts to do, calling attention to the fact that the exchanges, movement of ideas and things across countries may foster and trigger the mobility of human subjects. However, it is more obvious that the mobility of people may trigger the mobility of materials than the other way round. Here, I explore connections to Luxembourg in Cape Verde as a case in point that I believe mirrors the life of Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg, as the main topic of this study. The chapter highlights that, in order to achieve a nuanced reading and interpretation of those connections, one also needs to delve into the materiality of that transnational landscape.

Traces of Luxembourg in Cape Verde are quite present in the political and societal discourses but also visible in the linguistic and semiotic landscape. However, if we took the narrow view of early linguistic landscape studies (see Chapter 4 above) by focussing only on the linguistic components of signs, we would end up merely superficially documenting traces of Luxembourg in Cape Verde. The intersection of the linguistic and semiotic landscape of the two countries is a result of the flow of ideas, discourses, objects and people, i.e. migration and mobility between the two states. These connections are linguistically and materially becoming more and more visible in both countries; however, they do not necessarily trigger more mobility of more people between the two countries or at least from Cape Verde to Luxembourg.

The cooperation programmes or PIC (*Programme indicatif de cooperation*) between the two countries during the last two decades have increased. However, such cooperation has favoured a certain pattern of mobility, i.e. the 'elite' mobility which has crystalized between the two

states and beyond, showing the inequalities of migration regimes. Note that most Cape Verdeans who have managed to travel to Luxembourg have come via family reunification, which is tightening today. Moreover, most Cape Verdean migrants re-migrated to Luxembourg holding European citizenship from other EU countries, especially Portugal (cf. dos Santos Rocha, 2010; Gerstnerova, 2016; Jacobs et al., 2017, pp. 26–28). The new agreement of mobility between the two countries, recently signed on October 13th, 2015 (cf. Jacobs et al., 2017, p. 5), explicitly states the profile of people who are considered fit to participate in this mobility pattern. For example, the introductory part presents some of its main objectives by stating the following:

... to encourage temporary migration based on mobility and the encouragement of return of skills to the country of origin, in particular with regard to students, highly qualified professionals and managers and thus promoting a circular professional migration (my translation, from *Accord entre la Republique du Cape Verd et l'Etat du Grand Duché de Luxembourg relative à la Gestion Concertée du Flux Migratoire et au Développement Solidaire*, signed on October 13th, 2015).

According to *Article 2* of that official agreement, the visa duration has a maximum of ninety days within six months and is valid from one to five years according to the ‘quality’ of the applicants’ file, thus, depersonalising the visa applicants. Moreover, concerning student mobility, the document considers only those who are eighteen to thirty-five years old and limits the number of those student visa per year to ten (see *Article 5* of the same document).

This chapter reads Luxembourg in the transnational landscape of Cape Verde, particularly in Praia, Mindelo, and some localities in Santo Antão Island, where I focussed my fieldwork stays. To recall, the data were collected during three fieldwork trips of about six months in total, alternating between these Cape Verdean sites (see Chapters 1 and 4 above). In what follows, I present how Cape Verdean transnationalism has been reflected 1) in the materiality and symbolic meaning of Cape Verdean national flags over time, and in particular how Luxembourg is projected in what I call 2) ‘fixed’ landscape, like street names and identity plaques of institutions; 3) portable landscape, in forms of language-defined objects and ‘travelling landscape-objects’ (della Dora, 2009), i.e. artefacts and ‘graphic landscape’ (Dora, 2009) like paintings, photos and letters, which can move or be moved; 4) moving landscape, in forms of social interactions, ceremonies and festivities marked by the circulation of moving bodies and objects. Finally, the chapter summarises Luxembourg’s connection to the transnational landscape of Cape Verde.

5.2 The national flag as a symbolic, iconic and indexical landscape

Aronin (2012, p. 189) points out that ‘the place and time-spaces trajectories of artefacts speak volumes to the researcher.’ She draws on Bronner (1985, p. 131) to stress that ‘artefacts have been recognized as a mirror to culture, a code from which the researcher can infer beliefs, attitudes and values.’ For example, flags are important symbolic artefacts of a nation, relatively durable signs and objects representing a country’s identity. Vexillology (i.e. the study of flags) can be complemented by a visual social semiotics approach and thus increase our understanding of the meanings behind flags’ design. As Harrison (2003, p. 47) points out,

although visual social semiotics is not the only theoretical framework for examining how images convey meaning ..., it is unique in stressing that an image is not the result of a singular, isolated, creative activity, but is itself a social process. As such, its meaning is a negotiation between the producer and the viewer, reflecting their individual social/cultural/political beliefs, values, and attitudes.

Drawing on Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) and Jewitt and Oyama (2001), Harrison (2003, p. 51) considers that there are three categories of images:

the icon [it bears a similarity or resemblance to what we already know or conceive about an object or person], index [it is recognizable, not because of any similarity to an object or person but because we understand the relationship between the image and the concept that it stands for] and symbol [it has no visual or conceptual connection to an object or person, we know the meaning of the image only because of convention].

However, I stress here that flags can engender all three categories of images proposed above by Harrison (2001). Flags can also be of iconic nature; however, they cannot be iconic in the sense of maps or paintings. Their relative iconicity can be shown analogously through the positioning and relation between the elements that compose them, triggering (at least in our mind) some resemblances to the (physical) layout of the countries they represent. For example, this happens with the current Cape Verdean flag, consisting of a circle of ten yellow stars representing the ten islands that compose the small Atlantic archipelago. As will be shown below in Figure 4, it is both indexical and a national symbol as it points to the assumed identity of a country or discourses as we understand them according to conventions.

Flags’ designs can foster (dis)attachment to other countries, spaces or places, as I will show below. They do so when they are held up to express commitments, to show belongings, pride and approval or to protest against political, cultural or religious events associated with the respective countries, spaces and places. They are usually placed at historical, symbolic and strategic buildings such as courts, a president’s residence, town halls, etc. as well as individual

homes and dwellings. They can also be found in motion during official ceremonies and cultural festivities like the carnival (see the next section below). As a starting point, I will show here how Cape Verdean transnationalism is reflected over time in its flags as material artefacts that can cause a range of emotions, patriotic feelings and awareness of Cape Verdeans' origins, identities and identifications.

Flags' changing is a worldwide phenomenon in time and space. For example, recently two referendums took place in New Zealand to change its flag by trying unsuccessfully to remove the Union Jack symbol. For both referendums, the alternative flag was rejected and thus the old flag was retained. But why do people or entities ask for flag change? This is often rooted in historical grounds and happens after or in times of important (political and social) change in a country. This process is usually controversial in that some arguments for changing remain in the need to express as far as possible the distinctiveness of a country. Obviously, the point is to project a 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) that is still the core of nation-states in this globalised world. Engrained with this 'methodological nationalism,' Luxembourg also tried to change its flag but ended up adopting the proposed one as a second flag, the so-called 'civil flag' (Fehlen, 2009). Thus, currently the country has two flags, as will be explained in Chapter 5.4 below.

Contrary to the New Zealand attempts to change the flag and different than Luxembourg's adoption of a civil flag, Cape Verde, as a result of history and political transformations which led to its recognition as a new nation-state, has effectively changed flags twice since its Independence in 1975. As illustrated below, the first flag was the colonial flag. In contrast, the second flag corresponds to the period of the one-party system (after Independence in 1975), and the third and current flag was adopted after the first multi-party democratic election was held in 1991. The two final flags of Figure 5.2 represent acts of emancipation from colonialism and from the one-party system, respectively.



Figure 5.2a), b) and c): Cape Verdean flags: Colonial flag; the Independence flag, 1975–1992; and the current flag, 1992–present.

They are acts of drawing past, performing present, and redrawing the country's imagined future geographies and alliances. After sixteen years of the one-party system, the *Movimento para a*

Democracia (MPD) took over *Partido Africano de Independencia de Cabo Verde* (PAICV) and launched a contest for a flag design to best represent Cape Verde. The architect Pedro Gregório won the contest, and according to him “*a bandeira, o hino, as armas, são símbolos de um povo ou de uma nação. Daí que não pode, no meu entender, ser confundido com outro povo ou outra nação* [the flag, national anthem, and coat of arms, are symbols of a people or a nation. Hence they cannot, in my view, be confused with another people or another nation]” (*Expresso das Ilhas*, July 12th, 2015).

The Independence flag was practically equal to that of Guinea-Bissau and shared the colour scheme of many flags from West African nations. It represented the struggles for freedom and an image of a postcolonial Cape Verde more attached to Africa and West African regions, especially to Guinea-Bissau for historical reasons. It was a symbol of unity between Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, for the two countries had a long joint struggle for their Independence under the same leader, Amilcar Cabral, who is still considered a hero in both countries (see Chapter 2 above). However, after the 1980 *coup d'état* in Guinea-Bissau, the two countries severed their diplomatic relationships, and eleven years later Cape Verde changed the flag after the first multi-party election. This changing of the flag layout pointed towards more proximity to the West and ‘a redirection of the country’s foreign policy and development strategies’ (Carling & Batalha, 2008, p. 15).

Thus, the current Cape Verdean flag reflects a paradigm shift concerning Cape Verdean identity, cooperation and international relations. The shift is imbued with the choice of colours and other elements that compose the flag, e.g. the inclusion of a coat of arms, the display of stars etc. The flag design itself is a symbolic issue in that a red stripe represents struggles, both against colonialism and poverty. The two white stripes index peace after the colonial period, while the larger, blue stripes point to the country’s geographical position in the ocean and below the sky, and the ten yellow stars in a circular shape represent the islands of the archipelago. At the time of its adoption, many people criticized the government, especially those who had experienced the harsh period of colonisation. The PAICV leaders felt as if their struggles and participation in the Independence were being minimized by the new government. They argued that the new flag too closely resembles the European Union flag, not only by the removal of the black star but also erasing the protagonism of the colours red, green and yellow, which are typically and conventionally associated with the continent of Africa (*Expresso das Ilhas*, July 12th, 2015).

The current flag has a striking resemblance to the U.S. and the EU flags, and beyond that to many flags of European countries (including Luxembourg). Thus, to a certain extent, the change

reflected a distancing from Africa and a redrawing of an imagined geography of Cape Verde, placing it closer to Europe in terms of relations than to the neighbouring African mainland. It is discursively salient, indexing the longing desire and aim of Cape Verdean politicians for Cape Verde to gain EU membership. For example, at a recent conference of the Popular European Party which took place in Malta, the current Cape Verdean Prime Minister stated the following: “*sei que é um dia triste para a Europa, porque o Reino Unido saiu, mas não seja por isso, nos entramos. Estamos in* [I know that it is a sad day for Europe, because the UK left, but it does not have to be so, we get in. We are in]” (*Expresso das Ilhas*, March 30th, 2017).

As seen in Chapter 2 above, discourse concerning Cape Verdean identity as being African or not is rooted in the colonial past, which differentiated Cape Verdeans as superior to people from mainland Africa within the racial hierarchy of the Portuguese colonial empire (de Mattos, 2013). This identity question is fostered by the fact that Cape Verde is an archipelago off the coast of continental Africa but, for purposes of culture (way of dressing, eating habits etc.) and religion, Cape Verdeans are deemed to be closer to the European (Portuguese) way of life. And, as mentioned above in Chapter 2, this discourse of superiority still lingers within the Cape Verdean migrant community, especially in the U.S. (Halter, 2008), as well as in Cape Verde.

However, note that that change of the flag can be indexical for the viewer only if s/he has the (historical) knowledge of both the signifier (in Saussure’s wording), i.e. Cape Verde, and is aware of the conventional meaning of the elements (colours, tracks, stars, fly etc.) that compose the flag. The meaning is attributed in its social and political context.

5.3 Fixed landscape objects

In this section, the focus is on street names and building plaques that index Luxembourg in the landscape of Cape Verde. By fixed landscape objects I mean those objects and artefacts that are immobile and statically fixed in the landscape as a result of human action in the process of ordering a given place. They can be relatively permanent or ephemerally fixed. As Sebba (2010, pp. 73–74) drawing on Scallon and Scallon (2003) puts it,

at least fixed signs are to be read as discourses in place only when they are in their proper place, or at least some fixed place ... the sign has no binding meaning while it is in the back of the truck taking it to where it will be put up for the public to read.

Thus, the fixed landscape objects (or signs) are often language-defined and index the hierarchy of language in a given space or place. The fixed landscape objects encompass signs like street

names and identity plaques of buildings such as embassies, schools, hospitals, town halls, and other institutions and places.

Like flags, street names in Cape Verde today are largely defined by the function of its diaspora and external cooperation. Yeoh (1992, p. 313) points out that ‘the renaming of streets in postcolonial societies can help to divest the landscape of its colonial associations and reinforce the legitimacy of the newly independent state.’ In the Cape Verdean context, some colonial street names have remained in urban centres, especially in Mindelo, where you still find many Portuguese street names. I argue here that, lately, the naming of streets has reflected real and imagined connections to the world. Street names and building plaques can be prismatic devices that reveal connections to the distant world. Nearly one hundred street names in Cape Verde’s urban areas like Praia and other localities carry names that refer to distant places (as shown in Figure 5.1 above). For instance, Cape Verdean officials gave the name of *Avenida Luxemburgo* to a street in Povoação (in Ribeira Grande, Santo Antão Island) as a way of honouring the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg, as shown in Figure 5.3 below.



Figure 5.3a), b) and c): *Avenida Luxemburgo*; ceremony welcoming the Grand Duke at the *Avenida*; and a projection of the plaque of the *Avenida*, Povoação in Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde (photographs taken by B. Tavares, February 28th and March 12th, 2015)

It is important to point out that the majority of Cape Verdean immigrants in Luxembourg are originally from that island, and that the island was the ‘cradle’ of the cooperation between the two countries (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991, Carling, 2004).

The photos above in Figure 5.3 show a plaque indicating the date and who inaugurated *Avenida Luxemburgo* as well as the recent visit of Grand Duke Henri of Luxembourg to Cape Verde on March 9th–12th, 2015, respectively. The street was inaugurated by S.A.R (*Son Altesse Royale*) Prince Guillaume of Luxembourg (brother of Grand Duke Henri) in 1993 during an official trip to Cape Verde to sign the first general agreement of cooperation between Cape Verde and Luxembourg (cf. LuxDev, June, 2017). The crumbled edges of the plaque and the date of inauguration inscribed (in Portuguese) on it make us aware of the passage of time. This also helps to create an affective bond between Cape Verde and Luxembourg in time and space. However, the name of the prince is not spelled correctly.

The plaque of the avenue remains an important official sign and a symbol for cooperation between Cape Verde and Luxembourg. Both the commercial image from Unitel + (an Angolan phone company which is one the two main telephone operators in Cape Verde) inscribed by the plaque on the walls of a basketball field and the English phrase “North Boys” below re-enforce the transnational composition of that island’s landscape. Likewise, the Shell logo in the photo on the right, at the far gaze of the photographer, is another imprint of globalisation. The Duke visited three islands of Cape Verde – Santiago, São Vicente and Santo Antão. During that time, the linguistic/semiotic landscape of those three islands he visited abounded with images, banners and media reports welcoming him. I took the photo on the right side during a public gathering at which Santo Antão people could see and welcome the Grand Duke at *Avenida Luxemburgo* for signing a new agreement of cooperation *Programme indicatif de coopération IV* (PIC IV) in the town hall of Ribeira Grande. The new agreement was not signed in Praia, where the HQ is, but on Santo Antão Island. This demonstrates the strong symbolic meaning which that island in general and *Avenida Luxemburgo* (a symbol) in particular have for the relations between the two countries. As the photo illustrates, the avenue filled with local people to receive the Grand Duke in a processional mode, praising the cooperation.

Street names such as the *Avenida Luxemburgo* symbolize positive aspects of migration. They point to the migration history, Cape Verdean diaspora, and they are used strategically to strengthen diplomatic ties with the country in question, i.e. Luxembourg in this case. This street name praises not only the work and investment of individual emigrants in Cape Verde, it also praises the official cooperation and bilateral agreements that has existed between Luxembourg and Cape Verde since 1980s, some years after Cape Verde’s Independence (in 1975). The headquarters (HQ) of the cooperation used to be based on Santo Antão, but in order to broaden the cooperation scope, the HQ was moved to the capital Praia. This was and is still criticized by people in Santo Antão. They assertively consider it as a move that contributes to over-

centralization in Cape Verde. However, Santo Antão Island remains an important symbolic (and official) site for Luxembourg-Cape Verdean relations.

The *Avenida* is one of the main and longest avenues in Povoação. There you can find the only hospital of the island, which was also funded by the Luxembourg cooperation. Near the hospital there is the *Internato Ribeira Grande* (a student residence), which was first named *Internato Grão Ducado de Luxemburgo* as illustrated in Figure 5.4 below.



Figure 5.4 *Internato Grão Ducado de Luxemburgo* Povoação, Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde (photographs taken by B. Tavares, October 13th, 2014)

During my search for more connections to Luxembourg in Santo Antão Island, my sister's sister-in-law, who is a nun on Santo Antão, introduced me to a reporter from the local radio station. I explained our project to the reporter and asked her about more places that could point to Luxembourg. She started to bemoan the moving of the Luxembourgish cooperation office (i.e. the HQ) to Praia and took us to the *Internato*. The director received us kindly, and after I presented the project to her, she gave a historical sketch of the *Internato*. She pointed out that it was built in 1996, fully funded and equipped (furniture, expenses with employers etc.) by the Government of the Great Duchy of Luxembourg. In the end, she also decried the moving of the HQ to Praia and highlighted that recently they had been supported mostly by the solidarity of Cape Verdean migrant associations in Luxembourg, as illustrated by the photo on the right side of Figure 5.4 above. The *Internato* represents a 'nostalgic aura' (della Dora, 2009, p. 340) of Luxembourg-Cape Verde cooperation, present in the regrets of the local people. Before we left, the director gave me some contacts of Cape Verdean migrants who were on holidays there or who I could contact when I was back to Luxembourg.

Figure 5.5 below presents other state-run infrastructures co-financed by Luxembourg. During his visit in 2015, the Duke also inaugurated the *Centro de Energias Renovaveis e Manutenção Industrial* (CERMI- Centre for Renewable Energy and Industrial Maintenance)

and another street named *Avenida Grão-Ducado do Luxemburgo*, both in Praia. While the centre was inaugurated on March 10th, the visit to the avenue took place on the last day of the Duke's visit to the islands. According to Cape Verdean and ECOWAS officials, the CERMI represents one of the most important centres of renewable energy across West Africa. It was established to build capacities on different technologies of renewable energy such as wind, solar thermal, photovoltaic, maintenance and energy efficiency. The centre is envisaged to build capacities not only in Cape Verde, but also throughout the ECOWAS region. Thus, the visibility of Luxembourg goes through Cape Verde and beyond to other West African countries, and, to a certain extent, the centre helps to project Luxembourg worldwide.

As one of my interests was to know more about foreign street names, especially the newly inaugurated *Avenida Grão-Ducado do Luxemburgo*, I asked an official of the Praia town hall about it. The official told me that that name had been proposed by the cabinet of the prime minister, and that it was well applauded by citizens in Praia, especially because of the cooperation and solidarity between the two countries. He informed me about the regulation procedures concerning the naming of streets and later downloaded a list of street names and the regulation document onto my USB stick. He highlighted that many streets have no names yet, i.e. they have only their correspondent numbers, which are not visible to the public because they are simply not indicated or attached to the beginning or ending walls of those streets. At *Avenida Grão-Ducado do Luxemburgo*, there is the Hotel and Tourism School of the country, *Escola de Hotelaria e Turismo de Cabo Verde*. It was also financed by the Luxembourg cooperation some years ago and inaugurated in 2011 (LuxDev, June, 2017), as shown in Figure 5.5 below.



Figure 5.5a), b) and c): *Avenida Grão-Ducado do Luxemburgo*; *Escola de Hotelaria e Turismo de Cabo Verde* (EHTCV) and *Centro de Energias Renovaveis e Manutenção Industrial* (CERMI) (photographs taken by Nicolau Rodrigues, August 24th, 2017)

Drawing on della Dora's (2009, p. 336) metaphor of 'peepshow-boxes' that raree-showmen carried into villages in seventeenth-century Europe to allow people to take a visual journey through the spectacle of landscape, I argue here that, on the one hand, those street names and

plaques are, to a certain extent, boxes containing Luxembourg's landscape within in the landscape of Cape Verde. They are linguistically defined metal, glass and plastic 'wrapped-gift-boxes' (della Dora, 2009, p. 337) representing the relations and important contributions of Luxembourg cooperation to Cape Verde. On the other hand, they are also 'landscape-objects' (della Dora, 2009) that suggest the performance of power and challenge the 'static notions of space in terms of territory, boundedness, area, scale and so on' (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Rose & Wylie, 2006; cited in della Dora, 2009, p. 350). One can even argue that those plaques are extinctions of Luxembourg into Cape Verde.

There has been an increase of Luxembourg traces in Cape Verde, inasmuch as the cooperation relationships have intensified both officially and via migrants' engagements with their relatives left behind and with Cape Verde as their country of origin. Those traces are becoming 'banal' in the sense that they are becoming very common, so that they may pass unnoticed. In Praia, for example, among other things, a careful observer frequently sees cars from Luxembourg cooperation circulating back and forth. Since 2007, Luxembourg has held an embassy in Praia (before, it was an office of the cooperation) as illustrated by the bilingual plaque (see Figure 5.6 below) showing the hierarchy of language through the positioning of the phrases on the metal, i.e. French first and then Portuguese representing Luxembourg and Cape Verde, respectively. Note that regarding mobility and migration, this embassy is no longer the only entity implicated in the processing of visa to Luxembourg in Cape Verde. Today, only on especial cases (e.g. long-term visa applications) Cape Verdean visa applicants go directly to the Embassy of Luxembourg in Cape Verde.

Another institution that is implicated in the issuing of visa to Luxembourg is *Centro Comum de Vistos* (CCV or Common Visa Centre), as shown in Figure 5.6 below presenting the yellow building with people standing on a line waiting for the authorisation to enter the CCV. As one can see on the picture on the right, its logo is between two ironed holes.



Figure 5.6a) and b): The Embassy of Luxembourg in Cape Verde and Common Visa Centre (CCV) (Taken by Nicolau Rodrigues, August 24th, 2017; A Nação, August 29th, 2016)

Currently, a flag of the EU is hoisted in one of the holes from every Monday to Friday, while the other hole remains empty, but on a conversation with a security guard, he pointed out that the other hole used to be for hoisting the Portuguese national flag. The CCV is a relatively recently created centralising institution with the authority to receive applications and issue short-term visas to most EU-member states. It was founded by, Portugal, Luxembourg and Belgium in 2010 and more recently joined by other EU-members such as Germany and France. Indeed, most EU-member states, and including Switzerland, have joined the CCV (see the CCV online portal). The EU states not yet represented in the CCV are Spain, Greece, Denmark, Ireland, Hungary, Cyprus, Croatia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Malta, Poland and Romania.

This institution covertly tends to tighten visa applications and Cape Verdean mobilities to Europe in general. It functions as an additional compartment that visa applicants have to navigate to reach their desired mobility. However, in official discourses, the CCV is portrayed as an institution to improve the legal circulation of people and a facilitator of mobility between Cape Verde and the EU. Since its creation (in 2010), it had always been headed by Portuguese officials and the administrative staff are composed mostly of Portuguese citizens. Thus, I argue here that other EU-member states have been instrumentalising Portugal, and vice versa, in their relation to Cape Verde. For example, regarding Luxembourg, in spite of holding an embassy in Cape Verde, the Ambassador resides in Lisbon and coordinates by distance in collaboration with an appointed *Chargé d’Affaires* (Head of Mission), who resides in Praia. The current Head of Mission is a woman of Cape Verdean origin.

I argue here that we have been witnessing a recast of old colonial relations into migration regimes under new conditions, i.e. that of globalisation. Obviously, the EU-countries approach Cape Verde via Portugal, drawing on Cape Verde’s linguistic proximity and commercial relations to Portugal, for ‘colonialism.’ The CCV is strategically placed so that Portuguese, as the official language of both Cape Verde and Portugal, plays a key role. This is a recast of ‘control’ using language as a surveillance tool in post-colonial relations. Those historical and language links between the ex-colony and colonizers are re-instrumentalized by EU migration regimes and spaces. Thus, the Portuguese officials are the first watchers of visa processing from Cape Verde to EU-member states.

If one investigates the trajectory of institutions which issue visa from Cape Verde to EU countries from one decade ago (which was only from embassies and consulates) to the present, one can see that there is an ongoing fuzzy visa processuality. That is why, recently and critically, phrases like this “*Centro Comum de Vistos ou Centro Comum do Comercio* [Common Visa Centre or Common Business Centre]?” (Facebook page of *Parlamento Online*,

31st December, 2017) have appeared on social media, contesting the CCV's existence in Cape Verde. Many people see it as a space of business where, for Cape Verde's standards, visa applicants have to pay a considerable amount of money, 6,603.00 CVE (= 60 Euros) which is half of the minimum salary in Cape Verde, but they are rarely declared 'fit' to travel to Europe and the money of the application is never reimbursed. Thus, the 'unfit' applicants suffer a double punishment, i.e. besides being denied a visa to Europe, they also lose money that could be useful for their everyday life in Cape Verde. This place represents one of the most frustrating spaces for many Cape Verdeans concerning their inability to travel to the privileged North. This leads one to go further and question its legitimacy and whether that European-owned space is really useful for Cape Verdeans. I argue here that the CCV best represents the over-compartmentalization and tightening of Cape Verdean mobilities to Europe. It represents an embracing de-centralised centrality, i.e. the visa processual is decentralised from embassies (or consulates) and re-centralised into the CCV, thus making it even hazier.

As shown above, the fruitful cooperation between Luxembourg and Cape Verde has contributed to a proliferation of Luxembourg's *Avenidas* and other state infrastructures in Cape Verde. Meanwhile, in Luxembourg one finds no street names pointing to Cape Verde. In Luxembourg, landscape traces that point to Cape Verde are the names of associations and migrant entrepreneurial spaces, human bodies, material objects and event flyers, as will be more precisely shown in Chapter 7 below. To my knowledge, the newly created *Ambassade du Cap-Vert au Luxembourg* (before it was the *Consulat du Cap-Vert au Luxembourg*) is, at the official level, the only visible sign of Cape Verde in Luxembourg's landscape. On the one hand, this institutional upgrade reflects a certain strengthening of Luxembourg-Cape Verde relations. On the other, their relations reflect different 'orders of visibility' (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017), i.e. 'the hierarchies of objects, social relations, ways of knowing, being, and saying concealed or embedded beneath the apparently common sense and taken for granted in policies and practices' (Kerfoot & Hyltenstam, 2017, p. 7). While Cape Verdean mobility to the privileged North is reducing due to the tightening of migration regimes (Carling, 2002; Åkesson, 2016; Batalha & Carling, 2008), the landscape of Cape Verde has been marked by signs of official cooperation with Luxembourg and other countries, which initially resulted from migration.

5.4 Portable landscape objects

By portable landscape objects I mean those material objects that we can hold in our hands, can carry and travel with around geographic spaces. They can be a flag, a gift, a souvenir, a painting,

a t-shirt, a bag – to mention some of the more banal ones. I approach these portable objects not only as visual texts, i.e. for what they show, but for what they are. Of course, as Aronin (2012, p. 182) puts it,

words or signs in the linguistically defined object make it more focused, exact and specific than any cultural object without the linguistic component ... a linguistically defined object always bears a specific and often unique meaning.

However, here I focus on language-defined objects that may trigger a variety of meanings and which are all at once material and mobile as well as connected to migration, especially to Luxembourg. They are ‘more-than-textual’ (della Dora, 2009, p. 340) objects, to a certain extent they are all graphic objects, comprising: a painting made by a Cape Verdean migrant in Luxembourg; a bag sent by a migrant to relative school girl in Cape Verde; and a wedding invitation letter to be sent from a relative in Cape Verde to a Cape Verdean migrant in the Netherlands. Let us now focus on those ‘more-than-textual’ objects to explore their physical and non-physical meanings in the context of Cape Verdean mobility to Luxembourg and beyond. As a starting point, I present the painting in Figure 5.7 below.



Figure 5.7 A painting by Lela Neves (photograph taken by B. Tavares in *Chã de Pedra*, Santo Antão Island, February 11th, 2016)

As stated in Chapter 1 above, I found the painting during a fieldwork trip in *Chã de Pedra* (in Ribeira Grande, Santo Antão Island) at Dona Bia’s house. Dona Bia has been to

Luxembourg many times to visit her son and daughter, who have lived in Luxembourg for more than twenty years. She enthusiastically presented the painting to me and pointed out that her brother Lela Neves (the painter) was one of the first Cape Verdeans who migrated to Luxembourg, in 1964.

I conducted an interview with Dona Bia and she told me the history of her brother. She highlighted how her brother had a benevolent spirit, helping most of the Cape Verdeans who came to Luxembourg after him, for example in finding jobs and houses. As stated above, through her voice, I could grasp the link between emotions and the materialities of her house as well as her affectivity to those two graphic material objects (i.e. the photo in Chapter 1 and this painting), both connected to migration. As Schreirer and Picard (2000, p. 18) put it, 'affective objects have the capability to change the way that people communicate' (cited in Aronin, 2012, p. 180). According to Dona Bia, Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg respected Lela and held her in high regard for being Lela's sister. She explained the painting and suggested that I meet Lela in Lisbon, where he has lived since his retirement. She added that Lela was ill and offered to send me his address in Lisbon in order to contact him when I got there.

The painting is a spatial graphic representation of a Cape Verdean trajectory to Luxembourg. It is a 'travelling landscape-object' (della Dora, 2009) and a 'solid unambiguous evidence' (Aronin, 2012, p. 181) of a Cape Verdean trajectory to Luxembourg. It is iconic of Cape Verdean migration in the sense of its resemblance with the geographic map of Cape Verde. And it is indexical of Cape Verdean migration trajectories to Luxembourg for the positions of the means of transports (boat and plane) and the white pigeon, which function as arrows indicating the direction of migration, towards Europe. Its indexicality is also shown by the use of deictics and personal pronouns in the Portuguese letter in its low left corner and the yellow French banner summarising the Portuguese letter, which automatically leads us to Lelas' mobility as a cosmopolitan person and to Cape Verdean migration to Europe in general.

It is a bilingual (Portuguese and French) artefact, bearing inscriptions and language signs, and is 'meaningfully related to an individual's identity and surrounding social reality' (Aronin, 2012, p. 181). It thus indexes Lela's migration trajectories and part of his language repertoire. It is interesting that he did not use creole in his painting, but only Portuguese and French. This may have to do with the hierarchy of languages for Cape Verdeans and their linguistic attitudes (see Chapter 2 above), which are also embodied in this painting. Scale is creatively modified so that the Cape Verdean islands are zoomed in on and represented at a much larger scale than the British Isles or Europe, for example. Furthermore, perhaps due to that upscaling, the northern islands are too close to Europe, while the southern ones are too close to continental

Africa. Perhaps, the scale has a symbolic meaning here in that Cape Verde is as important to him as Europe. This is symbolic and leads us to the transnationalism of Cape Verdeans. As shown in Chapter 5.3 above, the boat on the painting is very representative of the way Cape Verdeans used to migrate regularly in the past, while the plane (TAP, *Transportes Aéreos Portugueses*), as a symbol of western modernity, shows one of the present means of mobility. The pigeon is also symbolic as a bearer of messages (letters having been the only available means of communication between Cape Verdean migrants and their relatives in the past) or as a symbol of peace.

Della Dora (2009, p. 340) points out that, ‘while not boxes in the literal sense … postcards, paintings, even photographs can still be envisioned as physical containers, as material objects onto which landscape is laminated and through which it is transported, from place to place and from century to century.’ Note that Lela painted the painting in Figure 9 above during his migration time in Luxembourg (in 2009). When he retired, he was about to return and live in Cape Verde, as Dona Bia pointed out to me in a formal interview. Thus, Lela took the painting to Cape Verde with him, but he made up his mind later and decided to return and live in Portugal instead, leaving the painting with Dona Bia in *Chã de Pedra*. As a sign, the painting also ‘participates in a non-physical relationship of signification’ (della Dora, 2009, p. 340). For it bears ‘affective connotations’ (della Dora, 2009, p. 183) as a way of showing pride and love of his migration trajectories, as he explained in the yellow Portuguese letter on the painting (see the translation in Chapter 1). That feeling of pride and love is also re-enforced by a rose in the lower right end of the letter.

That painting ‘performs the communicative functions of identification’ (della Dora, 2009, p. 188). It carries a dialogue between Lela and his unspecified ‘audience’ who might come across that painting, such as myself. Separately, through that painting, he carries a dialogue with his sister Dona Bia, a special audience who holds and displays it on the wall of her visiting room, i.e. still a zone of (quasi) public display. This positioning testifies the importance and closeness of that painting for her and conveys the feeling of pride imbued with it. Dona Bia has kept it as a remembrance gift shortening the physical distance between her and Lela and helping to maintain their kinship network.

In his study about the inequalities around mobility, Juffermans (ftc 2018) suggests an extension of the studies of linguistic and semiotic landscape ‘from its traditional focus on public spaces to smaller more private spaces,’ what he calls ‘micro-landscapes.’ He defines ‘micro-landscapes’ as

those spatial constellations that are smaller than the usual understanding of landscape ... micro-landscapes take the idea of landscape indoors to any piece of vision limited by walls with or without doors or windows, ceilings and floors ... the term refers to the semiotics/linguistics of interiors beyond façades early LLs privileged and moves inside those private and public spaces, including homes and workplaces (Juffermans, ftc 2018).

Based on two case studies of a ‘home’ and a ‘workplace’ in Guinea-Bissau and anchored in deep ethnographic engagement with the owners, Juffermans (ftc 2018) shows how and what ‘micro-landscapes’ can ‘reveal on global connections,’ represent landscapes of distant places, and refract lived landscapes of transnational past and present. Likewise, I argue here that this painting is a ‘time-space compression’ (Harvey, 1999; Collins et al., 2009; Vigouroux, 2009) in the sense that by looking at the painting in the ‘micro-landscape’ of her house, i.e. in her visiting room, it will help Dona Bia keep Lela’s image fresh in her memory, thus ‘reducing’ the temporal and spatial distance between them.

At the end of our conversation, Dona Bia offered me a meal and gave me six little pieces of a traditional dried *kuskus* in a small colourless loose plastic bag, weighing less than half a kilo, to take as an *inkomenda* (remittance) for her daughter and son in Luxembourg. Such *inkomendas* have a powerful symbolic meaning within the Cape Verdean migration tradition and they are mostly letters, traditional food and drinks from Cape Verde, while returning migrants (for family visits, holidays etc.) bring gifts of varied sorts, ranging from foods and drinks from the host countries to financial aid and presents like TV sets, mobile phones and computers, which may be more expensive to buy in Cape Verde. Note that the painting presented above could also have been an *inkomenda* if it has been sent to Dona Bia instead of being taken to her by Lela himself.

Before leaving, Dona Bia also gave a bag of *kuskus* for me as courtesy. If my focus was only on the linguistic side of objects and signs, the bag of *kuskus*, for Dona Bia’s children, as a non-linguistically defined object might have appeared irrelevant. However, those little pieces of *kuskus* are of great importance in this context of migration and symbolically represent the affective ties between a mother and her children separated from distant geographical spaces. *Inkomendas* can be ‘tokens of love’ or ‘mementos from home’ (Lobo, 2014) which help to strengthen migrants’ feeling of simultaneity (cf. Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) and proximity to their relatives, and vice versa. The bag of *kuskus* has no financial value, but the fact that it was a present and that I brought it makes it highly valuable. This *inkomenda* was also a way to make me meet her daughter and tell her that I was in her mother’s house in *Chã de Pedra* and that her mother was well. Dona Bia pointed out: “*el t fiká kontent oras bo fla-l ma bo tiv li* [she

will be happy when you tell her that you were here]”. As Aronin (2012, p. 179) points out, that ‘affectivity is an important dimension in humans’ social and individual lives … [there are] close and intricate links between affectivity and material culture.’ The *inkomenda* is important for migration. However, it is also inserted in a much larger concept of *morabeza*, a word meaning gentleness and hospitality that are culturally seen as an identity marker of Cape Verdean people (Nun  z 1995, de Pina 2011, Zoetl 2014, Madeira 2016), and as a ritual of receiving guests.

I argue that understanding the degree of balancing between these values will allow us to better judge the importance of flows of *inkomendas*. It will help avoid misunderstandings and over-focusing on just one of their potentialities, i.e. as economic capital. Their value is very often revealed by their symbolic meanings, with no financial meaning at all, as shown above. The sending of *inkomendas* is a way to keep transnational family and friendship ties strong and let the receivers know that the links are still there, inform them about the well-being of the senders and that, despite the temporal and physical distance, they (both the senders and receivers) are not forgotten. It is a way to extend networks and in that case it inscribed me – as messenger (by analogy to the pigeon) – into their network by linking me to the mother in Cape Verde and the children in Luxembourg.

Most literature and official reports concerning remittances focus on their financial values, neglecting their symbolic value and reducing their meanings to simplistic numbers. The receivers are usually viewed and depicted in various literatures as poor people, the ones in need that depend on remittances to satisfy their basic needs. And the sending of *inkomendas* is mostly viewed as one-directional, i.e. from migrants in the host country to relatives in need in the sending country. The above example helps to challenge those one-directional focussed studies and demonstrates that the flow of things often happens the other way round, i.e. from non-migrants to migrants as well. Lobo’s (2014) is an interesting article that shows this for the Cape Verdean migration context. She demonstrates how *inkomendas* ‘exchanges are, therefore, an effective means to be in touch’ in that non-migrants are also ‘active participants’ (Lobo, 2014, p. 464). Her study also shows how flow of goods is a ‘two-way affair’ (Lobo, 2014, p. 469) and a social constructor that creates ‘simultaneous nature of lives within and outside the borders of the Nation State’ (Lobo, 2014, p. 463).

Similarly,   kesson (2016, p. 112) conducted a case study of Cape Verdean returnees to contest the idea of a one-way transfer of capital ‘from northern countries of immigration to the countries of return.’ According to her, ‘policy documents tend to portray the [southern sending countries] as empty spaces where accumulation of capital is impossible or at least less

rewarding than in the migrant-receiving countries' (Åkesson, 2016, p. 113). Her study shows how capital is multisitedly accumulated before, during and after migration. As most aspects of Cape Verdean migration and of migration in general, the circular flow of things represents an interplay between symbolic and material values, maintaining the link not only between the migrants and their relatives who stay- but also linking their sending and receiving countries.

Let us now turn to one of the most banal linguistically defined portable objects, two bags: The first was photographed in Cape Verde, indexing migration to Luxembourg, while the second is its opposite, i.e. it was taken in Luxembourg and indexes Cape Verde, as illustrated in Figure 5.8 below.



Figure 5.8a) and b): A high school pupil carrying a 'Luxembourg' bag in *Povoação*, Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde; and a young woman of Cape Verdean origin carrying a bag in the form a Cape Verdean national flag in Luxembourg (photographs taken by B. Tavares, February 6th and October 9th, 2016)

The first photo presents a pupil carrying a school bag during a children's carnival parade in *Povoação*. The bag, with the word Luxembourg inscribed three times on it – twice horizontally and once in a circular shape –, invites connections to Luxembourg at the first glance. The design of the bag, the display of the words, colours and tracks attracts a careful observer's attention and advertises the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. However, the presence of that bag may go unnoticed by most people during the parade, but it first called Peter's attention (the DJ who became my best friend in *Povoação*, see Chapter 4.6 above) since he knew about my project. Peter asked me to look, pointing to the bag as I was searching for connections to Luxembourg. That was great! I asked the school girl if I could take a photo of her bag for the project on

migration. I could not ask much at that time. She nicely accepted and was about to give the bag to me to photograph, but I said it was fine to take a photo as she carried it.

The bag may have been designed and produced only for commercial reasons, but the place where it was and the person who was carrying it added other values to it and should make us think beyond its commercial purpose. That is one of the potentialities of linguistic landscaping: It helps us to establish diagnosis of places and objects and gain insightful information on how places and objects are interconnected by people. This bag can represent two facets of connections between Luxembourg and Cape Verde: first, the migration connection by the bag's portability, if we consider it to be made in Luxembourg, as indeed it was from Luxembourg. As Sebba (2010, p. 75) reminds us, 'we need to be cautious about what inferences can be made by studying ... landscape alone. We need ethnographic observation to set it in context.' I confirmed this through Peter, who knew the pupil and asked her about where and how she had found it, and who had given it to her. The pupil had some connections or networks to Luxembourg from where the bag was sent by a relative. After talking to that pupil again, Peter confirmed the bag's origin to me via Facebook, since I had left Santo Antão. Secondly, that bag can be analogously linked to education aid, which is one of the main branches of the cooperation between Cape Verde and Luxembourg. One more point can be raised here, which is the pupil's pride in using the bag: When I asked her if I could take a photo of her bag, she accepted it easily and willingly. In countries with a long tradition of emigration like Cape Verde, portable items such as this school bag can be a first opener of people's horizon to mobility or migration. They can make people aspire to migrate. In this sense, portable things can be the first light to show people a way to move or at least be informed about distant, desirable worlds.

Similarly, the second photo was taken in a fleeting by-chance-encounter. I was going to Bonnevoie, the most important fieldwork site in Luxembourg for this study (see Chapter 4 above), and when I had just left the lift behind *Gare Centrale*, a young lady carrying a bag in the form of Cape Verde's national flag and an older woman (in my impression, she seemed to be the young lady's mother) took a step to take the lift up to the *Gare*. In a flash, I saw the bag and spontaneously asked her in English if she was Cape Verdean and if I could take a photo of that bag for the project. Using body language, the older woman suggested me to speak French, so I switched to French and the young lady said: "*je suis la moitié* [I'm the half]." I was about to ask more, but I could see that they were in a hurried moment, as indicated by the older woman inside the lift pressing buttons to go up. Thus, to avoid taking their time, I simply took the photo and thanked them.

Both of the photos are connected to Cape Verdean migration, but in different ways. While the first is a remittance, a gift from a Cape Verdean migrant in Luxembourg to a relative in Cape Verde, the second represents an ‘act of identity’ (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and identification of a young lady of Cape Verdean origin in Luxembourg. Her skin colour can index some traces of ‘Cape Verdeanness’ (Batalha, 2002; Goís, 2010), which the bag as a linguistically defined and graphic object specified and confirmed by her uttering a quantifying statement of identity “*je suis la moitié* [I’m the half].” It is important to see how human bodies, personal objects and voice conflate and convey meaning in the process of human identity and identification in a fleeting interaction and encounter. Her body, and the semiotic, linguistic and material components that her body serves as a support, helped me to infer her origin, which she confirmed. In Luxembourg, this is a typical example of Cape Verdean visibility, i.e. through what Sebba (2010, p. 59) calls ‘mobile texts,’ and material objects of everyday life displayed in the landscape. The two photos display similar objects, but they have different meanings. Thus, the meaning of material objects also depends on the landscape in which they are perceived and read. Their motion in the landscape may add new meanings and/or remove them. I argue that landscape is also contextual and not static. It is a dynamism of seeing and perceiving things and people in a given space and time.

I conclude this section by presenting an example of how migrants’ lives are impacted and defined in between various sites of their country of origin and their host country. During my second fieldwork stay on Santo Antão Island, I arranged to meet Peter (see Chapter 4 above) in *Povoação*, where he lives. When I arrived there from *Coculi*, where I was hosted, I phoned him and he told me he was in a cyber café near the *Avenida Luxemburgo*. When I arrived there I found him standing in front of a long rectangular glass desk holding a USB stick in his hand. He told me he was waiting for his turn to print a “*konvit pa un broda na Holanda* [invitation to a friend in the Netherlands].” The printer ejected that Portuguese wedding invitation letter with the name of Luxembourg imprinted on it, as seen in Figure 5.9 below. As stated in the letter, the ceremony would take place at *Internato Grão Ducado do Luxemburgo*. Thus, the *Internato* (see Chapter 5.3 above) became a multifunctional place.



Figure 5.9 A wedding invitation letter from a couple in *Povoação*, Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde, to a Cape Verdean migrant in the Netherlands (photograph taken by B. Tavares, March 6th, 2015)

The name of Luxembourg on the invitation letter intrigued me, and I asked him if I could photograph it. Then, Peter enthusiastically made a ‘biography’ of that letter for me. As he had good computer skills, a couple – Ivone and Rui, the partners who were going to be married – asked him to make that invitation letter to send to Ivone’s brother, a migrant in the Netherlands. And he added that with that letter the brother will ask his boss in the Netherlands for some days of holiday to attend Ivone and Rui’s wedding in *Povoação*. Peter stressed that that was a common practice in Santo Antão. This is an intrinsic example of ‘how goods/[texts] in motion [can] bring people together’ (Lobo, 2014, p. 463). The letter would serve as a proof for that migrant to ask permission to join relatives in Cape Verde for a special occasion. It also shows how a portable object can help to coordinate and impact migrants’ lives in their circuit of relations between their country of origin and their host country. That particular letter may help that particular migrant to get permission from his boss to go back and attend the wedding of his sister; however, it would be almost impossible the other way round, i.e. if Rui and Ivone were migrants in the Netherlands and Ivone’s brother was a non-migrant.

5.5 Moving landscape

Della Dora (2009, p. 334) stresses a need to go beyond the first meaning of landscape ‘as a portion of territory subjected to our embodied gaze and to physical experiences within it.’ She suggests a move from the study of landscape as ‘a mere iconographic interpretation,’ to for example what she calls ‘graphic landscape’ as objects per se. She proposes a ‘research

framework in which object-hood is regarded as a complementary to iconographic analysis' (Dora, 2009, p. 335) focussing on the materiality of the landscape and the social and political meaning it conveys. Similarly, Aronin (2012, p. 181) suggests a

material culture research [that] goes beyond the interest of [early] linguistic landscape in the static public signage and embraces a wider scope of phenomena: objects and spaces, complemented by music and rhythm, smells, and time patterns.

Drawing on those scholars, this section attempts to expand the scenery of linguistic landscape approach from 'a move from static landscape representations to representations able to travel around' (della Dora, 2009, p. 334). In this vein, moving/dynamic landscape encompasses 'travelling landscape-objects' (della Dora, 2009, p. 334) in their circulation amid human interactions in that those objects represent and mediate. Thus, I view landscape as a lived phenomenon, as moments of conflations between human beings and objects as an assemble of culture, identity and identifications. As Whatmore (2006) points out, 'landscapes are co-fabricated between more-than-human bodies and lively earth' (cited in della Dora, 2009, p. 338).

Landscapes are constructed by living bodies through their interactions between themselves and with non-living entities. Here, I regard landscapes as actions and movements of people and objects. Thus, I concentrate on those movements that connect Cape Verde to Luxembourg and beyond. They can be fleeting, ephemeral movements and encounters that represent culture, historical or international relations. Carnival is one of the most salient fleeting encounters and cultural events in Cape Verde. It is also a political event in that the government of Cape Verde invests significant money to sponsor groups' activities, especially in Mindelo, whose Carnival is the most famous in Cape Verde. The government's investment turned it into a culture product and made it highly commodifiable. Ultimately, it is a competitive event and a yearly occasion through which the linguistic/semiotic landscape of Cape Verde manifests its potentiality in informing about Cape Verdean migration and transnational links, as shown in Figure 5.10 below.



Figure 5.10a) and b): Carnival in Mindelo, São Vicente Island, Cape Verde (photograph taken from jdLux-Jornal do Luxemburgo, February 8th, 2015; and photograph taken by B. Tavares, February 9th, 2016)

The two photos depict Carnival day in Mindelo, São Vicente Island, in 2015 and 2016, respectively. Many Cape Verdean migrants (as well as tourists) in many parts of the world, namely from Portugal, the USA, the Netherlands, France, Luxembourg etc., usually return to Cape Verde (even if it is only for two to three days) to celebrate it. Usually every year, there is a parade dedicated to migrants representing Cape Verdean communities abroad or the country's transnational connections. Moreover, some migrants usually sponsor and participate actively in the parade. As human bodies can be turned into an instrument of protest, in Figure 5.10 above they are covered with migration and mobility 'slogans,' linguistic and non-linguistic. The support on which landscape views are imprinted also plays a role. Carnival is highly marked by moving women's bodies (and, to a lesser extent, men's), often undressed or semi-dressed in a transgressive way, symbolizing liberation from the social order forming a colourful spectacle of semiotic, linguistic, material and human entanglement.

As seen on the first photo of Figure 5.10 above, they are high school teachers dressed in the more nationalist Luxembourgish flag, 'featuring the heraldic Red Lion (Roude Léiw), a symbol evoking the ancient greatness of a medieval past, on a background of narrow white and blue

horizontal stripes' (Fehlen, 2009, p. 7). However, this flag is often socially perceived as an 'anti-migration' symbol in Luxembourg. According to Fehlen (2009, p. 7), this flag was proposed by Michel Wolter – 'the president of parliamentary group of the Christian Social Party and former Minister of Interior- to replace the national tricolored flag (red, white, blue). Indeed, 'the argument put forward was that the Luxembourgish and Dutch flag was too similar' (Fehlen, 2009, p. 7). Thus, the Red Lion flag won the status of the civil flag of Luxembourg in July 2007.

As seen in the first photo, the teachers (all women) are celebrating Carnival under the slogan "*Solidariedade entre os povos* [solidarity between people]." Luxembourg was honoured and praised all around the main streets of the historical centre of Mindelo City (see also Facebook page of Mindelo's Carnival 2015); however, they were using the more nationalistic Luxembourg flag which, according to Fehlen (2009, p. 6), is 'the expression of a soft xenophobia in a country, whose official discourse is openness and hospitality.' As della Dora (2009, p. 348) points out, 'travelling landscape-objects are differently greeted and mobilized in different cultural contexts.' It seems that there might be a paradox here, because the teachers in the parade used the flag which in Luxembourg is not seen as a pro-migration (if such a thing exists) to celebrate and praise Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. However, on the other hand, this strikingly conveys the transgressive potential of Carnival that, in Bakhtin's sense, constitutes its intrinsic impulse. For, intentionally or not, the use of the more nationalistic Luxembourg flag to praise and celebrate migration to Luxembourg was, to a certain extent, a symbolic meaning reversal of that flag. As della Dora (2009, p. 350) puts it, 'landscape objects may change their meaning and function in the course of their life and journeys, and so activate and be part of complex geographies of reception.'

As also seen in the second photo of Figure 5.10 above, other countries like China, the USA, France, Portugal, Mexico, Brasil and Senegal were also honoured for similar and distinctive motives. There is a range of entangled reasons for honouring these countries. On the one hand, some are honoured for migration reasons. For example, in the Mindelo Carnival of 2015 and 2016, the USA, Portugal and France were honoured respectively as: 1) the country where most diasporic Cape Verdeans live and which is deemed a pioneer destination country for Cape Verdean migration (Carreira, 1983; Meintel, 2002; Halter, 2008); 2) the country where the largest Cape Verdean community resides in Europe; and 3) the country where the second largest Cape Verdean community resides in Europe (INE, 2000; Batalha, 2002; Carling, 2004; Carling & Batalha, 2008; Jacobs et al., 2017).

Senegal was also represented for being the host country for the largest number of Cape Verdeans in continental Africa (INE, 2000; Carling & Batalha, 2008). In addition, Brazil was represented for migration, historical links, cooperation, and for having the most famous Carnival in the world and having inspired Mindelo's Carnival. That is why Mindelo is also known as *Brazilim* [little Brazil] (cf. Sheringham, 2015). China was also present for cooperation, immigration and business reasons (Haugen & Carling, 2005; Carling & Åkesson, 2009), as it is illustrated by a Chinese shop façade named "Super China" inscribed in form of China's flag in the centre of the first photo above in Figure 5.10. As we see on that photo, the "Super China" shop is next to the "*Loja Mindelo*", a local shop, thus representing, to a certain extent, a space compression and a link between the local and the global.

Della Dora (2009, p. 347) points out that 'iconic landscape-objects can also come in the form of extravagant ensembles of human and non-human.' As both photos of Figure 5.10 above illustrate, we can observe an 'ensemble of human and non-human' representing Cape Verdean transnationalism in a moving caravan, i.e. a moving landscape. In particular, the second photo represents an imaginative journey around the world, as shown in the front part by the Portuguese phrase "*uma volta ao mundo em loucura* [a journey around the world in folly]" and the flags of many countries below the phrase. That caravan is filled with history, i.e. the past, present and imagined future of a postcolonial Cape Verde.

Let us now turn to another example of moving landscape, which denotes Cape Verde as an intrinsic country of emigration and signals Cape Verdean trajectories to Luxembourg. The caravans in both photos in Figure 5.11 below are mirrors to Cape Verdean culture and history that is, to a large extent, a history of emigration which started with the whaling industry to the U.S. (see Chapter 2 above).



Figure 5.11a) and b): A folklore group waiting for the Grand Duke in Ponta do Sol, Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde; and the 3rd edition of *Journée Capverdienne* in Ettelbruck, Luxembourg (photographs taken by B. Tavares, March 12th and July 11th, 2015, respectively)

The first photo depicts a ceremony in the sense that a group of people was waiting for the Grand Duke of Luxembourg near the town hall in Ponta do Sol, the administrative centre of the Ribeira Grande council, Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde (see also Chapter 5.3 above). The ceremony is reproduced in Luxembourg as seen, for example, in the second photo, but for a different purpose. It was for the 3rd edition of *Journée Capverdienne*, which took place on July 11th, 2015, in Ettelbruck, a city in Luxembourg in which many Cape Verdean migrants live. This event is organized every year by *Veteranos do Norte*, a Cape Verdean migrant association in Luxembourg (see Chapter 7 below) whose members are exclusively migrants originally from the *Barlavento* islands, i.e. the northern islands.

Cape Verdean artists, folklore groups based in Cape Verde or in the Cape Verdean 'diaspora,' as well as famous and political people are invited to come to Luxembourg to participate in that festive event. That year, the event was dedicated to the Independence of Cape Verde (July 5th, 1975). In spite of the purpose of transmitting Cape Verdean culture to children of Cape Verdean origin and beyond in Luxembourg, the event had a benevolent character, i.e.

to help people in need in Cape Verde, collecting money by selling traditional foods, drinks and other objects during that event. People get together and enjoy themselves celebrating ‘Cape Verdeanness’ (Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2010) with music, traditional foods, drinks and objects of material culture.

People travel with their culture and ways of life. Similar to the flags, bags and painting presented in previous sections above, the boat miniatures and drums used in both ceremonies in Figure 5.3 above are also ‘travelling landscape-objects’ (della Dora, 2009). The ceremonies and festivities in both photo have connection with what is called ‘*São João*’ (in Portuguese) or ‘*San Jon*’ and ‘*Son Djon/Dion*’ (in CVC) literally meaning Saint John (in English), which is a traditional and religious feast celebrated around the world every year in June. In Cape Verde it is usually celebrated under the sound of drums and moving boat miniatures, with little nuance from island to island (*A Semana*, June 24th, 2008). For instance, in my home village in the district of Tarrafal (Santiago Island), people do not celebrate ‘*Son Djon*’ playing drums and parading with boat miniatures, but at night a little bonfire is lit by the house and everybody jumps over it from one side to other, holding eggs in the hands and making wishes to God for a better future.

The festivities shown in Figure 5.11 above are not representations of ‘*Son Djon*’ per se. They are reappropriations of ‘*Son Djon*’ to celebrate Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. As seen above in Chapter 5.4, the image of a boat has a strong symbolic meaning to Cape Verde as a nation rooted in a culture of migration in that it symbolizes Cape Verdean ‘navigation’ around the world, here specifically to Luxembourg. Furthermore, boats are directly connected to Cape Verdean migration as the only means of ‘*sai fora* [getting out]’ (Bordonaro, 2009) in the past to search for a better life. In both photos, there is a manifestation of material culture in the connection with those two boat miniatures, suggesting ‘the idea of alliance, belonging, association, grouping of people and collective visions of culture [and] customs’ (Aronin & O Laoire, 2013, p. 228).

Sebba (2010, p. 59) in his analysis of what he calls ‘discourses in transit’ points out that, ‘both fixed and mobile texts may be involved in more than one discourse.’ Similarly, I argue here that, in different ways, both ceremonies presented in Figure 5.11 above are involved in more than one discourse. On the one hand, they overtly represent and celebrate culture, migration and benevolence, but on the other hand they indirectly represent commercialisation in different levels. The first ceremony was mostly intended to celebrate Luxembourg-Cape Verde cooperation and praise Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg, the second was to

celebrate both migration, the Independence day and to transmit Cape Verdean culture to a host country.

Moreover, the second representation is also a ‘commodification of culture’ (Harvey, 2002), because that event was also marked by economic interests. It was sponsored by banks and other (financial) companies from both Cape Verde (e.g. BCN, *Banco Cabo-verdiano de Negócios*) and Luxembourg (e.g. *Bâloise*, a Swiss based assurance company with affiliation in many EU countries). They also advertise their products, as is visible on the second photo. For example, as we can see, the organizers and the actors performing on that parade were wearing a white t-shirt with the Portuguese phrase “BCN *a força de acreditar em Cabo Verde* [BCN the power of believing in Cape Verde]” inscribed on the back, advertising the BCN. Furthermore, their leaflets were displayed on tables next to the stage, similarly advertising their products to the audience. The BCN even sent delegates from Cape Verde to attend that event. The Portuguese phrase on the t-shirt functions as a ‘non-overt message’ to exhort migrants to open a bank account in Cape Verde and thus for BCN to earn more clients. Such ceremonies are usually an embedment of ‘pride and profit’ (Duchêne & Heller, 2012) and, as shown above, migrants ‘are exhorted to contribute to economic development’ (Åkesson, 2016, p. 112) of their country of origin through remittances and entrepreneurial activities (see also Chapters 6 and 7 below).

5.6 Summary

The transnationalism of Cape Verde is constantly manifested in various forms and functions in the linguistic and semiotic landscape of the archipelago and beyond. This chapter has shown that transnational connections are made visible in public and private places by relatively durable fixed signs or more ephemeral signs, by goods transactions like the sending of *inkomendas* in the form of portable material objects, gifts or financial aid as a transnational practice.

The chapter has shown that in Cape Verde (as in many other countries), numerous names of foreign important people or places are inscribed in street signs. Foreign names inscribed in this form in Cape Verde can be read in two ways. As seen above, firstly, it is a way of honouring Cape Verdean migrant communities abroad, i.e. in countries like Luxembourg, the USA, France, Portugal and the Netherlands, from where the names are borrowed; secondly, it is a way of praising the cooperation between Cape Verde and those countries from where the names are borrowed. The names are also a way to inform us about the existence of a Cape Verdean community abroad, praising and celebrating the transnationalism of the archipelago (cf. Batalha

& Carling, 2008). The changing of flags or even a proposal to do so are sociolinguistic processes that are similar across the globe. They are highly entangled in questions of identity and transformations of countries for social, political and historical reasons in which the arguments are mostly justified by the need for distinctiveness concerning the country's essential identity, for both emancipatory or/and nationalistic reasons. As this chapter has shown, the changing of Cape Verdean flags has also reflected political alliances to the global North. In short, this chapter has shown how the global North in general and Luxembourg in particular are present semiotically, linguistically, socially and discursively in Cape Verde, in a conflation with migration.

CHAPTER 6

The actors in between: unequal mobilities from Cape Verde to Luxembourg

‘Big ideas such as globalisation, mobility, equality, and flexibility are played out in the small and routine encounters that affect … life chances.’ (Roberts, 2018, p. v)

6.1 Introduction

In their book *Mille Plateaux* [A thousand plateaus], Deleuze and Guattari (1980) present a dual conceptualization of space as ‘smooth’ and ‘striated’ (see Chapter 3). They also argue that the two spaces are constantly transforming into one another. Drawing on their spatial metaphor, I can affirm that the road of (im)mobility, especially of migration, is becoming more and more ‘striated’ and compartmentalized. The more obstacles are introduced within this space, the greater become the struggles and demands put on those who want to move. As Duchêne et al. (2013, pp. 9–10) put it, ‘while borders control, both in bodily and symbolic ways, those who pass through or around them face new borders which … fundamentally affect access to the labour market and their long-term futures.’ After making their road ‘smoother’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980) by being able to move across their nation of origin and become migrants, the road can again become more ‘striated’ in their host society. This means that ‘uprooted’ people navigate the road under tightening structural limitations and exclusions.

This chapter adopts a case-study approach that allows me to explore how different causes, actions and migration regimes lead to specific results in specific situations. Comparing life stories and trajectories of Cape Verdean migrants to Luxembourg from a sociolinguistic angle allows me to understand the multiple mobile and multilingual repertoires and trajectories of South-North movement. Their lives have been affected and constrained differently by a combination of their ‘individual level characteristics’ (Carling, 2002) such as their educational attainment, personal traits and linguistic repertoire under tightening migration regimes. As Carling (2004) reminds us, the introduction of the Schengen regime facilitated internal mobility within EU countries while closing its external borders to human beings from outside with exclusive rights of entry (e.g. Gaibazzi, 2014 on ‘eligibility’). Their (im)mobility experiences and (educational) trajectories are different, but in various ways and at various moment their struggles also overlap. Some have navigated smoother migration paths, while others, depending on their linguistic repertoire and their qualifications, have faced more striated paths.

This chapter investigates different types of Cape Verdean mobility and movement to Luxembourg. Whereas the previous chapter is concerned with signs of Luxembourg in the transnational landscape of Cape Verde as traces of Cape Verdean emigration to Luxembourg, this chapter focusses on the lived experiences of Cape Verde-Luxembourg transnationalism or transnational lives between Cape Verde and Luxembourg. Human mobility is concerned with the trajectories and repertoires not only of Cape Verdeans who have lived physically in and between Luxembourg and Cape Verde, but also of those who tried but failed to engage in transnational movement to Luxembourg, i.e. ‘involuntary immobiles’ (Carling, 2002), or have lost their mobile rights of access to the Grand Duchy (and the EU) for various reasons. The chapter compares and contrasts the life trajectories and specific moments of struggle over mobility of Cape Verdeans with different (im)mobile and multilingual experiences linked to Luxembourg. The cases are presented as a continuum of Cape Verdean trajectories from ‘thin’ or virtual (imagined) to ‘thick’ and physical (lived) transnationalism. Thus, they range from the high immobility of the involuntary immobile and the deported to the high mobility of transmigrants, entrepreneurs and retirees.

6.2 Alexandrino: a typical involuntary immobile

The first focal participant, Alexandrino, is in his early forties and is a fisherman in Ponta do Sol, the administrative centre of Ribeira Grande on Santo Antão Island. He lives in his parents’ house and can often be found playing cards at the port and can be regarded as a typical example of what Carling (2002) calls ‘involuntary immobile.’ I was introduced to him in March 2015 as I was looking for people with (mobile) connections to Luxembourg. A common friend who knew about Alexandrino’s past struggles to travel set up a meeting by the port. When I presented the info sheet and the form to sign for his consent in participating in the project, it became apparent that Alexandrino had little formal education as he noticeably struggled to sign the form.

Alexandrino began explaining that he could speak the Creole of Cape Verde (CVC) and “*dzenraská na* [get by with]” Portuguese. The word he used in CVC, *dzenraská*, indicates that he struggles with the formal and official language of his country. He also said that he would like to learn French: “*mi N ta gostá d prendé Franses...e mutu bom* [I’d like to learn French, it’s very good].” His desire for French is not immediately related to migration but to the fact that speakers of French, of whom he says there are many in his surroundings, are admirable in

Alexandrino's eyes. However, as a fisherman, he has not had much opportunity to learn a foreign language himself. Alexandrino continued to explain that he has brothers in Luxembourg, France and Portugal, and even a daughter in France, and has applied several times for visas to join them, but has never been given one.

*N pidí un data di vez, dtxa-n dizeb seis vez, dja-m
ba pidí vistu propi na Praia ... un voltá N pedí pa
Praia es txomá-m so ki ne tinha dinher pa bai te la
... pur isu agor Nfiká asin mas kuatu vez N bai
propi la mas nunka es po-m el*

I applied many times, let me tell you six times, I've applied for visa even in Praia ... I applied again in Praia they called me but I didn't have money to go there ... so now I'm like this but four times I went there but they never issued it to me.

For example, he once tried to come to Luxembourg in the context of a football tournament. His team, *Veteranos de Ponta do Sol*, was invited to participate in a tournament organized by a Cape Verdean association in Luxembourg. That year, Alexandrino reported, he and twenty-six other players applied for a visa, but only a few players – the ones in their early twenties and younger, in Alexandrino's recollection – managed to get the visa and play in the tournament. Alexandrino was declared ineligible, i.e. 'unfit or unworthy of being chosen' (Gaibazzi, 2013, p. 39) for a Schengen visa, which seek to ensure 'that only those with a high level of material well-being in Cape Verde are given visas' (Carling, 2004, p. 121).

Furthermore, living in a peripheral place like Ponta do Sol makes it hard to seek (physical) transnational mobility. There is no embassy or consulate on Santo Antão and thus to apply for a visa people from that island have to board a boat to Mindelo on São Vicente Island and then have to travel from there by boat or plane to the capital Praia on Santiago Island, as illustrated on the map in Figure 6.1 below.

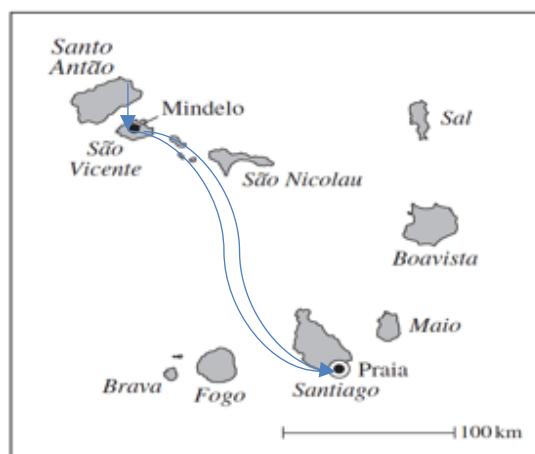


Figure 6.1 Map of Cape Verde; boat travel from Santo Antão to São Vicente, and boat/plane travel from São Vicente to Praia (Santiago Island) (adapted from Carling, 2004)

This presents a first major cost and barrier to migration. Sometimes they hesitate to take that step, because there are many cases of people who went to Praia for nothing. Migration remains almost a myth for Alexandrino, dauntingly present in his network of relatives and friends but elusively absent in his own life. He manifested his frustrations over his condition of being ‘involuntary immobile’ and stuck with no chance to ‘make’ his life as follows:

mi, nha problema e nbarká, pa N podé fazé nha vida e kela, ya bu podé trabalhá pa bo, pa bo ten un koza tanbe, un kaza kuand bu for ja di idadi bu ten onde meté kabesa, e kela.

I, my problem is to embark, to be able to make my life that is it, yeah you can work so that you have something also, a house that when you are old you have where to enter your head, that is it.

Alexandrino does have family networks (a daughter and brothers in Europe), but that is not enough to be allowed by migration regimes to navigate the road of mobility. Being a simple fisherman, with a low level of literacy and a ‘restricted’ linguistic repertoire, he is structurally denied access to the privileged North. He has been, time and again, declared “ineligible” for transnational mobility by the authorities. Schengen’s migration regimes stress that:

the purpose of examining visa applications is to detect those applicants who are seeking to immigrate to [the Schengen Area] and set themselves up there, using grounds such as tourism, studies, business or family visits as a pretext. Therefore, it is necessary to be particularly vigilant when dealing with “risk categories”, in other words unemployed persons, and those with no regular income, etc. (Council of the European Union, 2000, p. 26, cited in Carling, 2004, p. 121).

These regimes effectively immobilise Alexandrino, keeping him away from his kin and from building a house. Ironically, there is an interesting tension between his desire to migrate and his desire to be rooted in his home community: In Alexandrino’s imagination, socio-economic stability is something that comes with transnational mobility. Personal development is blocked in Alexandrino’s experience as long as he is stuck before migration. He views ‘spatial mobility as a precursor for social mobility’ (Esson, 2015, p. 2). However, he remains immobile against his wish, both geographically and socially, left only with the technologies of communication (cf. Urry, 2007).

6.3 Marku: a vulnerable deportee

The encounter with the second focal participant, Marku, was also arranged by a friend, a childhood friend of mine who is originally from Santo Antão but grew up in my village in

Santiago Island and was in Santo Antão for a family visit during my fieldwork. We arranged to meet and go to Paúl, a picturesque town by the sea, in search for people connected to Luxembourg. When we got there, we were introduced to Marku by his cousin, whom we found playing cards near Marku's house. Marku took us to his backyard, where we could see and hear the waves bumping against the walls of the house. He is very connected to the sea, and during the interview he kept pointing to the places where he usually surfs with friends and tourists.

Marku is in his early thirties and shares a house with his mother and cousins. He speaks Santo Antão Creole, Portuguese and learned some English and French in high school. Unlike Alexandrino, Marku has had the opportunity to travel. He also has a son and a *mãi d'fidj* (literally, 'mother of child'), which, depending on the situation, refers to a partner or ex-partner), who have both moved to Portugal. His first and only overseas travel was in 2012, on the formal holiday invitation of a Cape Verdean migrant couple in Luxembourg who he guided during their holidays 'back home' in Santo Antão. He travelled via Amsterdam and intended to explore Luxembourg, then go back to Cape Verde and prepare to come again as he had fallen in love with a Cape Verdean woman in Luxembourg. Two weeks before his planned departure, he had an epilepsy attack and decided to seek treatment, expiring his one-year tourist visa in the process. He pointed out that one day on his way to the hospital he got into a traffic jam and was subjected to a routine check from the police. Because his visa was no longer valid, they took him to prison:

N fká nov dia ma es dipus agora es envia-m te Kab Verd. ... Mi foi nen trafikant nen nada, es mandá-m moda N ka tava ku dokumentu. ... mi moda N dzé mi né trafikant, mi né drogad nen nada es panhá-m atraves de moda N dzé-b.

I spent nine days there before they sent me to Cape Verde. ... I wasn't a drug dealer or anything, they send me because I didn't have the document. ... as I told you I'm not a drug dealer, I'm not a drug addict or anything, they caught me as I told you.

As deportees from the EU are usually patrolled by authorities until the island of Sal (Cape Verde), during a subsequent phone conversation I asked Marku if any migration official took him to Cape Verde. According to him that was not evident. Marku shared that when he entered the plane he did not know if he was accompanied by police officers or not, due to the possibility of those officers to be dressed in plain clothes. Marku's story of deportation is a typical example of how Cape Verdeans are deported from Luxembourg, as also noted by the Ambassador in my interview with him (see Chapter 3). Even if a migrant has never committed any harm to anyone, officials take overstaying and being *sans papiers* as a crime and deport them to their country of origin.

Back in Paúl, Marku spends his time surfing with friends and tourists again, waiting and hoping to come to Luxembourg again. He said that among all the European countries he visited, Luxembourg was his favourite, because it was calm and everything was well organized. He praised Luxembourg and added, pointing to the calmness of the streets of his hometown Paúl, “it is like this, calm there, Luxembourg is *tranquil*.” He also said that before travelling he liked English more than French, but after his year and a half in Luxembourg this had changed. Apart from CVC and Portuguese, he mostly used French during his stay in Luxembourg. He told us he had no interest in learning German but attempted to learn some Luxembourgish through the children he lived with. Today, he routinely uses the French he improved during his stay in Luxembourg with hiking and surfing tourists – who are mostly from France or French-speaking – that visit his town.

Marku’s narrative is full of critique, both of himself and of the system. On the one hand, he criticized the blind migration regime that forced him back and that lacked compassion for his medical condition; yet, Luxembourg remains his favourite country. He also criticized that many Cape Verdeans living in Luxembourg are only interested in partying and are not advancing in life. And he criticized the inequalities between migrants and non-migrants in Cape Verdean society. On the other hand, several moments in the interview show that migration has made Marku a more reflexive person. He also repeatedly criticized himself. For instance, for making the mother of his son (*mãi d’fidj*) in Portugal suffer, as he was involved with another woman during his stay in Luxembourg. He refers to this as illusions. After deportation, he started to have other values, for instance by showing more respect for his own mother, and was proud of having learned to cook while in Luxembourg.

When I asked Marku if he still envisaged coming to Luxembourg again, he pointed out:

*N kabá pa regresá ma N ten, N ten, N ta k speransa
torná bai ... as vez N podé bai mi Ne ten sort mi N
passa un monte tempu la mi Ne ben ku nada ... as vez
N podé kabá pa txigá nha sort da-m tudu kore-m bem
... e moda N dzé-b mi N ta aí ta, mi N ta aí ta ba ta
tratá de saúde pa torna da espedient pa pedí ... y
Luxamburg e un país ke N kre torná voltá mesmu
voltá.*

I had to return but I have, I have, I have a hope of going again ... perhaps I can go and I’m not lucky, I can spend a lot of time there and I return with nothing ... perhaps I can just arrive with luck and everything goes well with me ... as I told you I’m here, I’m treating my health in order to prepare to apply ... and Luxembourg is a country that I really want to go again.

Marku’s repeated mentioning of hope during the interview reflects that he is not very confident, feels trapped in his current situation, and analyses his situation in terms of luck (*sort*). Similar

as in the Muslim context of the Gambian Soninke ‘hustlers’ studied by Gaibazzi (2015), luck here refers to the contingency and unpredictability of self-realization in life and embraces that life chances and mobile options are situated partly or largely beyond one’s personal agency.

6.4 Carlos: a re-established deportee

The next focal participant, Carlos, is in his late twenties and currently working as *responsável de armazem* [the person responsible for a warehouse] of a construction and housing company in Cape Verde. When I met him, he was working at this entreprise’s headquarters in Santo Antão, but he recently moved to the one on the neighbouring island of São Vicente. I was introduced to Carlos by Peter, his childhood friend and the person with whom I first shared our project. Carlos came to Luxembourg after obtaining a visa for a sports tournament that his team (Rosariense FC) was invited to participate in by a Cape Verdean association in Luxembourg. He overstayed and was about to go to Portugal, but after two months he found a job and decided to stay in Luxembourg, where he had aunts, uncles and many cousins and friends. He started to work in the backstage of a restaurant as a *plongeur* (dishwasher) and later combined this with construction work. For three years, he consciously managed to live his liminal life in Luxembourg, i.e. between the luck of not being caught and the hazard of being deported, as he recollected:

já tive várias vezes ke pulisia para-m má na Luxemburgo foi normal. Mi N ta ba pa traboi, karu de pulisia ta txigá, ta pará asin. N ta fká paradu es ta dzé asin: “não bo podé pasá,” má sin dokumentu!

I’d already had many times that police stopped me but in Luxembourg it was normal. I was going to work, police car arrived, stopped me like this. I stood still they said so: “no you can pass”, but without document!

The longer he stayed, the luckier he was. It seems that the life of clandestinity can be fully measured in the light of luck and in the darkness of bad luck (cf. Gaibazzi, 2015). He used to be approached more times by police in a patrolling situation, but the officers always told him to pass, never asking for documents, as he stressed.

Similar to Marku, after many ‘lucky days,’ an unlucky day would come. After accepting to have coffee with friends after work, at the border on their way to Germany they were stopped by police officers. As Carlos did not have documents, he was taken to prison and then to the detention centre, where he met one of his team colleagues with whom he had come together for

the tournament. Carlos spent one month in the centre before being deported. He narrated the deportation process as it had been easy and difficult at the same time:

foi muito komplikadu, até presu N tive es po-m algema kes kosa la ta afeta-b bastante. Más kuandu es envia-m foi normal, non, foi. pa nha kabesa foi difisil má kel prosesu foi fásil ... má já N sabé risku ke N táva ta koré. Nton pur isu N táva trankuillu más so pa estadu limitadu na un espasu já ta afeta-m txeu.

it was very complicated, even jailed I was, they handcuffed me, those things affect you a lot. But when they expelled me it was normal, no, it did. To my head it was difficult but that process was easy ... but I knew the risk I was taking. So for this I was at easy but just to be limited in a space it affected me a lot already.

On the one hand, it was easy and ‘normal’ for the procedures taken. At least, he had a chance to say farewell to his aunt and cousins at the airport. On the other hand, it affected him psychologically, a rejection that was still present in his mind for the humiliation of being handcuffed, confined to a small place and under a permanent ‘live’ surveillance that, according to him, ‘ended’ at the airport of Luxembourg. Carlos’ assumption of this end of surveillance seemed to minimize the psychological force, the terror put on his mind, an experience he had never had during his two decades of life. Usually, to make sure and ‘secure’, police officers hand over the ‘repatriated’ to Cape Verdean border control agents at the airport of Sal Island (cf. Drotbohm, 2011). This did not happen, however, in Carlos’ case, as his last wish in Luxembourg seemed to be accepted. He asked the officials to leave him to return ‘alone.’ That was less evident in Marku’s case. This seems very unlikely, but it is an interesting comment as the surveillance continues in his head as a sort of paranoia created by the constant fear of being caught.

Despite all the emotional load of his deportation, Carlos was resilient to come again when there was another opportunity. He kept the ‘dream of return’ (Gmelch, 1980; Safran, 1991, cited in Lundy, 2011, p. 59) that was conditioned by the ‘ban of return’ (Drotbohm, 2013), which formally forbade him to apply to a visa or re-enter Luxembourg or any other Schengen country for 5 years after his deportation and practically probably even longer. He pointed out: “*es ta da un folha, un folha kes da-m kuandu N tava ta saí es da-m depois de 5 anu ke N podia tentasse vistu* [they gave me a sheet, a sheet they gave me when I was leaving, they gave me, after five years that I could try a visa].” Meanwhile, like Marku, he praised Luxembourg:

N gostá, se era pa repetí N táva torná repetí. N prendé txeu. Moda no ta dzé N abri oi, kuand bo saí la fora kosa já e diferent txeu txeu. So pa lidá ke pesoas

I liked, if it was to be repeated I’d repeat it. I learned a lot. As we say I opened my eyes, when you go abroad things are different a lot a lot. Just by coping with

diferent já bo ta prendé txeu kosa. Pontualidade ke na Luxamburg e sertu, kel kultura kes ten la, kel ijiene na rua, kel edukason e different de Kab Verd.

different people you learn many things. Punctuality in Luxembourg is sure, that culture they have, hygiene in the street, education is different from Cape Verde.

He stressed the diversity of its population, the culture of punctuality, education (i.e. meaning politeness here) and clean streets. Here, he stresses the non-economic gain of migration, “*moda N ta dizé N abri oi* [as we say I opened my eyes].” His narrative shows that migration built his cultural capital in the sense that coping with people from different cultural background and origins is knowledge to be learned. In general, mobility can help this process. Although he was violently removed by the authorities, like Markus, he “praises” and manifests a certain romanticized view of Luxembourg in general.

Furthermore, regarding his language life before and after migration, he pointed out that:

N prendé falá Franses la atraves de eskola ke N tinha konhesimentu. Li també já se N kontrase ma un turista já N ta falá ma es trankuilu. N tive 2 mes ta bá pa eskola prendé lingua má despos N ka ba N desistí, ke N táva ta presisá era de traboi, despos já N tinha konhesimentu de Franses la di eskola li nton foi mais fasil. logu na inisiu di trabalhu, ya ta trabadjá na plongeur na kuzinh. No inicio foi difisil. e difisil. bo ten ke stá sempre na kel koreria kosa, es ta dzé-m un pratu N ta trazé otu.

I learned to speak French of which I had some knowledge through school. Here also if I met a tourist, I could speak to them easily. I had two months of school to learn language but then I ended to give up. What I needed was a job, and I had already knowledge of French from school here, so it was easy. In the very beginning of work yes, I worked as a dishwasher in the kitchen. In the beginning it was difficult, it is difficult because you have to be in that rushing thing, they asked me for a plate I bring another.

Here, the role of language seems ambivalent. He started to highlight the fact that his pre-migratory knowledge of French helped him to communicate. However, at the same time he mentioned incidents at work that could point to communication gaps. The incidents might be caused by stress and language. Carlos needed to work, and he decided to invest more time in work than in language courses.

In the end, Carlos shared his hope of everybody having chances to go out (to migrate) to see that one’s imagination of migration as a *vida boa* [a good life] can be completely the contrary for some reasons pointed out above. The climate differences which often make many migrants say “*mi nkre bai pa nha tera* [I want to go back home]”, lack of recognition at work, together with racial discrimination – “*as vez bo ta da o melhor pa kes pessoa na traboi es ta odja-bu kor different es ta, ya* [sometimes you give your best to those people at work, they see you of a different colour they do, yes]” – all of these make migrant lives more difficult. In addition, as

happened in Mark's cases (above) and Sonia's case (below), Carlos shared his experience with the societal stereotypes against the deported: “*pesoas ta odja-m ku diskonfiansa, ate agora ta fazé piada, mas nha familia resebe-m dret* [people see me with distrust, still now they tell jokes, but my family received well]”. Deportation constitutes a double punishment, because the deported are sent to prison before deportation and socially stigmatized after the return to their country of origin, because it is a form of ‘empty-handed return.’ Let us now turn to the fourth focal participant, Sonia, a young returnee.

6.5 Sonia: an empty-hand returnee

Sonia has lived as a ‘*sans papier*’ for a decade (from 2000 to 2010) in Europe, moving between the Netherlands, France, Portugal and Luxembourg. She is in her late thirties and, like Alexandrino, she is originally from Ponta do Sol (Santo Antão). I met her for the first time on the neighbouring island of São Vicente during my first fieldwork stay. She was at her cousin’s house in Mindelo, close to where I was hosted. My host knew her cousin well and introduced me to her. Sonia’s father had migrated to Portugal even before the Independence of Cape Verde but he afterwards moved to the Netherlands. Thus, at the age of 22, Sonia left Santo Antão to join him there; however, she ended up spending most of her migration time in France (seven years). Before going to France, she had come to Luxembourg and worked in a hotel for one year, but the hotel closed and she went back to the Netherlands, from where she later left to France.

During her time of migration, Sonia mostly worked in the tourism sector. She mentioned that her best year in Europe was the one she spent in Luxembourg. In France she managed to find work babysitting and doing some cleaning. In between, she went to Portugal (where she spent eight months) to see if she could obtain a residence permit. She worked in a café bar without a formal work contract and earned low wages (€ 360 per month). Her goal was to legalise her stay, but she felt tired of her boss’ unfulfilled promises to give her a work contract, so she returned to France, where unfortunately she had a similar experience: She worked for a woman (*patroa*) who hired her to do housework but never gave her a formal contract. She left to the Netherlands again, and after her father’s death there, she finally decided to return to Cape Verde.

In Sonia’s case, the reluctance of EU authorities to give her the right papers (work permit or residence permit) subjected her to repeated exploitation and reinforced her vulnerability.

After comings and goings between those European countries, with the constant fear and anxiety of being caught and exploitation at work, Sonia consulted her family and decided to return to her mother's house in Santo Antão. However, she later came to regret that decision. In an interview she told me:

N ben N atxá un Kab Verd...di koza difisil, si mi N tava imajinava N ne tava ben, N ne tinha ipotizi di ben. N tomá nha desizon, N ben. N txomá nha mai, N txomá nha familia, N dize tava ta ben y dispos nha pai tinha morid, N tinha kes tenpu sen koza. mi N pensá, na spasu di un mes N konprá nha bilheti N ben pa Kab Verd. Talvez si N tava pensá un bokadinh mais mi ne tava ben, N ta fiká.

I came I found Cape Verde ... of difficult things, if I had imagined I wouldn't have come, no way. I took my decision I came. I phoned my mother, I phoned my family, I said that I was coming and furthermore my father had died, I had all that time without a thing [a job]. I reflected, within one-month time I bought my ticket I came to Cape Verde. Maybe if I had thought a bit more, I wouldn't have come, I would have stayed.

Note that Sonia repeatedly uses conditional tense (*si mi N tava imajinava ... si N tava pensá un bokadinh* [if I had imagined... if I had thought a bit more]) and markers of uncertainty (*talvez* [maybe]). This shows that she lacked information about her possibilities in Cape Verde before her return. The decision to return was not well considered by her. She clearly lacked what Fischer et al. (1997) called- 'location-specific assets,' such as a house, well established networks, relevant qualifications and so on. And when she returned it was with 'empty hands' (cf. Carling, 2004).

Leaving Europe to minimize her difficulties put her back into similar societal challenges in her alleged community of origin. She recollected:

bo ta pasá kel txeu tempu fora, bo ta ben bo ta atxá tudu koza different, mesmu amigs, bu ta, tudu jenti, abo ne n atxá bos amig prop, purk mi grinha sin N ben pa fiká, agora N ten konhesids pur izemplu, mi nhas amigs tud ba uns sai fora otus, dispos ki N voltá, uhn N logu na prinsipiу pesoal pesoas ta fiká ta koza es ta pensá ki bo ben diportod txeu vez, ta perguntao-b: "ah polisia panho-b el po-b na Kabu Verd," un data di koza, es fiká ta oio-b sempri, bo ta notá... es ta dizé, ten otu kes a be kritiká: "o ke ki bu ben fazé ai? ...bo tava na un lugar mas" ... bu ta sabé ki na prinsipiу txeu.

you spend a long time abroad, you return you find everything different, even friends, you, everybody, you don't find your friends even, because now I came to stay, now I have people I know for example, my friends all, some went out others, since I returned, uhn I in the very beginning people were, doing, many times they think that you got deported, they ask you: "ah police caught you they put you in Cape Verde," many things, they keep watching you always, you feel it...they say it, there are others they criticise: "what did you come to do here? ... you were in a better place" ... you know them many in the beginning.

Spending a decade abroad had left her ‘estranged’ and reproached by others she encountered back in Cape Verde, where most of her friends had left. Those experiences made her feel almost like a migrant in her country of origin. Sonia had to re-adapt and cope with the societal expectations and suspicion of having being deported. The traditional Cape Verdean construction of migration as a project to obtain a high standard of life after return, and the fact that many Cape Verdeans manage to live illegally for decades and make a living in the global North, contributed to making her case unexpected and almost unbelievable, since she was a young returnee. In the ‘eyes’ of Cape Verdean society, when the returned is not a retired person, i.e. not a ‘classic returnee’ (cf. Carling, 2004), and, even more, when she is a young woman, a category of migrant that is rarely deported in the Cape Verdean context (cf. Instituto das Comunidades, 2009; OIM, 2010, p. 54), one can be considered a ‘big’ loser. The idea of voluntarily giving up life abroad without or before the expected return does not make much sense in the collective imagination. The societal perception of Sonia resonates with what Carling (2004, p. 121) termed an ‘empty-hand returnee’, someone who has come ‘back being no better off [financially] than when she left’ (Carling, 2004, p. 121). This could be a humiliation for Sonia because she could not fulfil the assumed most basic objectives of migration, i.e. having one’s own house and to secure a pension for retirement. Sonia was thus socially evaluated back ‘home’ and othered in her community of origin.

When asked about the benefits of her trajectories within these European countries, she highlighted learning French. That still remained a modest gain due to the high societal expectation on someone’s return. However, she highlighted the opportunity she had to develop it as an added value, which helped her at some work in hotels back on Santo Antão Island:

benefisius k N prendé ma aperfeisuá nha Franses... e un grand koza, nha Franses ki N prendé foi bom. Uhun N ten vontadi di abrí un lugar pa turismu prop ... grihna sin na dia dia e mutu important bo sabé pelu menus un duas linguas...kuand N ben N trabalhá na hotel y la el juda-m bastant na Sant Anton.

benefit is that I learned to improve my French ... it is a great thing, my French that I learned was good. Uhun I have even a will to open a place for tourism...now day by day it is very important to learn at least two languages ... when I came back I worked in a hotel and there it helped me enough in Santo Antão.

Her French and her work experience in hotels made her aspire to open a house for tourists in Santo Antão and have her own business. Her ability to speak French helped her to keep that faith. She associated this with the political discourses of tourism development in Cape Verde,

which kept her hoping of a *vida midjor* [better life]. However, her plan was not realistic or feasible, at least not in the short term, since she had been unemployed for a long time and returned empty-handed with no financial support to start that business (cf. Åkesson, 2016).

Furthermore, continuing to share the positive gains of her life experiences in Europe beyond her improvement of French, she put it in abstract terms and stressed: '*benifisius N ben ku mas maturidad N ben mas ahh mas konfiant ... different, N oiá, la bo bo ta ben mas abert, ... bo ben k mentalidadi mas... ta pensá totalment different* [benefits are that I came with more maturity, I came more ahh more confident ... different, I saw, you come more open ... you more open minded ... think totally different].' Sonia still lives with her mother, sisters, nephews and nieces, and is financially dependent on that co-habitation to survive. However, the fact of having experienced life in those European countries makes her feel some pride in herself, and this, to a certain extent, has helped her cope with her regrets of return: "*si mi N tava imajinava N ne tava ben, N ne tinha ipotiz di ben* [if I had imagined I wouldn't have come, no way]." Here, she felt that migration changed her and made her 'other' herself, too. For her, migration made her a more confident person, but contradictorily she pointed out that migration is important when the migrant goes and manages to become a documented migrant, which she did not manage in the 'end'.

However, during my third fieldwork stay, Sonia was more optimistic and it seemed that she had found another mode of regaining mobility to Europe, with no visa needs. The reviving of her return to Europe was then envisaged through old colonial ties and ancestral family links to Portugal. Sonia's younger sister obtained a special visa to come to Lisbon to solve her son's health problem, and there she found out that she had the right to ask for Portuguese citizenship, because their father had migrated to Portugal before the Independence of Cape Verde and held Portuguese citizenship, so all his children were entitled to it as well. Thus, Sonia was happier about that and had already asked for the required documents to submit her application for the citizenship at the Embassy of Portugal in Cape Verde. However, that was not a straightforward process. She would have to pay a certain amount of money for bureaucracy and her peripheral location might also delay the process since all the documents had to be sent to the Embassy in Praia, the capital city.

Malmberg (1997, p. 30) points out that 'migration decision is neither an exclusively individual affair nor a completely voluntary act, but often a collective and strongly conditioned or constrained decision'. Sonia's decision to return was not deliberately decided. Her return cannot be viewed as a voluntary act, for the circumstances of her clandestinity forced her back

to Cape Verde. Her decision was influenced by the interplay between the longing struggle to be a documented migrant, explorations, and emotions caused by the loss of her father, one of her strongest (emotional) support in Europe. Thus, Sonia cannot be considered ‘self-deported,’ i.e. that she decided ‘to leave the country voluntarily when detention and deportation loom’ (Drotbohm, 2011, p. 386), because she had not had any eminent moment of deportation. Her return cannot be viewed as a simple voluntary act, because it was the circumstances of her clandestinity that forced her back to Cape Verde. In Sonia’s case, the word forced could come along with the word decision, while in Marku’s and Carlos’ context the word forced took over the word decision, as shown above. Given the scenario of those rejected by the Schengen regime, let us turn to the case of a current Cape Verdean migrant in Luxembourg.

6.6 Jorge: a critical migrant

My next focal participant, Jorge, was an actual migrant who I first met in the Epicerie Cr  ole in Bonnevoie (see Chapter 7 below), one of my main fieldwork sites in Luxembourg. He became one of my closest friends in Luxembourg. Jorge is in his mid-forties and, like me, originally from Santiago Island. He is the youngest of five brothers and three sisters. He has two children in Cape Verde and two in Luxembourg.

The mother of his children in Luxembourg is a Cape Verdean woman who migrated to Luxembourg at the age of eight. Jorge first met her in Cape Verde during her holiday, and she re-enforced Jorge’s knowledge about Luxembourg, where he already had some relatives and friends. Luxembourg was not his first-choice destination, but after two visa denials to the U.S. he decided to come to Europe, initially for holidays. At the time, he worked as a flight operator for the flag carrier airline of Cape Verde. He had a high standard of life before migration. In a formal interview, he shared that he always had that curiosity to travel worldwide, but his decision to migrate was also fostered by disagreement between his mother and his “*mai di fidju* [mother of child]” in Cape Verde.

He pointed out that one way to stop that conflict was to stay away. He stated: “*ora ki es ka odja-n ta kaba tudu kuza* [when they don’t see me, everything will end].” Thus, when Jorge got a Schengen visa in the year 2000, he travelled to Luxembourg, where he got married and ended up staying. Now he goes to Cape Verde regularly for holidays and family visits. Jorge’s reasons for migration add ‘to the complexity of a simple reality for those who uncritically accept the notion that what motivates people to migrate is no more than the wish to have a more

comfortable life and a higher social status' (Lobo, 2014, p. 475; cf. Åkesson, 2008). In Jorge's case, to a certain extent, it was a matter of stopping family conflicts.

Luxembourg's official multilingualism – French, German and Luxembourg – can be an ambivalent attraction for migrants. On the one hand, migrants whose repertoire corresponds at least to one of these official languages can easily "integrate" in Luxembourg, but on the other hand those whose repertoire is distant from all the 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, the above assumptions are not straightforward, since the country of origin of the migrant, the individual capacity and spirit of resilience play a key role as well, as Jorge's case shows. As a highly multilingual person, this constituted another of Jorge's motivation to come, as he explained at the beginning of our first interview:

pur akazu N sabeba ma na kel pais li tinhia tres lingua, ma prontu, komu mi e un pesoa ke muito abertu di spiritu pa prendi lingua, nton lingua ka foi un obstaklu pa mi, pamodi kantu N ta ben pa Luxamburgu uh mesmu na nha trabadju na Kabu Verdi, N ta utilizaba kes doz linguas ke Franses Ingles, dja mi kantu N txiga li N ta falaba kes doz lingua li fluenti, nton ka foi difisil pa mi di di adapta pa fla pur izemplu pa integra en termus di lingua, dja N tinhia dja un di kes lingua ki era lingua ofisial na Luxamburgu N ta falaba el fluenti, dipos tanbe N tinhia Ingles ki si pur aventura N ka pudesse falaba Franses pa N sprimi na Franses, N ta sprimiba na Ingles pamodi li pesoas ta intendi tanbe Ingles dretu.

by the way I knew that this country here had three languages, but well, as I'm a person of a very open spirit to learn language, so language was not an obstacle for me, because when I was coming to Luxembourg uh even at my job in Cape Verde, I used those two languages that are French and English, so that me when I arrived here I spoke already those two languages here fluently, so it was not difficult for me to adapt to say for example to integrate in terms of language, I'd already had one of those languages that were official language in Luxembourg, I could speak it fluently, then I also had English that if by adventure I could not speak French to express in French, I expressed in English because here people also understand English well.

Note that Jorge remarks that language was not an obstacle for him at his arrival. He was already fluent in French and English, as a result of his studies and job before migration. However, most of his struggles in Luxembourg were caused by language nevertheless, as we will see shortly.

Duchêne et al. (2013, p. 5) point out that:

language is considered a practice as well as a resource that can have both symbolic value and exchange value in a market economy (Bourdieu, 1991) and where knowing the right kind of language or variety can enable access to desired resources such as jobs or to public and private services provided by states.

Ironically, although Jorge is highly multilingual in the Creole of Cape Verde, Portuguese, English, French and a good command of Luxembourgish, Jorge's life in Luxembourg is highly constrained via language. These constraints were perpetuating as a result of an interplay between the required competence in German and forms of 'language racism' (Weber, 2015), i.e. when language is used as a proxy for other topics of human interaction such as class, gender, and race, as a mean of exclusion, as will be shown below. Initially, Jorge started to suffer a downgrading in his career and education qualification via language, and ironically he managed to minimize his disqualification via language, as I will show below. By the time he arrived in Luxembourg, he had already finished his high school degree in Cape Verde. One of his main aspirations was to pursue a higher education (B.A. degree), as he explained:

nha intenson kantu ki N sai di Kabu Verdi N tinha ki retomaba nhas studius, mas Luxemburgue e un pais ki ta kriou txeu difikuldadi en termus pur izemplu di, es ta po-u barera ker dizer en termus di, o importanti e ki bu ser persistenti... purke ripara ten un kuza li pes dau ki djes sabi ma bu ten direitu mas es ta krio-u un pikenu barera pa es odja ti undi ki bu podi bai, na nha manera di odjas kuzas, purke oras ki bu insisti es ta kaba pa sedi. Mas prontu mi na nha perkursu pa retoma skola ka foi fasil, purke 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 propri kuzas ki es ten li...oras ki bu termina fazi ki bu sabi ma bo e kapas di friuenta skola undi ki lingua ki ta sirkulaba podi ser Franses, es ta eziji Aleton, nton si bu Aleton ka sta nivel, Nton automatikamenti es ta krio-u difikuldadi po ka progridi, nton nha kazu foi isu.

my intension when I left Cape Verde I had to retake my studies, but Luxembourg is a country that creates you difficulties in terms for example of, they put you barrier that is to say in terms of, the important is that you have to be persistent ... because look there is a thing here for they to give you that they know you have right for but they create a little barrier for you to see till where you can go, in my way of seeing things, because when you insist they end to give away. But well me in my route to retake studies it wasn't easy, because since 2003 that I gave the first step to see if I could do anything, but at that time I arrived here, in terms of equivalence of diploma was extremely difficult, they didn't know the Cape Verdean system of education and as in Luxembourg they are extremely conservator 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 that circulate can be French, they demand you German, so if your German is not at the level, so automatically they create you difficulties to not progress, so my thing was this.

He went on to share his problem with his equivalence's degree at his arrival in Luxembourg:

N tinha problema ku ekivalensia... duzi anu igual a nonu anu... Prumeru bes ki N pidi es da-n nonu ...

I had problem with equivalence ... 12th grade equals 9th grade ... first time I applied they gave me 9th ... so I

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 33 anu dja ka ta permitiba mi unformason finansiadu pa fundu di dizempregu.

annexed that formation I took in German and Luxembourgish, I applied equivalence anew they gave me technical 10th grade. Already, as at that time I was more than 33 years old so that it didn't allow me to have a formation funded by the unemployment agency.

Jorge, who was already highly multilingual before migration, faced disqualification in the process of his diploma recognition, via language. And he struggled and still struggles to requalify himself through the same means by which he got disqualified, i.e. through 'fixed' language ideologies. As Simpson and Whiteside (2015, p. 3) put it, 'state-driven discourses of homogeneity are somewhat paradoxically also prominent in countries which have some sort of official status as bi- or multilingual.'

In this era of globalisation, 'in-migration across the states ... outpace the development of policies and infrastructure which address the presence of new migrants and the linguistic diversity that their arrival entails' (Simpson & Whiteside, 2015, p. 2). In this vein, for the Luxembourg context, several studies have pertinently shown that multilingualism is sustained by monolingual ideologies, i.e. that language(s) are viewed as isolated entities and with only the official (elite) multilingualism as the norm and the ideal for all, neglecting the real societal multilingualism (Horner & Weber, 2008; Horner, 2011, 2015; Franziskus & Gilles, 2012; de Bres, 2014). These conditions increase the struggles of many migrants and turn language into the main gatekeeping device.

Jorge first started to work as a security guard at discos and shops, he then moved to construction after three years. After surgery he left construction work and gained the right for one year of *chômage* (unemployment benefits). During this period, he invested in language courses, especially Luxembourgish and German at the *Language Centre*. He was very eager and fast to learn languages, and for Luxembourgish he was allowed to skip some levels. However, when he reached level six, the institution that paid for his Luxembourgish courses cancelled the funding and he was told by the institutional agent that he should now pay for the courses himself if he wanted to continue. At this point, Jorge's competence in Luxembourgish became the object of negotiation between Jorge and the state, represented by the agent, as shown below.

In their study about the correlation between 'language investment' and 'employability', Flubacher et al. (2018, p. 4) critically point out that 'the decision to invest is always made with the idea that it will pay off in the future and refigures the object of investment as something- or someone- with a certain potential.' They rebut the human capital theorists for remaining 'in a

sphere of economic calculations and speculations without taking into account the different forms of capital an individual might have to their disposition' (Flubacher et al., 2018, p. 5). Jorge was open to investing time into learning Luxembourgish; however, while being unemployed he daringly refused to invest his money. Instead, he decided to find his own means to improve his Luxembourgish, informally, as he recollected from the dialogue with the agent:

“nau mi N sta na nhos tera, N sta prendi nhos lingua y si nhos kre pa N prendi nhos lingua nhos ki ta paga-n.” Nton dja un fika ku nivel di konpetensia nivel seis, rikomendadu pa-n ba inisiaba nivel novi, mas prontu, N ben ta buska nhas propius meius pa N midjora nha Luxamburges.

“no I’m in your country, I’m learning your language and if you want me learning your language, you pay for it.” So I stayed with the level of competence, level six, recommended to go and start level nine, but well, I started to look for my own means to improve my Luxembourgish.

Furthermore, by quitting the Luxembourgish course, Jorge was reclaiming his value and making a statement that the state should match his time investment and in turn invest in him as a dedicated language learner. At the same time, by turning to informal learning, he deconstructs the circulating discourse that overemphasizes formal language learning as the pathway to integration (Horner, 2011). This indicates that he did not need the highest possible certification of Luxembourgish for his life in Luxembourg. Today, he regrets not having invested more in German than in Luxembourgish.

Jorge explained that German has been the most challenging language for him. In several instances, it has functioned as an obstacle that has blocked him from access to jobs and studies. In Cape Verde he had already had some contact with the German language, as he liked to learn languages and had opportunities to learn foreign languages at high school and through work. As one of his main aspirations was to enter university and earn a degree, he was happy when he heard that a diploma course for adults was going to be opened that would give 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 institution 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: “*e mi ki sta paga di nha bolsus, si ka da N ta para* [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 he was confirmed the denial to the course.

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* and the University of Metz (now University of Lorraine). He sent his *dossier* again and he was accepted to take the course, as he narrated:

nton N aguarda, te na 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 disciplinas 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.

so 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 arranged 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.

After our first interview, in 2016 he changed to English Studies. He is happy and proud of himself, but still struggling. He usually shares with me his hardship of studying by distance, the difficulties to gain access to the course materials online internet and to additionally cope with with all his family and job responsibilities. He has traced a 'finishing line:' "*dja-n trasa ma ora ki N ta ten sinquenta anu pelo menus pa atxa-n ku un lisensiatura* [I've traced that when I am fifty years old that I have at least a bachelor degree]. His longing experiences of struggle to requalify and overcome other barriers, as will be shown below, have made Jorge aware of the complexity of migrants' trajectory as 'rarely a straight line forward' (de Boeck, 2012, p. 81). That is why he has determined to finish his bachelor degree in five years.

Currently in Luxembourg, he has been working for a major multinational security company, but he explained how difficult it was to get this job in the first place. German was used as the very last reason to exclude him by an employment agent, at the *Agence pour le développement de l'emploi* (ADEM), the state institution that coordinates unemployed workers searching for jobs and applications for *chômage*. The agent told him (in French), as he recollected:

odja ih infilismenti bu ten bon perfil, di faktu bu ta fala bon Ingles, bu ta fala bon Franses, bu ta fala un bokadinho di Spanhol... Luxamburges pa un anu di skola ki bu fazi N ta konsidera ma bu prendi txeu y ki si bu atxa pesoas di konviviu ki ta fala Luxamburges di li un anu N atxa ma bu ta bira bon, mas enpreza ki sta riceruta... Alemon e prinsipal, dja bo bu ka ten un Alemon ki ta permitiu trabadja la.

look ih unfortunately, you have a good profile, in fact you speak good English, good French, some Spanish, one year of Luxembourgish training ... I think that you learned a lot and that if you find someone to interact with who can speak Luxembourgish, I think that in one year you'll be good. But for the company which is recruiting ... German is the priority, you haven't yet had a German that allows you to work there.

Note that the agent praises Jorge's multilingual competence but erases Portuguese and Creole from her assessment and faults him for not having sufficient skills in German. The above excerpt shows that the agent tentatively uses German as a reason to block Jorge's access to that job. In other words, she tried to use it as a 'linguistic penalty' (Roberts, 2013, p. 85), i.e. 'a combination of all the sources of disadvantage which might lead a linguistic minority group to fare less well in the selection/evaluation process generally and specifically in the labour market.' She used it as tool that might lead Jorge to fail or to deny him access to the next step, i.e. to take an entrance examination at the company he aspired to work for.

Weber (2015, p. 22) reminds us that:

over the last few decades we have witnessed in the Western world an almost unprecedented spread of a language racist culture ... In this new and rising culture, language is used as a proxy for what is largely an anti-immigration feeling and movement ... In this way language rather than race is increasingly used to exclude people from the societal mainstream ... Many good-willed and liberal people, who would never think of themselves as racists, subscribe to some of its tenets, almost without being aware of it. It is therefore urgent to raise these issues to the level of consciousness.

Drawing on Weber (2015, p. 22), I argue here that the above extract constitutes a case of 'language racism.' Because 'discrimination based on race is often illegal nowadays, [the agent] switched – consciously or not – to discriminate [Jorge] on the basis of language.'

Similarly, Roberts (2013, p. 85), from an analogy of her definition of 'linguistic penalty' with 'ethnic penalty' (cf. Heath & Cheung 2006) and drawing on Bourdieu's notion of capital, points out that:

while the notion of an ethnic penalty relates to explicit factors that account for BME (black and minority ethnic) disadvantage, the linguistic penalty of the job interview includes the idea that the very processes used to apparently offer an open and fair opportunity mask the social inequalities that these interviews produce.

However, Jorge did not accept this rejection, this ‘penalty;’ and argued with her, calling attention to his knowledge of the company. As Del Valle (2014, p. 369) puts it, ‘multilingualism will not suffice unless individuals are prepared to confront new languages and new communicative practices equipped with the ability to decode the cultural, political, and social arrangements entangled with them.’ Jorge called the agent’s attention to the discriminating nature of her reasons:

dispos kantu e fla-n si N disfazi dentu mi, mas sima ki kai un forsa dentu mi N volta pa el si Nfla: “dxan fla-u un kuza”, Nfla-l: “odja, li sin nu sta nos trez,” Nfla: “N ta fala ku bo di forma abertu sen diskriminason,” Nfla: “empreza… N konsi ben, pamodi dja N ten anus N ta sonda, dja N ten anus ta konvivi ku pesoas ki ta trabadja la,” Nfla-l: “inkluzivel N ten un namorada…ki e franzeza, e sta la na empreza ta trabadja ja a dois anus, ela e ka ta fala metadi di nha Ingles, …Spanhol e ka ta papia nada, Purtuges e ka ta papia nada, …Alement nen A,” Nfla: “Luxemburges inda pior,” Nfla: “un otu kuza, bu konxi efetivu di empresa?” efla: “mas o menus,” Nfla: “70% di efetivu e Franses,” Nfla: “entri nos doz,” Nfla: “ami e Afrikanu abo e Europeu, bo e Luxemburges mas bu konxi Franses… kuandu ki Franses foi bilingi ou multilingi?” La otomatikamenti foi un silensiu total, e spia mudjer e spia mudjer, mudjer spial, e fl: “sin e verdadi,” Nfla-l: “nton pur ki razon ki bu sta bara-n kel impregu li,” Nfla: “mi N mesti kel impregu li… N ta pensa ma N sta kualifikadu pa N trabadja na kel empreza li.” Dipos e para e spia mudjer e spia-n, e bana kabesa … e kria kriaba mi obstakulu komu lingua pa e baraba mi kel trabadju, mas nu entantu nhas argumentus foi forti y e odja klaru mas N staba diterminadu.

then when she told me this, I lost all faith, but as if a force fell in me, I turned to her and said: “let me tell you something, look here we are us three,” I told her: “I speak to you openly and without discrimination,” I said: “the company … I know well, because I’ve been informing myself about it for some years, I know some people who work there,” I told her: “I even had a French girlfriend … [who] has worked there …, she doesn’t speak half of my English … Spanish she can speak nothing, Portuguese she can speak nothing … German neither A,” I said: “Luxembourgish even worse,” I said: “another thing, do you know the effective staff of this company?” She said: “more or less,” I said: “70% of the effective staff are French people. I’m African and you’re European, you’re Luxembourgish but you know the French … since when are French people bilingual or multilingual?” There automatically there was a total silence, she looked at the woman (her colleague on the table), she looked at the woman, the woman looked at her, she said so: “yes it’s true,” I told her: “so for what reason you are barring me that job here,” I said: “I need that job here … I think I am qualified to work in that company here.” Then she stopped and looked to the woman she looked at me, she nodded … she wanted to create me an obstacle as language to bar me from that job, but however my arguments were strong and she saw that I was determined.

Note that, usually, in ‘interviews like that the candidate’s success or failure is jointly and interactionally produced’ (Roberts, 2013, p. 91) by the interviewer and the interviewee, under the institutional position that usually portrays ‘equal’ and ‘fair’ opportunities to all candidates,

i.e. job seekers. Perhaps, the presence and body language of the other woman (a co-agent) also influenced the agent's decision, so that after long arguments, she finally gave him the chance to sit the company's entrance examination in French, as he recollected:

nton otomatikamenti kantu e volta e spia pa sinhora e fla: "ih" e volta e fla si: "ih nu da-l un xansi, nu da-l un xansi," mas dentu kel fla nu da-l un xansi e volta pa mi e fla-n: "ten un kuza ki N ta fla-u," e fla: "dxa-n avizo-u li," e fla: "kel empreza ki bus ta bai li nu entantu bu ta bai ta dau un kredensial bu ta bai presta izami la mas si bu ka konsigi pasa pa empreza rikruta-u bu ten un anu sen pustula pa kel empreza." Dipos N volta pa el N fla: "sin nton manda-n si N ka pasa N ta ten un anu N ka ta pustula, mas manda-n, y N ten serteza ma N ta konsigi," Nton e ruma tudu nha dossier si e volta pa mi e muda-n el pa nha ladu e fla: "sin nton ok ba aprizenta na empreza kuarta fera." Dipos N fla: "si nau mi verbalmenti N ka ta ba prizenta na empreza ki adiministrason di empregu manda-n ku un konversa verbal bu ten ki pasa-n un kredensial pur eskritu pa-n ora ki N txiga pa-n aprizenta." E fla: "ah ah" e volta pa mudjer e fla si: "el e ka nosenti nau," e puxa kredensial e sina e da-n pa N aprizenta kuarta fera, N fla-l: "agora sin."

so automatically when she turned she looked at the lady she said: "ih," she turned she said so: "ih let's give him a chance, let's give him a chance," but in the middle of that let's give him a chance, she turned to me she told me: "there is one thing I tell you," she said: "let me warn you here," she said: "that company you are going here, however, you go, I'll give a credential, you go and take the exam there but if you don't manage to pass so that the company hires you, you'll have to have one year without postulating to that company." Then, I turned to her, I said: "yes so send me if I don't pass, I'll have one year without postulating, but send me, and I'm sure I'll manage." So she arranged all my file so, she turned to me and pushed it to my side, she said: "yes so ok go and present at the company on Wednesday." Then I said so: "no I won't present at the company [saying] that the employment administration send me to, with a verbal conversation, you have to give me a written credential that when I arrive to present it." She said: "ah ah" she turned to the woman she said so: "he's not dumb no," she pulled the credential, she signed and gave it to me to present Wednesday. I said to her: "now yes."

However, note that even after agreeing to give Jorge permission to sit the company's examination, as Jorge recollected, she said: "*dxa-n avizo-u li ... bu ta bai presta izami la mas si bu ka konsigi pasa pa empreza rikruta-u, bu ten un anu sen pustula pa kel empreza* [let me warn you here ... you go and take exam there but if you don't manage to pass so that the company hire you, you'll have to have one year without postulating to that company]," all these seemingly as a way to demotivate him. Furthermore, she first gave him permission only verbally, but Jorge was confident and asked her for a written proof (*kredensial*). Among forty applicants, he was among the first ten applicants selected for the job and has been with the company for over 12 years now.

Here, language was (tentatively) used as a constant tool in defining Jorge's 'otherness,' i.e. 'the African other' (Vigouroux, 2017, p. 6), a migrant who had not achieved the competence

required to enter a certain job or educational space and the social mobility that comes with that. It appears that Jorge's skin complexion and ethnic heritage defined who had to be proficient in German (or in Luxembourgish as shown below). Immigrants and *transfrontaliers* from France, as Jorge pointed out in his reply, can afford to remain monolingual in French, while an African job seeker needs to demonstrate extreme competence in all of Luxembourg's languages. As Fehlen (2009, p. 5) points out,

in Luxembourg a very specific multilingual competence is the main selection criteria. But many (foreign) companies do not accept the definition of legitimate culture, as defined by the Luxembourgish school system, and prefer to recruit according to their own criteria, which are often those of their country.

To conclude, Jorge shared with me a 'language surprise,' i.e. another 'language racism' moment he faced at work. As the company sent him to banks, shops and so on, he recollected his first day of work at a Louis Vuiton shop in Luxembourg:

*kantu N txiga la Madame M. ki e baxu di diretora,
pesoal di venda di Vuiton ten uns ki e
Luxamburgeza, otu Franseza, Ukraniiana,
diferentis nasionalidadis,... e volta pa ses kolega ki
e Luxamburges e flas, e fla: "odja komu el e pretu
nu ka ta fazel konfiansa logu," e fla na
Luxamburges mas el e staba lonji ma N ta
entendeba Luxamburges, nton ami pa N ka
risponde-l diretua, asi di kel forma ki e fla-n, kel
diskonfiansa y tudo mais, N volta pa el N fla-l: "N
podi fazi nha prise de poste, N ten ki fazi nha
tomada di servisu li apartir di nhos tilifoni, nha ta
otoriza-n pa Nfazi?" E fla: "sin sin bu podifazi"
N pasa N panha tilifoni, N txoma nha enpreza, N
fazi nha inisiu di servisu na Luxamburges, kantu N
fala Luxamburges ku operador di otu ladu e volta
pa mi e spia-n si e fla si:" bo bu ta fala
Luxamburges nton?" N fla: "sin," e fla: "nton bu
ntendi kuze ki N fla-u?" N fla: "N intendi sin," e
fla: "pamodi bu ka fla-n ma bu ta fala
Luxamburges?" N fla: "bu ka pирgunta-n," N fla-l:
"nau ka bu fadiga nau," e fika konstrajidu, N fla-l:
"nau e sima bu fla ma bu ka ta fazi konfiansa na mi
mi tanbe ka ten konfiansa na bo, agora nu ta luta
pa nu fika amigu pa nu ganha konfiansa na*

when I arrived there Madame M. who was below the director, among Vuiton selling staff there were some Luxembourgish, others French people, Ukrainian, different nationalities ... she turned to her Luxembourgish colleagues and she told them, she said: "look as he is black we don't give him trust straight away," she said it in Luxembourgish, but she was [highly assuming] that I couldn't understand Luxembourgish, so to avoid answering her directly, as the way she said, that mistrust and all more, I addressed her and said: "can I do my *prise de poste*? I have to take my service post here from your telephone, do you authorise me to do it?" She said: "yes yes you can do it," I picked up the phone, I called my company. I started the service in Luxembourgish, when I spoke Luxembourgish with the operator on the other side she turned and looked at me like this and said so: "do you speak Luxembourgish then?" I answered: "yes," she said: "so did you understand what I said?" I said: "I did yes," she said: "why didn't you tell me that you can speak Luxembourgish?" I said: "you didn't ask me," I said: "no, don't worry no," she felt embarrassed, I told her: "no, the same way you don't trust me I don't trust you too, so we try to be friend to gain trust from each

kunpanheru,” Nfla: “e normal,” Nfla: “mi tanbe N ka ta xinti konfianti na un pesoa a primera vista indipendent di kor ki e podi ten ... agora nu ta konvivi nu ta odja modi ki nu ta da.” ... na fin nu fika amiga kel ora ... imagina pesoas as ves ta abuza di lingua, ... as vezis es ta uza lingua ma bu ka ta intendi ... e ten un mes ta pidin diskulpa. N fla-l: “nau a vontadi ... e normal.”

other,” I said: “it is normal, I said: me too I don’t feel trust on a person I meet for the first time independently of the colour of skin s/he has ... now we can cope with each other and we’ll see how we can.” ... in the end we became friends ... imagine people abuse of language sometimes ... sometimes they use language presupposing that you don’t understand it ... she spent around one month saying sorry to me. I told her: “no worries ... that’s normal.”

Blommaert (2001, p. 13) argues that ‘one of the major sources and objects of power and inequality is symbolic and revolves around the use and abuse of language and discourse.’ According to Jorge’s narrative, here, language is used by the sub-director in an attempt, a proxy, to cover stereotypes in a process of ‘linguistic othering’ (Mufwene, 2001, cited in Vigouroux, 2017, p. 6) applied to a migrant worker whose linguistic subalternity is assumed. Everyday discourse and beliefs are usually based on false assumptions of social and linguistic reality, and these assumptions are often used to discriminate (and exclude) people.

The sub-director takes for granted that Jorge could not understand and speak Luxembourgish on the basis of his perceived ethnicity due to his skin completion. This is a case of ‘language racism,’ i.e. language was used as a proxy for other, less comfortable topics of human interaction, such as the racial assumptions made by the sub-director about Jorge as a migrant worker. The way she uses Luxembourgish as an attempt to prevent Jorge from understanding both that he was not trustful and the reason she evokes for mistrusting him shows that language(s) can be entitled or assumed to be owned by people according to race and ethnicity. This assumption related to language is salient and can be a problem for socialisation at work, for example, as shown here.

Pennycook (2012, p. 30) highlights the need to address ‘critical moments and reflective narratives in [one’s] own language-learning history, exploring the idea of what it means to pass as a speaker of a language, to be an unexpected speaker, and to be a resourceful speaker ... what speaking a language entails.’ It is worth noting here that both the sub-director and Jorge faced a ‘critical unexpected moment’ (Pennycook, 2012, p. 30). Because, while the sub-director was not expecting Jorge to be a Luxembourgish speaker – “*pamodi bu ka fla-n ma bu ta fala Luxamburges* [why didn’t you tell me that you can speak Luxembourgish?]" – Jorge in turn was not expecting that situated speech act from her. The reason for this ‘unexpectedness’ is a result of complex interwoven and ‘fixed’ relations between race, language and nation state

ideologies, which Jorge immediately and ironically questioned: “*e normal ... mi tanbe N ka ta xinti konfianti na un pesoa a primera vista indipendent di kor ki e podi ten* [it’s normal ... me too I don’t feel trust on a person I meet for the first time independently of the colour of skin s/he has].” Those interwoven-fixed assumptions ‘lead us to expect certain things to be in a certain place, for people to speak a certain way’ (Pennycook, 2012, p. 23).

Jorge’s trajectories into Luxembourg illuminate how racism is gradually invisibilised through language (cf. Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017; Weber, 2015). As Jorge’s case shows, making this, explicit as Jorge assertively did, is a potential way to counter this racist language ideology. Let us now turn to the next focal participant, who, like Jorge, faced difficulties in the beginning but soon overcame them to a great extent via sports.

6.7 Salvador: a fast-tracked migrant

Salvador was in his late thirties when I first met him in Luxembourg. He is originally from Santiago Island and came to Luxembourg in 1995, aged 17, via family reunification. He is the eldest of three brothers and one sister, who was born after his arrival in Luxembourg. He came to join their mother and his two younger brothers. During the first year of his stay in Luxembourg, he took an intensive full-year course of French, going to class four hours per day, and began to work a part-time job cleaning trains at night and during school holidays. His aspiration was to take an advanced course in the car industry. Thus, he took a mechanic module, but when he asked to take the electronic part, he was not allowed, because at that time the electronic part was only given in German. Salvador shared: “*dja muda-n nha trajetoria di trabadju* [so it changed my trajectory of work].” Thus, he afterwards took a technical training for management, commerce and marketing. This course was offered by the *Chambre de Commerce*, and he took it through a post-work schedule, i.e. after his work day as a mechanic in a garage. Later, he married a Luxembourgish woman who had a French mother and German father. They have two children and usually go to Cape Verde every year for holidays.

Salvador was a former president of the *Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg Cap Vert* (CCLCV), a non-profit Cape Verdean association in Luxembourg (cf. Tavares, 2017). I added him on Facebook and explained about our project. Then, we met for the first time in my apartment, for a formal interview. He highlighted the time he spent as an athlete for the Luxembourg national team. Salvador compared his life trajectory into Luxembourg with other

migrants, including his mother and brothers who had come to Luxembourg many years before him:

ami N tivi un integrason di otu manera, un integrason ki ku sorti kai-m riba di mi, sen ki N kuza. N tivi un integrason pa desportu ... komu N foi un dos melhoris atleta na kel club la dipos N ba pa ekipa nasional... bu sabi N resebi diretamenti pasaporti Luxamburges, N ka pasa na kes txeu prussessu rial ki migrantis ta passa ... sima kabu-verdianu ta fla: "bo bu ben ontonti dja bu teni papel, teni pasaporti, teni tudu!" ... Nton N ben txiga na ultimu ora mas N tinha mas rapidu ki es ki dja staba li ... N konxi mutus, mutus pessoas dipos ta djuda-u també avansa mas dipressa. konhesimentu e importanti, relason e importanti.

I had an integration of another way, an integration that with luck that fell on me, without many efforts. I had an integration by sports ... as I was one of the best athletes in that club then I enter to the national team ... you know I received the Luxembourgish passport directly, I didn't pass through those real processes that migrants pass ... like Cape Verdeans say: "you you came before yesterday you've already got paper, passport, everything!" ... so I came, arrived in the last hours but I got it faster than them who had already been here ... I knew many, many people and then this helps you also advancing faster. Networking is important, relationships are important.

The above extract resonates with Shachar and Hirsch's (2014) study on the relationship between citizenship, states, markets and immigration. They argue that:

in today's global knowledge economy, those who can shore up the human capital reserve of the nation while bolstering its international reputation as a talent magnet are in high demand. Who is fast-tracked in the visa and citizenship line is no less revealing of the qualities we value in others and seek to incorporate into our political communities, than who is pushed to the back of the line or denied access altogether ... Governments are now willing to go so far as to reconfigure the boundaries of political membership to allow faster and smoother access to citizenship for exceptionally talented individuals they covet as prized assets, often with the expectation of return—reputational or otherwise. (Shachar & Hirsch, 2014, p. 231)

In these terms, Salvador benefited from this smoother access to citizenship because of his individual athletic talent. Salvador pointed out that he adapted well and faster than many of those who came before. He explained that this was thanks to the other door, "*ami N entra pa otu porta* [me I entered by another door]," here meaning through sports as a means to develop social and cultural capital. After his arrival, he first started to play football, but his colleagues suggested he move to athletics after noticing his skills. He took that move, and soon he was one of the best athletes of his club and indeed of the nation; thus, after only one year he was short-tracked to acquire Luxembourgish citizenship. He has practiced athletics for about ten years and managed to win some medals (one silver and one gold) for the national team at international tournaments, and he won the national championship tournaments six times.

Due to his athletic skills, he was allowed to skip some steps in the process toward citizenship,

reducing the waiting time (10 years at that time) required to apply for Luxembourgish citizenship, i.e. he managed to obtain ‘expedited citizenship’ (Kostakopoulou & Schrauwen, 2014). But he humbly attributes his fast adaptation (what he calls *integrason*) in Luxembourg to a form of luck. Furthermore, he shared that as it was difficult for him to keep working in a garage and do athletics at the same time, so in 2000 his coach found him a job in the department of *logistique* at *Nouvelles Perspectives Emploi* (NPE), an institution of professional reintegration. Now, the NPE is a company for cleaning, maintenance and conservation of public buildings, highways and railroads. Here is an example that shows that sports are another important path which prospective migrants and migrants can strategically explore to migrate and navigate their social status in the host countries, respectively. For it can help migrants increase their social capital and boost their networks. However, note that this is a very exclusive path and not for everybody. One needs to be exceptionally skilled, exceptionally ‘fit.’

Currently, Salvador is a coordinator for the NPE. He is part of the HR department which is in charge of the recruitment of workers for interviews, formation and job orientations. The NPE provides services to the administration of *Ponts et Chaussées*, a department of the Ministry of Durable Development and Infrastructures of Luxembourg. In terms of the ethnic origin of workers, Salvador described the NPE as such:

oji maioria di kel empreza e so kabuverdianu, empreza propi ki ten mas kabuverdianu na Luxamburgu ... Tudu jovens kabuverdianus kuasi ki ben ki sa buska trabadju na inisiu N ta pasa kua-s mas pa la. Dipos nu ten un estrutura internu la dentu ki ta orienta-s tambe na nivel profesional, da-s formason, da-s kes parti social e mutu importanti na estrutura di kel empreza ... estrutura social ki ta djuda-s em termu di, buska trabadju ... y ten muntis ki ta ben ta fika ... maioria ki sta la propi komu responsaveis y xefis di ikipa e so kabuverdianus.

today most of this company’s workers are Cape Verdeans. It’s even the company that has most Cape Verdean workers in Luxembourg ... almost all young Cape Verdeans that come and are searching jobs in the beginning I take them there. Then we have an internal structure inside that orientates them professionally, gives them formation, that social part which is very important in the company’s structure ... social structure that help them in terms of searching jobs ... and there are many who come and stay ... most of those who are there as chiefs of work they are only Cape Verdeans.

This company is seen as a door to insert newcomers into the job market in Luxembourg. Many Cape Verdean first-time job seekers apply to work for this company. According to Salvador, the workers are first given a one-year contract, but many of them end up staying in the company permanently. Today, Cape Verdeans form the majority of the NPE’s workforce, as Salvador told me. There are Portuguese and Bissau-Guinean workers too, but Cape Verdeans form the majority. This is due to Salvador’s position there as coordinator, job facilitator and instructor;

and the ‘snow-ball’ (Small, 2009) process between Cape Verdean workers in the search for jobs; in Cape Verde, this snowballing process is called “*boka-boka* [mouth to mouth].” Note that these jobs are not considered ‘prestigious’ by society at large, but they are popular among Cape Verdeans in particular and other African migrants like Bissau-Guineans. This can cast more light on social class in Luxembourg.

When I asked Salvador more, in a telephone conversation, about the ethnic composition at NPE, i.e. why there are nearly no Luxembourgers working there, he explained: “*ten Luxamburges ki ta fazi mesmu tipu di trabadju mas na postus reservadus pa es na komunas pur izemplu ki salariu e kuazi dobru pa mesmu tipu di trabadju* [there are Luxembourgers doing the same kind of work but at posts reserved for them in *Communes* for example in that the salary is almost the double for the same kind of work].” Here, Salvador refers to ‘civil services’ (e.g. see *L'Essentiel*, November 20th, 2017, p. 3) and sees this as a kind of “*rasismu di trabadju* [racism of work],” as these civil service positions are reserved for (ethnic) Luxembourgers. This brings us back to Fehlen (2009, p. 3), who states that:

the creation of a Luxembourgish nationality, distinct from that of the Netherlands, in 1841 and, above all, limited access to civil service, which has ever since been reserved for nationals, have contributed to the development of a Luxembourgish national sentiment and of the Luxembourgish language.

As far as language is concerned, Salvador shared his wish to learn Luxembourgish and improve French in the beginning. However, for some reasons shown above, he opted to invest more in French, as he stated:

mi kantu N ben na inisiu, ... N komesa fazi Luxemburges y Franses ma dipos voilà, Luxemburges e un lingua, e un lingua difisil, e un lingua ki sta lonji di di nos ideia ... lonji di Kriolu y di Purtuges, y klaramenti, ... otu familias di lingua. Nton na kel termu bu ta ben nu ta skodji mas fasil. Komu N studaba liseu na Kabu Verdi, N studaba un bokadu Franses, dja N ten noson. Bu ta ben bu ta fla: “ok Franses e mas fasil,” bu ta studa Franses. E keli prublema di Luxemburgo, bo kabu verdianu ta txiga Holanda es ta fala Holandes, tudu mundu ta fala Holandes, undi prublema sta? la e so Holandes ki ten, Luxemburgo prublema bu ta txiga ten trez kuatu lingua ... bu ta atxa jovens na Holanda tudu

me when I came in the beginning ... I started Luxembourgish and French but then *voilà*, Luxembourgish is a language, a difficult language, it's a language that is far from our idea ... far from Creole and Portuguese, and clearly ... another family of language. So in that term you come and choose the easier one. As I'd studied at high school in Cape Verde, I'd studied French a bit, so I had a notion. You come and you say: “ok French is easier,” you study French. This is the problem of Luxembourg, Cape Verdeans arrive in Holland they speak Dutch, everybody speaks Dutch, where is the problem? There's only Dutch that you have, the problem in Luxembourg is that you arrive and find three four languages ... you find young people in Holland all can

*ta fala Holandes, es ka ten eskolha, e un lingua so
ki sa la ta obi tudu santu dia palmanham pa tardi.*

speak Dutch, they have no choice, it's only one language
there you listen to every single day from dawn to night.

He invested in French because he had already studied it in Cape Verde and it is closer to Portuguese and the Creole of Cape Verde (CVC). He compared the complex official language situation of Luxembourg with that of the Netherlands, where Dutch is the only official language. There, migrants have a clearer option (they have 'no option'), i.e. to invest in Dutch only, for job and social mobility, while in Luxembourg they usually face the dilemma of choosing a language or languages to invest in first. Normally, Lusophone migrants take the "easier" way, as Salvador did, i.e. they first invest in French, because it is the most widely spoken language in the Grand Duchy and closer to Portuguese than Luxembourgish and German. However, he shared that he spent about two years studying Luxembourgish, which allowed him to communicate in that language too. When I asked him about the main language he uses to communicate with his wife, he stressed that they use mostly French for two reasons: 1) French is the language he understands better and 2) his wife also uses it as her first language, since her mother was French and she grew up using French more than other languages.

Salvador's professional position allows him to see many Cape Verdeans seeking jobs and struggling with language. He pointed out migrants' difficulties in finding jobs, many of which are caused by language barriers:

*bu ba pa la es ta fla-u: "bu ka ta fala Alemon," bu
ba pa la kelotu fla-u: "bu ka ta fala Luxamburges?"
bu ba pa la es fla-u: "bu ka ta fala Franses? ... bo
ka ta fala kela, nou eh" ... "nou, nou mi N ta fala
Franses," "oh sinhor la ka ta komprendi mutu ben
Franses, bu ka ta fala Luxamburges?" "nou N ka ta
fala Luxamburges." Keli e un grandi difikuldadi di
imigrantis, di imigrason na Luxamburgu. e ka
pamodi lingua e un barera mas problema e
kuantidadi di lingua na paiz ki ta fazi barera.*

you go there they say: "you don't speak German," you go
there another one says: "can you speak Luxembourgish?"
you go there they say: "can't you speak French? ... you
can't speak that, no eh" ... "no, no I can't speak French,"
"oh mister there doesn't understand French very well,
can't you speak Luxembourgish?" "no I can't speak
Luxembourgish." This is a big difficulty for migrants, of
migration in Luxembourg, it isn't because that language is
a barrier but the problem is the quantity of language in the
country that creates barrier.

This is an example of the role of language as 'the gatekeeping of babel' in job interviews, as Roberts (2013, p. 83) points out that:

for most routine and relatively low paid jobs, the linguistic demands of the job interview are greater than those of the job itself. The capitalisation of language, in Bourdieu's terms, is based on a unified linguistic market in which all talk is measured against the legitimate or official language of the dominant group.

In this context, Salvador's awareness of those exaggerated demands of linguistic competences in the three official languages has led him to introduce Portuguese and Creole to the NPE job posts as a form of counteracting them. As Simpson and Whiteside (2015, p. 12) note, 'a narrow understanding of language learning in the service of employability in a neo-liberal world order.' Thus, he recounted how he usually communicates with the *Agence pour le développement de l'emploi* (ADEM) in order to receive unemployed workers registered at this state institution: "*di ADEM, oras ki es fla-n: "ah sinhor li ka ta papia Franses", N ta fla: "nau podi manda mi tanbe N ta papia Kriolu y Purtugues* [from ADEM, when they tell me: "ah this mister here can't speak French, I say: "no, you can send I can also speak Creole and Portuguese]."

On the one hand, this exceptional introduction of those languages is a way to facilitate the job entry for certain migrants considered 'low-skilled' workers or those 'de-skilled' (cf. Allan, 2013) through language. On the other hand, this helps capitalising more for the company. Furthermore, he pointed out that, in turn, this led him to translate all the French documents into Portuguese. He simultaneously uses French and Portuguese when giving information to the workers. In addition, he stressed that he often does not even need French, because the workers are mostly Creole (of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau) and Portuguese speakers. However, he remarked that this can be a problem for the workers when they want to move to another company with stricter language requirements for the entry selection.

Along the same lines, he added that Cape Verdean encounters with Portuguese migrants in Luxembourg may negatively affect their learning of the official languages:

dipos ten kel noson ki Kabuverdianu ta ben ta kontra ku Purtuges li ... dja ka ta priokupa mas ... e un fator nigativu ki pa Kabuverdianu na Luxamburgu. fator nigativu di imigrason en termu di lingua, e ki es ta ben es ta atxa Purtuges li ... un kuantidadi importanti di Purtuges ... nton ki ta pirmiți txeu algen ka ta xinti nisisidadi bu ta ba, undi ki bu bai loja bu podi fala Purtuges, bu podi bai banku bu fala Purtuges. bu podi bai tudu tipu di administrason na Luxamburgu bu atxa algen ki ta fala Purtuges.

then there's that notion that Cape Verdeans come and meet Portuguese here ... they don't worry 'anymore' ... this is a negative factor for Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg, negative factor of migration in terms of language, is that they come and find Portuguese here ... an important quantity of Portuguese ... so that allows many people not to feel necessity you go, wherever you go you find shop where you can speak Portuguese, you can go to a bank you speak Portuguese, you can go to any kind of administration in Luxembourg you find one that can speak Portuguese.

To a certain extent, and despite the postcolonial tensions, the significant presence of Portuguese allows Cape Verdean migrants to feel less need to learn the official languages, as Salvador metaphorically stated: "*purtuges ku kabuverdianu li e sima fixon ku midju, simiadu na mesmu*

koba mas sempri ku prublema ku kunpanheru [Portuguese and Cape Verdeans here they are like beans and corns, sown in the same hole but always with problem with each other].” This is an interesting agricultural metaphor, because in Cape Verde the two crops are sown together in the same hole, but when they start growing they ‘embrace’ each other in a kind of competition. The corn grows faster but the bean survives longer. Similarly, in the context of migration to Luxembourg, to a certain extent, Cape Verdeans and Portuguese migrants are put in the same ‘hole,’ i.e. the category of Lusophone immigrants, who work mostly in construction (Manço et al., 2014). However, there are some tensions between them, caused by colonial links. Overall, however, the existence of many Lusophone infrastructures, organisations/ institutions and services (shops, restaurants, in some public institutions etc.) that can be provided in Portuguese allows Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg to make a living speaking almost exclusively Portuguese and/or the Creole of Cape Verde.

In this vein, Salvador recalled a conversation he had with a female Cape Verdean migrant concerning language learning in Luxembourg. The migrant pointed out:

kre es sta dodu, ben di Purtugal ontonti, mininu pa N da kumida, trez mininu pa N da kumida, kasa mi ki ta paga renda, ka baratu, modi ki nhos kre pa N ba studa nhos lingua, nhos pensa N ten tempu? prioridadi e trabadju, storia kaba.

maybe they are crazy, I came from Portugal the day before yesterday with children to feed, three children to feed, house I’m paying the rent, that is not cheap, how do you want me to go and study your language, do you think I have time? Priority is work and the story ends.

Here, this migrant explains that migrants usually do not have enough time to invest in learning “*nhos lingua* [your language]”, meaning Luxembourgish. It seems that she is ‘irritated’ by the official and societal discourses that emphasise the learning of Luxembourgish as a migrant duty (Horner, 2011), regardless of its practical function in migrants’ work and social life. She sees Luxembourgish as a language that is useless and absent in her work environment. Presumably, a combination of French, Portuguese and Cape Verdean Creole works just fine for her. This raises the question of how many Luxembourgish colleagues this migrant woman has at work. Learning Luxembourgish as an additional language is not going to make any difference in her work or the ability to pay the rent and feed her kids. From her perspective, Luxembourgish is not a national language with a practical communicative function, but only a language of the powerful land-owning and house-owning group she otherwise has little dealings with. Arguably, this leads us to the following question: Is it worth learning any language that cannot be learned by ordinarily interacting with the people one ordinarily interacts with as one goes about work and life?

Salvador went on to contrast his own language experiences with older migrants like the woman referred to above, who came at an older age:

mi N ben inda na fazi 17 N sa fla sa na bon fazi. passa un bokadu tardi dimas pa o ku txiga na un paiz pa bu atxa pessoas ta fala 3 ou 4 lingua, e mas komplikadu. Pessoas sa ta ben inda mas grandi dja ... ku fidju ku kuzas ... e un imigrason difisil, e un imigrason di trabadju. E un imigrason ki pessos ka ta pensa na otu kuza ki ka trabadja

me I came at least at seventeen I'm saying at a good phase. It's still a bit late to arrive in a country and you find people speaking three or four languages, it's more complicated. Other people come even older already ... with children and things, it's a difficult migration, it's a labour migration. It's a migration that people don't think about anything that is not work.

Salvador highlighted his young age at the time of migration in order to explain his 'luck' and smoother trajectory than adult migrants, who he knows usually face more difficulties in migration. Family responsibilities make them think more about work than, for example, education or learning languages. He stressed that it is even more difficult for them when they arrive in a country with three official languages, none of which corresponds to their language repertoire before migration.

According to Salvador, language per se is not a problem, but the multiplicity of languages and the expectations in Luxembourg on migrants to learn at least the three official languages are:

bu ta txiga na un paiz bu ta obi sinku lingua di palmanham pa tardi. E positivu pa un ladu, ah sin sin en termu di positividadi po fla ma bu ten un paiz ki ta fala sinku lingua.

you arrive on a country with five languages from dawn to night, is positive from one side, ah yes in terms of positivity to say that you have a country that 'speaks' five languages.

This extract indexes romanticized official, media and societal discourses of Luxembourg as 'the country that fosters multilingualism *par excellence*' (Horner, 2011, p. 492). My observations as well as interviews with Salvador and other participants revealed that many Cape Verdeans strategically come to Luxembourg because, as Salvador remarked, "*mi, Franses N ta disgadja, nton go, ki N ta ben* [me, I can get by in French, so I'm coming]." They see Luxembourg as a reservoir of languages. Thus, the fact of having French in their repertoire in addition to a significant presence of Portuguese migrants both influence their decision to come to Luxembourg. In short, they see Luxembourg's 'societal multilingualism as an opportunity' (De Bres, 2014).

However, according to Salvador, even French can be a barrier for them, especially when they aspire to jobs in a higher stratum where there is more demand on linguistic and literacy competence. He pointed out: “*ta falta konhesimentu na lingua mas perfeisuadu* [it misses more perfect knowledge in the language].” This is true, even if they have higher qualifications, as Salvador stated about the current Cape Verdean migration pattern, illustrating the formal education level of many workers (mostly young people in their 30s) at NPE:

embaxada tinha ki fazeba di tenta da apoios a kes jovens la pa entra na un merkadu di trabadju também di ses nivel, di ses kunhisimentu la ki ta permiti desenvolvimentu ... di dexa-s na kel, na kel estrutura di ba ganha vida ... tinha ki tinha un estrutura ki ta orientaba es na un nivel ki ka ta dexa-s ligadu na ses kunhisimentu pa manham pe-s atxa un trabadju na un nivel tambe ki ta koresponde-s ses estudu ... ten munti ki sa txiga bu sabi, ki dja ten skola, skola, skola ... desdi inisiu N ten kel plataforma la ki ta pirmitti pessoas di ben di tenta mostra-s empreza, trabadju ki es podi atxa ki ta pirmitti di studa, mo ke ta faz. da-s indikason, da-s ajuda ... kel kuza la ka ten, infelismenti kel estrutura la ka ten na embaxada di Kabu Verdi, e ta pirmitti oji inda ki klasi di kabu-verdianus ta txiga ta ben jovens ja formadu ta kontinua na ta ba pa kel prumeru soluson ke buska bida, ba trabadju, un pon di kada dia. bu ta kaba pa akomoda ... kel tempu ta ten mininu, ta ten mudjer, storia dja kaba di la bu ka ta sai mas ... o ku fala kua-s ke-s fla-u undi kes ta trabadjaba dipos pe-s fla-u formason ke ten ... ten rapaz ki ben trabadja la na mi ki e tres bez mas formadu ki mi ... rapaz ta txiga ta fla-u skola ke-s ten, universidadi ke-s ben o ki N odja rapaz ta trabadja N ta spia-s N ta fla: “pora rapaz pa djobi soluson moz.”

the embassy had to try to support those young people to enter a job market of their level too, of their knowledge that allows their development ... instead of leaving them in that structure of gaining a life ... it should have been a structure that orientated them at a level that keep them linked to their knowledge so that tomorrow they get a job at a level that corresponds to their studies too ... there are a lot arriving that have already school, school, school ... from the beginning we [NPE] have that platform there that allows people to come and try, show them the company, jobs that they can find that allow them to continue studying, how they should do, give them help ... but it's that thing ... doesn't exist, unfortunately that structure doesn't exist at the Embassy of Cape Verde. It still allows today that Cape Verdeans who arrive, qualified young people continue to go for the first solution that is search a life, go and work for the day by day. You end accommodating ... time for children, wife comes, story ends, you will not find escape from there anymore ... when you talk to them and they tell you where they had worked, then they tell you the qualification they have ... there are guys who came to work there with me who is three times more qualified than me ... they arrive and tell you their qualification, university they come from, when I see guys working I look at them and I say: “shit, guys need to search another solution man.”

Here, Salvador regrets about the job his compatriots take in Luxembourg, at his entreprise that for many of them, the job is uncommensurable with their qualification. He also advocates for an existence of a structure/ platform similar to what they have at the NPE, to orientate the

newcomers. He critically suggests that the embassy should at least have that platform. In Salvador's eyes, among this new current Cape Verdean migration pattern to Luxembourg, you can find many qualified young people with university degrees. However, they usually end up in 'dead-end jobs' (Åkesson, 2016, p. 122) or 'lower tier jobs' (Roberts, 2013), i.e. jobs of low wages, in that 'the human capital these workers build up ... does not pay off' (Newman, 1995). They suffer a 'linguistic penalty' (Roberts, 2013) that disables them 'to break into the higher tier into jobs which are commensurable with their education and expertise' (GLA, 2005, cited in Roberts, 2013, p. 89). And, usually, they do not develop their linguistic competences in the official languages to apply for high-paid jobs, so they stay in the low-wage job environment.

Simpson and Whiteside (2015, p. 9) argue that 'adult migrants may have little exposure to the host country national language in their daily lives.' Furthermore, they often have few options because of language barriers and this usually makes them accept any job independently of their qualifications. These jobs are often tough jobs, hard work that people without these barriers can afford to discard. According to Salvador, the first job is gratifying in the beginning for them but they run the risk to get stuck, accommodate with it and so detach themselves from areas of job they are qualified for and experienced in and had invested in, before migration. Thus, sub-employment takes place, what is salient within the Luxembourgish job market due to high demands of linguistic competences, as seen in Jorge's case above, at once in mainstream languages, especially for well-paid jobs.

Salvador is an example of a successful migrant, and he is proud of his life trajectory as a Cape Verdean migrant to Luxembourg. He continued:

N konxi storia di mundo mas ki nhos pamodi N ten kel dos storia: migrason di un parti ke un parti pusitivu na imigrason ki kel subritudu o ki pessoas imigra na un fazi ki ten kunhesimentu di se paiz mesmu antis i dipos ki ta imigra pa otu paiz. e podi ser ki un mas valia. normalmenti. e podi ser un mais valia pa si kunhesimentu.

I know the history of the world more than you because I have those two stories: migration from one part that's a positive part in migration that is after all when people migrate in a phase that s/he has knowledge of his country even before and after s/he migrates to other country. This can be an added value normally, it can be an added value for her/his knowledge.

Salvador views himself as having broader knowledge of the world "ki nhos [than you]", meaning local people who have not migrated. The point for him is that he has experienced life in Cape Verde, Luxembourg and beyond. Still, for him being a migrant is an important category, something he identifies with and is proud of. He sees migration as an added value in spite of the difficulties of varying degrees that migrants face.

He views entrepreneurship as a way for migrants to challenge their weak societal positioning as stigmatized *main d'oeuvre* migrants, and then to also become creators of jobs that can 'help' their compatriots. This spirit of creating jobs for specific migrant groups may be one way in which the ethno-stratification of Luxembourg's labour market takes hold within a super-diverse society in terms of nationalities (cf. Manço et al., 2014; Fehlen, 2009). However, in Salvador's opinion there is a lack of entrepreneurial spirit (cf. Åkesson, 2016) within the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg, which he considers to be a problem:

grandi problema na Luxamburgu di imigrason di Kabuverdianus e unificason ... pamodi pa ba festa nhos podi bai tudu juntu ... ago trabadja djuntu? kel es ka bon nel, mesmu pessoas ki sta más grandi ku mas experiencias mesmu pessoas adulta. bu sabi ti inda ka ten kel noson di txoma Kabuverdianus pa unifikason di trabadja diferentimenti ... unifikason di Kabuverdianus na stranjerus e difisil. pamodi dja na kultura divison di ilhas, kada pessoa kre trabadja pa si ilha i e kre fazi un kuza pa si ilha i dipos na fin provavelmenti ta ten kes.

big problem of Cape Verdean migration in Luxembourg is unification ... because going to parties you can go together ... but work together? That they are not good at, even people who are older with more experiences even adult people, you know that till now there isn't a notion to call Cape Verdeans to unification of different work ... unification of Cape Verdeans abroad is difficult because already in the culture of islands division, each person wants to work for his/her island, and wants to do a thing for his/her island and then in the end there will be those tensions.

According to him, one of the reasons for this difficulty are the perpetuating tensions within 'Cape Verdeanness', i.e. 'the *sampadjudu* and *badiu* divide' (Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2008; see Chapter 2 above) that exists in the archipelago and is reproduced in Luxembourg. That, in Salvador's opinion, prevents or hinders Cape Verdeans in organising and do business together.

Finally, Salvador interestingly compares Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg before and after Schengen:

antis era un bokadu mas fasil, pamodi Luxamburgu tambe staba na si era di desenvolvimentu baxu...kondison di merkadu xeiu di trabadju ... y tinha un imigrason també mas kontrolada naquela epoka ... pesosas ka ta entraba di tudu Europa un riba di otu, ... gosi nu ten un imigrason ki e semi-kontrolada abertu ku kel, kresenti di un manera importanti ... kes ultimu ki ben li, es ta integra klaramenti na Purtuges ... es ben masa kompletu, tudu un ikipa ... es konxi kumpanheru na Purtugal, es ta fala Purtuges, es ta ba

before it was a bit easier, also because Luxembourg was at its era of low development ... market condition full of work ... and there was also a more controlled migration at that time ... people didn't come in from all over Europe one after another ... now we have an immigration that is semi-controlled, open with that, increase in an important way ... the last who came here, they integrate clearly in the Portuguese ... they came as a complete mass, all as a group ... they have known each other in Portugal, they speak Portuguese,

festas di ses, ses kumida di ses, es ten un integrason mas levi. Es ten un asesu a trabadju mas rapidu pamodi es ten dokumentu es e europeu. bu sta komprendi? Mas ... antis o ki sa binha di Kabu Verde diretamenti es ta binha diretamenti ku un objetivu ku es ta resebeba mas formason es ta sigida mas dipresa. es ten un akompanhamentu, mas longu tempu. Oji es ten un akompanhamentu mutu levi, es ta disgobedja.

they go their parties, their food, they have a lighter integration. They have a faster access to work because they have documents they are Europeans, you know? but ... before when they came directly from Cape Verde, they came directly with an objective that they received more formation, they were followed faster, they had a longer time of accompaniment. Today they have a short accompaniment, they get by.

He highlights that Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg was easier before Schengen in terms of finding a job. Luxembourg was a low-developed country in need of *main d'oeuvre* and, according to him, migration was much more controlled before the Schengen agreement. Lebbe (2011, p. 80) stresses that the Schengen regime 'has led to a shift from a system of control to a proactive system of selection and exclusion.' This means that the regime 'erased' internal borders (i.e. between EU countries) but has at the same time re-enforced and is tightening its external borders, especially by excluding those from the global South. As a result, currently Cape Verdeans who manage to migrate to Luxembourg are almost exclusively those with Portuguese or other EU citizenships. Thus, it seems that due to the EU discourse of *plus ou moins* cultural homogeneity (since the migrants re-migrated from other European countries) and the neoliberal labour market, the newcomers have less state support for training and orientations, assuming that since they have experienced life in one European country, it would be easier for them to adapt in another. As Salvador stated above, the newcomers may find jobs, but these are completely different from what they did before or have trained for, i.e. usually less prestigious jobs.

6.8 Luis: a successful migrant entrepreneur

Luis was in his early fifties when I first met him in his restaurant called *Metissage* (see Chapter 7 below). He is also originally from Santiago Island. He came to Portugal with his family in 1974, aged 10, at the time of the revolution which led to the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (1975). He is the eldest of three brothers and three sisters. His father was a businessman and part of the Cape Verdean elite with strong connections to the colonial officials. He feared the revolution and took the entire family to Portugal. Luis shared that his father only returned to Cape Verde twenty-two years later. Luis did his high school studies in Portugal and, at the age 20, he worked at a *fabrica de serelharia* [steel mill]. That work experience helped

him find a better job in the same branch of industry when he re-migrated to Luxembourg in 1984.

Luis has lived in Luxembourg ever since. In the beginning, he came and took some months to explore his job projects and returned to Portugal. After coming and going between the two countries for several times, he decided to stay in Luxembourg. During the first month, he was hosted by his aunt until he started working and found a room to rent. He pointed out that he shared rooms with friends and lived in rooms of cafés until he was able to afford a more private dwelling.

Similar to Salvador, he began cleaning as a part-time job while studying at night. He took French courses for 5 years. Later, he took a professional course in gastronomy, and for about thirty years he has been working for Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union based in Luxembourg. He has worked in many facets of gastronomy and now he is a *xefi di kuzinha* (chief of the kitchen) at the Eurostat. He has five children, the first of whom was born in Portugal, while the other four were born in Luxembourg to two different mothers: his first child is of a Luxembourgish mother and the other three are of a Cape Verdean mother.

Like several of our Luxembourg-based participants, Luis took some Luxembourgish courses in the beginning to be able to communicate. He pointed out that minimal competence in Luxembourgish was more than of practical use, it was symbolically important as a way to demonstrate allegiance to the new country: “*Luxemburges kuza kes gosta si pelu menus nu fala un moien dja e bon, pamodi nu sata mostra ma nu teni vontadi na vivi na ses tera* [Luxembourgish people, a thing that they like if we say a *moien* at least is good already, because we show that we have a will to live in their country].” In Luis’ eyes (as well as the other participants in the study), the use of some bits of Luxembourgish at moments of greetings positively affected the way ethnic Luxembourgers perceive or treat newcomers like him. However, Luis stated that his priority was always French, because it is the language he uses at work to communicate in the very international working environment of Eurostat.

Like many nation states from the global North (cf. Hogan-Brun, et al., 2009), Luxembourg introduced a language test as one of the requirements to obtain citizenship (Horner, 2009, 2011, 2015). Luis took the test and acquired a Luxembourgish passport in addition to his Portuguese passport. He mentioned that he has the right to take the Cape Verdean passport, but he has never applied for it. This is what he told me in a formal interview:

*ami N ten nasionalidadi Luxemburgues, N ten
Purtugues pa ladu nha pai tanbe ... mas es ezigi ki*

me I have Luxembourgish nationality, I have Portuguese
from my father's side too ...but they ask that we have at

nu ten ao menus un b a ba ... mas mi na nha tenpu foi interesi pesoal, desdi di 85 N ba pa skola, fazi formason ... ka tinha kel kes tenpu. Es abri nationalidadi, mas ami N toma ... pa nhas fidjus o ki bai pa skola toma un strutura mas garantidu, pamodi as vezis es ta fla ah bu e Kabuverdianu ah bo e Luxamburges ... Pamo mi nha filha mas grandi ki ben dja porta fitxa pa el ... propi nen na nha kaza kamara [commune]di ... ka aprova pa e fika la, nha propi filha ki N ta da-l tudu apoiu ... mas es ta fika ku kel medu se fika dizenpregadu pa es da-l kel minimu garantidu, nton es ka ta aseita ... Txeu kuzas ki ta kontisi na Luxamburgo nu ta fika ta pensa si si realmenti nos e benvindu na ses pais?

least an a b c ... but me at my time it was personal interest, since 85 I went to school, I did formation ... there wasn't this that time. They opened nationality, but me I took it ... for my children when they go to school to take a more guaranteed structure, for sometimes they say ah you're Cape Verdean ah you're Luxembourgish ... because me, my eldest daughter who came, the door closed for her already ... even, neither at my house the *Commune* [town] of ... didn't approve her to stay there, my own daughter that I give all support ... but they stay with that fear if she stays unemployed and to give her that *garanti minimum*, so they didn't accepted ... many things that happen in Luxembourg make us think if if we're really welcome in their country?

As Luis shared, one of the reasons he decided to apply for citizenship was the future of his children, as a way to minimize acts of differentiation, to obtain what he named “*strutura mas garantidu* [more guaranteed structure]”, connecting it with the schooling of his children. He went on to talk about incidents he had faced before, a negative experience with the authorities in relation to his eldest daughter, who was born in Portugal and came to Luxembourg as an adult. In Luis’ view, the authorities were calculating the possibility of having to pay unemployment benefits and minimal means of subsistence (RMG, *Revenue minimum garanti* [Guaranteed minimum income]) after some time, if she remained unemployed. According to Luis, they based their decision whether to admit new immigrants on that criterion, i.e. on “*medu* [fear]”, as Luis called it. His daughter was denied the right to live at her father’s house because of her age of twenty-seven. This links back to what Foucault conceives of ‘bio-power’, i.e. ‘a number of phenomena that seem ... to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power’ (Foucault, 2004/2007, p. 1)

The authorities used a biological mechanism, i.e. the fact that Luis’ daughter was not born in the territory (Luxembourg), to deny her staying at her father’s. Here is an example of surveillance and control routinely imposed on migrants’ lives, since the authorities would not have considered this if she had been born here as the daughter of ethnic Luxembourgers. That made him question if migrants were really welcome. However, he pointed out that when migrants manage to have the right to stay, the authorities usually start to relieve the pressure. He highlighted the fact that today some people of Cape Verdean origin hold Luxembourgish

passports and work as public servants. According to him, the relatively long history of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg means that they are comparatively better positioned in Luxembourgish society, better now than when he arrived thirty years ago and also better than other Africans in Luxembourg.

Concerning work, Luis is a dynamic person. He highlighted his entrepreneurial space and other activities he has taken in parallel with his job as a cook at Eurostat. The idea to become an entrepreneur started much earlier, when he took a gastronomy course. He began to dream: “*un dia si N konsigi na vida, N ta abri nha propi estabelesimentu na undi ki N podi mostra tanbe tudu algen kel ki N sabifazi ... kes ideas li dja ben na anus noventa.* [one day if I manage in life, I will open my own place where I can also show everybody what I can do].” Then, after many years in his stable job, he finally opened the *Métissage*, whose name was first inspired by the origin of his first child born in Luxembourg, of a Luxembourgish mother, and by the origin of Cape Verdean people in general. Note that this restaurant was viewed by Luis not as a way to manage his life but as a surplus of life, i.e. an activity that gives him satisfaction, ‘pride and profit,’ echoing Duchêne and Heller (2012). In the next chapter, I will discuss Luis’ restaurant in more details as an example of Cape Verdean entrepreneurial space.

Luis elaborated on the diversity of the jobs he performed: “*tanbe N ten un otu casquette, sima es ta fala na Luxemburgu* [also I have another helmet, as they say in Luxembourg].” He also works for the *Ministère de l’Education nationale* as a *validateur des acquis* [validator of professional competences] for the branch of gastronomy. Furthermore, at the time of exams, he is an examiner at various high schools (*lycée techniques*) in the country, including in Bonnevoie, Limpertsberg, Ettelbruck and Esch-sur-Alzette. Except for Limpertsberg, these lycées are situated in *quartiers* with a high concentration of Cape Verdeans (dos Santos Rocha, 2010; Jacobs et al., 2017).

As the owner of a restaurant, with training and years of experience, he can also take the responsibility to supervise students at *Metissage* during their phase of *aprendizajen* [apprenticeship]. He recounted, pointing to a young waiter at his restaurant: “*kel rapazinhu ki sta la tanbe, N tene-l li, e sta ben forma, e ka so stajiu, e sta ben fazi si aprendizajen li, kel trez anu di aprendizajen ki e ten ki fazi ki mi dja N toma responsabilidadi di forma-l* [that young boy there too, I have him here, he is taking vocational training, it is not only intership, he is taking vocational training here, for the three years of training that he has to take, I’ve taken responsibility to form him].”

As far as language is concerned, I asked him if language has ever been an obstacle for him in achieving anything in Luxembourg. He replied:

li na Luxamburgu bu ta odja, bu ta xinti ma ten kel pikenu, kel pikenu ah, N ka ta fla rasismu, Luxamburges sabi modi ki es ta fazi pa algen ka da konta, ta kubri di manera di kuzas, ah na edukason ... dipos ki N abri kel restauranti li, eh na Komison Europeia bu ka ta vivi Luxamburgu, bu ka ta xinti ... anos nu ten ah tudu, ah loja, ... bu ta entra bu sai nton bu ka ta xinti lugar ... dipos bu ta bai pa un ripartisons, bu ta bai pa kambra es ta odjo-u logu si bu fala Luxamburges es ta , mas dja si bu fala lingua stranjeru dja bu ta konsigi odja kes purmenoris dja es ta fazi ku ma vontadi bu sta odja? es ka ta fla-u ma nau, mas tanbe es ka ta fla-u ma sin, nen si es sabi, keli ki e delikadu ... Mi tanbe N tinha un empregad li e txiga di fla un Luxamburgeza: "obi li bo kuze ki bu sta fazi li?" "na mi e klienti di li", dipos: "nau li e ka bu lugar." Nos propriu orijen, nos propriu Kriolu alves ta fazi kes tipu di rasismu la ... nton N fla: "nau, kela bu ka podi fazi, bu ka podi fazi".

here in Luxembourg you see, you feel that there's that little, that little ah, I don't say racism. Luxembourgers know how they do so, that nobody notices, they cover the way of things, ah in education ... then I opened this restaurant here, eh in the European Commission you don't live Luxembourg, you don't feel it ... we've ah everything, ah shops ... you enter and you leave so you don't feel places ... then you go to state departments, you go to commune they see you if you speak Luxembourgish they, but if you speak a foreign language you can see those details, already they do it with less will, you see? They don't tell you no, but they don't tell you yes, even if they know, this that is delicate ... myself too I had a waitress here who even get to say to a Luxembourgish: "look, what are you doing here?" "no I'm a client here," then: "no here is not your place". Our own origin, our own *Kriolu* sometimes do that kind of racism there ... so I said: "no, you shouldn't do that, you shouldn't do."

Instead of getting straight to the point of the question, Luis first contrasts his language environment at work with that of public institutions in Luxembourg. He verifies that there is a little problem, which he hesitates to call racism, but according to him there are some perceivable details that index differences of treatment when migrants communicate with the state officials in Luxembourgish or in other languages including French. Although this has become a cliché in the regime of immigrants' relation with Luxembourgers, it is not an unfounded cliché. Indeed, many of my participants reported similar experiences explicitly when asked about the importance of Luxembourgish to navigate their lives in Luxembourg (cf. Marku, Jorge, Salvador above; Luis here; and Orlando, Julio and Aguinaldo below). Luis classifies this as a delicate thing. In addition, he compares this with an overtly racist incident provoked by one of his former waitresses towards a Luxembourgish client at his restaurant, a kind of 'reverse racism' (Norton & Sommers, 2011) that he reproached. This suggests that racism exists in many directions and ways covertly and overtly. As Weber (2015, p. 105) points out, 'it has been

argued that the racism of the twenty-first century is often the covert form of racism.' In this vein, the above-mentioned difference in the treatment of migrant 'others' by ethnic Luxembourgers on the basis of language use is an example of 'colour-blind racism', i.e. discrimination that 'is not ostensibly focused on race but frequently uses language as a proxy for race' (Weber, 2015, p. 105). This is a non-violent form of racist behaviour that has a tendency to go along and perpetuate smoothly, becoming naturalized.

To summarise, Luis generalized and explained the difficulties Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg face:

pa bu konsigi li bu ten ki ser korajosu ... N ta fla tudu algen ... bu ten ki intxi di koraji, pamodi nos Kabuverdianu, Afrikanu nu ten txeu difikuldadi na, na lingua primeru ki e un primeru obstaklu, dipos na nos orijen ke N podi fla sugundu obstaklu y na na tudu ki e diferenti di nos tera, keli nu ka podi nega. Nton ami N ta fla kenza ki kre ah vivi na Luxemburgo ... e ten ki ten tanbe forsa di vontadi pe konsigi pamodi e un pais mutu difisil, non so pamodi e ka nos tera, dipos pamodi e un pais ki ten un klima ki e ka favoravel ... y dipos ten obstaklus di kes ki nu sabi tambe.

to manage here you have to be courageous ... I tell everybody ... you have to feel courage, because we Cape Verdeans, Africans we have many difficulties in, in the language first that's the first obstacle, then our origin I can say is the second obstacle and in everything that's different from our country, we can't deny it. So I say that who wants to live in Luxembourg ... has to have force of will to manage, for it's a very difficult country, not only because it isn't our country, then because it's a country that has a climate that is not favourable ... and there are obstacles of those we also know.

According to him, it is harder for (African) migrants to succeed in Luxembourg because of the difficulties he pointed out. He ordered them as follows: first, language obstacles; second, their origin as an obstacle; third, differences of culture; fourth, the weather. For all of these, a migrant has to be resilient in order to resist and manage a better life.

Since Luis envisaged his retirement in a couple of years from now, I asked him if he would return to Cape Verde:

N ta fla-u tanbe, N ta bai pa Kabu Verdi N ta xinti ma Nsta na stranjeru ... oji dja-n sta un imigranti sen patria, mi e imigranti na Luxemburgo, N ta txiga na Portugal na undi ki N kria mi e imigranti, N ta bai pa Kabu Verdi undi ki N nasi mi e imigranti tanbe ... djan fika un sidadon sen patria purke N ta txiga na Kabu Verdi ah kel imigranti li dje txiga ... mi dja

I tell you too, I go to Cape Verde I feel that I'm abroad ... today I'm already an immigrant without home, I'm an immigrant in Luxembourg, I arrive at Portugal where I grew up I'm an immigrant, I go to Cape Verde where I was born I'm an immigrant too ... I'm already a citizen without home because I arrive in Cape Verde ah that immigrant here has

*djan bira imigranti na tudu kau ki N bai dja N ka
sabi modi ki N ta fazi.*

arrived ... me I've already become immigrant
wherever I go, I don't know what to do.

Here, Luis declared himself to be an (im)migrant three times, even in his country of origin. Note that this extract can teach us that when a person migrates, they will almost certainly remain a migrant forever and everywhere, i.e. once a migrant always a migrant, a migrant somewhere a migrant everywhere. This is the way Luis perceived himself after living in Europe for more than three decades, and it seemed that he longed nostalgically for having a clearer perception of his belonging. Luis manifested his worries about this as he continued:

*ami Kabu Verdi e un pais ki sempri N sonha volta,
mas ultimamente N sta ku un dilemma, pamodi N ka
sabi prisizamenti si restu di nha vida N ta vivi na
Porugal o na Kabu Verdi mas na Luxemburgu N sabi
ma N ka ta vivi. N podi ben pamodi nhas fidjus, mas
vivi N ka ta vivi li, pur isu Kabu Verdi e sta si:
purmeru N ten un pikenu prekonseitu, N ten un
pikenu reseiu di ba vivi na kabu verde pamodi ...
tudu nhas speriensias, kes poku tenpu ki N bai di
ferias, N stevi mutu doenti, kel habitu, alimentu kel
mudansa di klima ... ben fazen fika mal la, inda N sta
pensa si N ta bai o N ka ta bai.*

for me Cape Verde is a country that I always dream to return to, but lately I have a dilemma, because I don't know precisely if the rest of my life I'll live it in Portugal or in Cape Verde but in Luxembourg I know that I won't. I can come because of my children, but live I won't live here, thus Cape Verde is like this: first I have a little worry, I have a little fear to go and live in Cape Verde because ... all my experiences, that little time I went for holidays, I stayed very ill, that habit, food, that climate change ... made me feel ill there, I'm still thinking if I'll go or I'll not go.

As he stated, Luis faced a dilemma about where to live after retirement: in Cape Verde as his country of origin and childhood or in Portugal as his first country of migration, schooling, first jobs and youth? He seemed to be convicted of not wanting to live in Luxembourg after retirement. Note, however, that this is still an open-ended decision, since he aspire to work at least three years more before retiring. Let us now turn to Orlando, who is of the same generation and also an entrepreneur like Luis, but seems to be determined to stay in Luxembourg.

6.9 Orlando: the informal ambassador

Orlando is originally from Santiago Island and is in his early fifties. At the age of fifteen, he migrated together with his younger brother, two sisters and their mother to join their father in Luxembourg in 1981. He started to recount this after I met him for the first time at his ethnic grocery shop in Bonnevoie, the *Epicerie Creole* in Bonnevoie, to which we will also return in

the next chapter. He has four children who were born in Luxembourg from his wife (also originally from Santiago Island) and one daughter in Rotterdam from another woman. His children born in Luxembourg are Luxembourgish citizens now.

Orlando is a central figure in the Cape Verdean migrant community. He can be described as the '*informal ambassador*:' his Epicérie functions as a meeting place, a 'safe' space of network and of information as we shall see in the next chapter. He is a 'broker' within the community as well as between the community and migrants' relatives left behind in Cape Verde or in the Cape Verdean diasporic community, such as Rotterdam. In the next chapter I will explain more into details the role of Orlando as the *informal ambassador*.

When I asked him about how he became an entrepreneur, he pointed out that:

*na prinsipi, komu rapas ta ben di novu, mi komu
N trabadja sempri na konstruson, kes firma di
interim, sempri N ta inkaminha, ... ya txeu
informason ... pa trabadju, adressi, dokumentu,
apartamentu, apartamentu tudu dia ... djuda ki nu
ta djuda Kabuverdianu la na Epicérie Créo,
embaxada ka ten hipotiz, e ka ten tenpu propi, ...
para alen di loja, nos anos e igual ... nos e so
kolega di algen ki ta mora li.*

in the beginning, as the boys [migrants] newly came, me as I've always worked in construction, those firms of interim, I always refer them ... a lot of information ... to work, address, papers, apartments, apartments everyday ... help that we help Cape Verdeans at the *Epicérie Créo*, the embassy doesn't have chance, it doesn't have time even ... besides of being a shop, us we are equal ... we are all colleagues of people who live here.

Orlando highlights that their link to the community is closer than that of the official embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg. Besides the practical services they provide for the migrants at the *Epicérie*, he attributes that closeness to the fact that he, his brother and his employees are at the same level with Cape Verdean migrants in general. Indeed, he is a very influential personality, and he possesses the linguistic and consumerist capital and knowledge that help him run the *Epicérie Créo*.

At the very beginning of his life in Luxembourg, Orlando took a one-year course of French, a language he had already started to study at high school in Cape Verde. And during a school holiday in Luxembourg, he took a *staji* [internship] at steel company *Armature SA*. He was hired there and never returned to school, as he highlighted his work trajectory into Luxembourg as not very difficult:

*N trabadja sempri, pur isu N ta fla sempri ma N ka
tevi sperensias di txeu otus imigrants, pamo mi N bai
fazi staji, N fika la. Mi nunka, inda ate hoji N ka txiga*

I always work, that's why I always say that I didn't have experiences of many other migrants, because I went for a training and I stayed there. I've never, until

frenti di un patron pa N ba pidi trabadju ... mas mi era rapazinho ... N ben ten dizoitu anu Nfazi nha karta, kes gentis mas bedju ninhum ka tinha karta, N dadu karo ki e pa N toma trabadjadoris, N ba ta dadu responsabilidadi. Di vinti-un anu N foi responsavel te ki N benfazi nha formason di feru, N ben abri nha propri firma ... N ka tevi mutu difikuldadi.

now, I haven't come to a boss to ask for a job ... but I was a boy ... I became eighteen I took my driving license, none of those older people had a driving license, I was given a car to pick up the workers, I kept receiving responsibilities. From twenty-one years old I became the responsible until I took my formation of steel work, I opened my own firm ... I didn't have a lot of difficulties.

He benefited from this knowledge of French, his formal education and driving licence taken at the age of eighteen. He stressed: “*dizoitu anu, tres mes y dez dia dja N tinha nha karta* [eighteen years old, three months and ten days I had already had my driving license]”, This gave him an advantage over older workers, many of whom were illiterate. All of these factors contributed to his mobility within the company he worked for, in spite of his young age: “*Nha pai dja staba li, N trabadja doz anu ku nha pai, dja mi era xefi nha pai* [my father was already here, I worked two years together with my father, and then became my father's boss].” If for his father that was a matter of pride, for other Portuguese workers it was a kind of *atrevimentu* [insolence], as Orlando recounted how the Portuguese workers reacted – “*kel mos pretu la e gosta di fala ku algen Franses* [that black boy there he likes to speak French with us]” – and repeated in Portuguese “*aquele preto do caralho gosta de falar Francês* [that fucking black likes to speak French].” According to Orlando, he liked to speak French and was also aware that this was one of his advantages over the older migrant workers including Portuguese and Italian. This is an example of how language and education, can be used as an accessory to define hierarchies in the labour market. Through language and his dynamic personality, curiosity and ambition he became the ‘boss’ of his father who had worked at the same company for twelve years before his arrival.

However, it seems that the Portuguese workers did not accept Orlando's language practices towards them. They found him to be impertinent and provocative as Orlando was from Cape Verde, that had then just become independent from Portugal. Thus, in their view, Orlando should have spoken Portuguese to them. This led to some tensions, even more so because Orlando was not only much younger and newer to the company, but also a former colonial subject. Thus, within that company, work relations were inverted and recast contrary to the old forms of colonial labour organisation and racial hierarchies that were still present in Portuguese and Cape Verdean people's minds.

Orlando shared how the idea of opening the *Epicérie* started, primarily from a conversation with a *kumadri* (i.e. Orlando is the godfather of her son) who was visiting Luxembourg:

Minina ben fla-n si: "Orlando mi na meu di komunidadi pa undi ki N bai N obi ta faladu na bo keli kela, ma ago ten un kuza go, ka ten nada di kuzas di Kriolu li? nun komersio di kuzas di Kriolu?" Tinha un sinhor ki si nomi e João ... e tinha abridu un kuza ma omi ka sabia le ... dipos ihh na kel altura e ka fasim oji tanbe nau ... nen bu ka tenha algen propi di pergunta ... nton N bai informa fladu: "nau pa bu fazi bu ten ta sisti uns aula, uns aula di commerce na Chambre de Commerce, cour aceleré ... di tardi ... di sais hora ti novi y meia." N sisti kel aula, Nfazi kel geral, dipos kel bes go es ta pidibi bo go branche par branche ... alimentason ... Nfazi pa bendi kuzas kosmetiku ... Nfazi ti vendas de karus asesoires, Nfazi akilu tudu N prokura kel loja ki N abri mas akilu tudu pa nos dja era un un forma ... pamodi N tinha nha trabadju, tudu akilu, nha mudjer, N bai poi nha mudjer ta trabaja la dentu ... ba ta bai ba ta bai. Kel bes nen karga inda nu ka ta mandaba. Pesoas komesa ta bai na loja ... sabendu ma tudu fin di simana nu ta baba buska produts, ta fla: "Orlando oras ki bu ta bai Holanda laba-n un bolsa ... leba-n un karton pamo nha irma sta la Holanda po manda-n el" ... dja di un karton bira ta pasa pa doz, tres, kuatu, sinku, sais dez karton, N fla: "eh isu nau", ma N ta lebaba di grasa, di klientis, ti kel dia N fla: "nau isu dja bira", prontu dipos N bira ta kobra viaji pa Holanda, ... komesa ku uns karton, uns bidon, nu ba ta komesa, si ki nasi isu.

This girl came to me and said: "Orlando within the community wherever I go I hear people saying about you this that, but so is there one thing, isn't there anything of *Kriolu* here? no commerce of *Kriolu* things?" There was a sir whose name was João ... he'd opened a thing but he couldn't read ... then ihh at that time it wasn't easy like today no ... you didn't have even anyone to ask ... so I went to inform myself they said: "no, to do that you have to attend some courses, some courses of commerce at *Chambre de Commerce*, advanced courses ... in the afternoon ... from 6pm to 9.30 pm." I took the courses, I did the general ones, then at that time they asked you to go branch by branch ... food ... I did the one to sell cosmetics ... I even did sell car accessories, I did all these, I searched a place for that shop I opened but all of that was another form for us...because I had my job, all that, my wife, I put my wife to work there ... it kept going, going. At that time, we didn't use to send cargo yet. People started to come to the shop ... knowing that every weekend we went to search products, they said: "Orlando when you are going to Holland take me a bag ... take me a box because my sister is there in Holland for you to give it to her" so from one box passed to two, three, four, five, six, ten boxes. I said: "eh not that," but I took it free of charges, for clients, till one day I said: "no that is becoming," well then I started to charge the travel to Holland ... it started with some boxes, containers, we kept beginning. It was like this that it was born.

After gaining more experience and (financial) capital, and after opening the *Epicérie* as an alternative way of increasing capital and to give his wife employment, he wanted to have even more independence at work. Thus, as he had invested in a steel industry training course and with the diploma, together with his younger brother they opened their own company. He continued to work with the *Armature SA* as a *subempreteru* [subcontractor]. However, when they had more children (four in total) his wife no longer had enough time to stay at the *Epicérie*.

Orlando took over the *Epicérie* and later opened another one in Ettelbruck, in the north where many Cape Verdeans reside too.

Today, Orlando's life is marked by weekly travels to France, the Netherlands and Belgium to buy products for the EC and pick up *inkomendas* at the ports of Rotterdam and Antwerp or to send *inkomendas* to Cape Verde. As the owner of a small business, he has a licence for these transactions of goods between the archipelago and other EU-countries and the Grand Duchy. Orlando draws on his 'insider tacit knowledge of the consumption habits' (Sabaté i Dalmau, 2014, p. 15) and needs of Cape Verdean migrants, turning it into entrepreneurial capital.

Bourdieu (2005, p. 194) notes that 'in many fields economic capital is a prerequisite for the accumulation of other kinds of capital' (cited in Åkesson, 2016, p. 118). Åkesson stresses that 'the creation or re-creation of social networks is crucial for economic success' (Åkesson, 2016, p. 115). In Orlando's case, economic capital may be a prerequisite for the accumulation of social capital, but on the other hand his cultural capital (knowledge of Cape Verdean culture and way of life) led to his economic success.

Orlando himself describes his life trajectories into Luxembourg as a success:

gosi N podi fla ma N atinji top ... N ta fla rapazis ma talves ma es e riku di dinheru na bolsu mas ma N ta xinti ma mi e mas riku di ki es pamo ma N ta xinti ma kel parti foi importanti, N trabadja ku un munti di algen diferenti, txeu rasas diferent I ... kantu ki N ben tinha kel ditadu ki es ta fla: "eh antigamenti era so branku ki ta manda na pretu mas gosi e pretu ki ata manda na branku" ... ami riba di obra, un obrona grandi, ehh injinherus ta ben kontrola, arkitetus ... dipos ta pasa la na mi ka ta fla-n nada, ta ba la baxu ta bai buska un Purtuges o un Italianu, ta pирgunta: "kenha ki e xefi ki e pa da projetu ki pa abri?" ki e pasa la na mi ... rapas ta fla: "e Orlando, e sta la na ponta la, bu pasa la nel, el ki e xefi." Bon, keli e na kes prinsipiу ki bu bu ka konxedu.

now I can say that I've reached the top ... I tell boys that maybe they're rich of money in the pocket but that I feel that I'm richer than them because I feel that in that part it was important, I've worked with many different people, a lot of different races ... when I came, there was that maxim that says: "eh formerly it was only white that bossed black but now it's black who's bossing white ... me on of the construction, a big construction, eh engineers come to control, architects ... they pass by me they don't say anything, they go down they search a Portuguese or an Italian, they ask: "who's the boss to give the project to open?" that they've passed by me ... boys say: "it is Orlando, he's there on that side, you've passed by him, he is the boss." Well that was in the beginning that you are not known.

Orlando's success can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's (1991) concept of capital, 'as a specific form of social relations' (cited in Graham, 2000, p. 133). Here, the convertibility of one form of capital into another is saliently demonstrated. In Orlando's case, there is an

intertwining of different forms of capital (social, cultural and economic) that helped him navigate his life in Luxembourg and become a successful migrant.

In the Cape Verdean context, emigrants are officially portrayed as an asset to national development. The state encourages them to channel their remittances towards (economic) investments and development in the archipelago through grassroot trades like bars, restaurants and the real estate industry (cf. Åkesson, 2016; Carling, 2004; Drotbohm, 2011, 2013; Batalha & Carling, 2008). According to Gerstnerova & Rodriguez (2015, p. 4) formal transactions represented around 10% of the Cape Verde national PIB. As Larner (2007) argues, ‘diaspora strategies are now integral to neoliberal emigration regimes seeking to harness the capital and skills of their citizens abroad’ (cited in Ho, 2009, p. 118). Thus, as part of these strategies, immigrants in general and immigrant entrepreneurs in particular are constantly reminded (e.g. through politicians visits to diasporic ‘communities’, associations etc.) of their assumed role or duty in the development of Cape Verde through embassies and other forms of formal institutions or corporations. In this context, Orlando has often been honoured (with medals) during visits of Cape Verdean officials to the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg.

When I asked Orlando about his view of Cape Verdean migrants in general, he expressed his pride in them, who are recognised as hard-workers compared to other African migrants in Luxembourg:

nu tevi kel kel parti pozitivu ki Kabuverdianu e tudu trabadjador, bu konprendi ki ki abri-nu porta tanbe, ta konta txeu, mesmu si bu ka ten grandis formason mas, ya ta trabadja, Kabuverdianu li e tudu trabadjador ka ta txomadu di ... di pirgisozu simakes otus afrikanus, normalmenti nu ka ten o mesmu statutu ... ihhh so fladu Kabuverdianu, dja bu ta podu na trabadju. N ten, ten N ta odja rapasis pur izemplu ten txeu Kabuverdianu gosi ... ki sta kunduzi autokaru li.

we had that that positive part that Cape Verdeans are all hard-workers, you know that that opened the door to us too, it counts a lot, even if you don't have great formation but, yes you work, Cape Verdeans are all hard-workers here, they are not called of ... of lazy as other Africans, normally we don't have the same status ... ihhh as soon it is said you are Cape Verdean, you are put to work, I have, I see the boys for example, there are many Cape Verdeans now ... who are driving bus here.

This is similar to a conversation I had with two Cape Verdean cleaning ladies (one in her late forties who used to clean our office at the university and a younger one in her late twenties) on a train on my way to university. As intermediators, the younger one shared their boss' demands of the cleaning workers for their company, distinguishing between white Portuguese cleaning women and black Portuguese ones, i.e. those who hold a Portuguese passport but are originally from Cape Verde or other former Portuguese colonies. She pointed out: “*nha xefa fla-n pa N*

ranja-l mas Purtuges pretu [my boss told me to find her, but black Portuguese [cleaners]].” The worker was very proud saying this, and according to her, Cape Verdean women are considered better cleaners than the Portuguese. Later on, during a follow-up interview, I asked Orlando more about why, in his view, Cape Verdeans were considered more hard-working than other Africans. He explained to me that in his view Cape Verdeans are more hard-working because they do not like and do not accept being reproached by the boss all the time, so they work hard in order to avoid that.

These (societal) discourses consider Cape Verdeans to be hard-working people and differentiate them from Portuguese on the one hand and other African immigrants on the other hand. The latter were oftentimes discursively categorized as being lazy in my interviews. However, note that these discourses are related to ‘dead-end jobs,’ like construction work and cleaning, in which most Cape Verdeans are employed (cf. Jacobs et al., 2017).

These labels, both of hard-working and laziness, are racialized. First and in general, because people originally from African countries are constructed and ‘imagined’ as being physically resistant and able to endure physically demanding tasks. However, the laziness associated with other African immigrants is to a certain extent due to the fact that these immigrants opt mostly to work in the service industry (telephone shops, hair saloon, money exchange centers etc.). This is similar to what Vigouroux (2013) describes for African immigrants in South Africa. It is also similar to Sabaté i Dalmau’s (2013, 2014) insightful study about *locutorios* (call shops run by migrants) for the Catalan migrant context, in that *locutorios* are created by migrants as a way of challenging the official communications sector (cf. Duchêne et al., 2013). This branch of making a living (entrepreneurship) demands less physical effort than the construction sector, in which most male Cape Verdean migrants are employed (Manço et al., 2014).

Rouse (1991/2011, p. 11) points out that ‘many studies have examined how migrants take practices and attitudes adjusted to their original niche or setting and adapt them to the new locale in which they find themselves’. There is a tendency for Cape Verdeans to concentrate in the construction sector. Beside structural causes, this is a cultural working aspect transferred from the Portuguese to Cape Verdeans (cf. Rego, 2008; Åkesson, 2016), whose culture and way of being are strongly assimilated to the Portuguese for historical reasons. In addition, as recounted by Orlando about their working environment, there are many Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg with little formal education, i.e. mostly those who immigrated during the last three decades of the twentieth century. Their work options are effectively limited to the construction industry. However, for the newcomers who received higher formal education, such as Jorge and other migrants such as Salvador pointed (in Chapter 5.6), this concentration is also

reinforced by the enormous demands of linguistic competence, especially regarding German and Luxembourgish, required to enter many jobs in Luxembourg, whose labour market is very stratified by language.

6.10 Julio: a grateful retiree

Julio is in his early sixties and originally from Santo Antão. Coming from a large family, he grew up in the last two decades of the colonial period. He has three brothers and two sisters, and he is the youngest sibling of the family. Except one sister, who stayed in Cape Verde, all of his other siblings migrated to Europe before him (to Portugal, the Netherlands and Luxembourg). All of them (including him) migrated via Portugal. Like most Cape Verdeans of his generation, at that time he did not receive much formal education. He went to school only until *quarta classe*, 4th grade. Before migrating, he used to drive a truck of his father for a job. I met him during my first fieldwork trip to that island. He was there on holidays, and my friend Peter introduced me to him at a gas station where we had an interview about his migration and mobility.

Aged 22, Julio migrated to the Netherlands in 1977 to join his eldest sister, two years after the Independence of Cape Verde. There, he worked on Greek and Dutch ships as an *embarkadista* [a ship loader] in the port of Rotterdam. While living in the Netherlands, he made occasional visits to his eldest brother in Luxembourg, where he met his wife, whom he already knew from childhood. In 1983, he moved to Luxembourg and married her the same year. They had two children: a son and a daughter. In Luxembourg, he worked as a lorry driver for about thirty years, making deliveries of construction materials to the neighbouring countries of Belgium, Germany and France.

As a self-made migrant man of several trades, Julio acquired skills in a range of European languages, including Portuguese, Dutch, Greek, English, French and Luxembourgish. Asked about this in a formal interview, he pointed out that he learned some English due to his curiosity and with the help of a book called “*Inglês Sem Mestre* [English without teacher]”. He pointed out that in Luxembourg they had a musical band called ‘ImLux Star,’ meaning literally in Portuguese *Imigrantes Estrelas do Luxemburgo* [Star Immigrants of Luxembourg]. He was the vocalist and used to interpret the songs of Bob Marley, Gregory Isaac and UB40, which also helped him to learn English. And, like several other participants in the study, Julio pointed to

the role of learning language(s) for finding friendship at work and beyond, as he emphasised in our interview:

kuand bo txigá na un tera ke bo ta prendé kel lingua, povu e bo amig, bo komprendé? ... na lingua Gregu N prendé bastante onde li era un segundo engenheru dzé-m, el fla-m asin: "bo kre kazá ma nha prima?" N dzé-l: "oh Kristin mi ne ta kazá." El dizé: "bo na vapor bo e un pesoa mutu important, tudu jent ta gostá", bo oiá realidad? el dzé: "komesá la na kapiton, ate txigá la de baxu, tudu jent ten un admirason pa bo." ... dispos de bo trabalu bo ta portá na mei de realidad

when you arrive at a land where you learn that language, people are your friends, you know? ... in Greek language I learned a lot in that there was a second engineer who told me so: "do you want to marry my cousin?" I told him: "oh Kristin I won't marry." He said: "in the steamship you are a very important person, everybody likes you," you see the reality? He said: "this starts in the captain there, till arriving there in the low range, everybody has an admiration for you." ... After your work you behave in the middle of the reality.

He stressed the importance of learning language and shared that people admire him not only because he worked well, but also because of his good behaviour. Interestingly, note that he recounted learning Greek at work in the Netherlands. He took no formal lessons, which may be seen as 'non-ideal,' for example, by discourses of 'elite' multilingualism, i.e. from above. Instead, he learned it in practice, at work and after work.

Julio went on to talk about his knowledge of Luxembourgish: "*y también Luxemburges non perfeitu, ma na traboi N ta falá Luxemburges. Es ta fká muitu orgulhosu d'uvi-m falá ses lingua* [and also Luxembourgish, not perfect but at work I speak Luxembourgish. They are very proud of hearing me speaking their language]." Similar to Luis, Julio expressed that speaking some bits of Luxembourgish to the ethnic Luxembourgers facilitated his being welcomed by local co-workers.

Furthermore, Julio stressed that successful migration depended on respect to the locals – *branku[s]* meaning white people – especially the patrons at work. He is proud of his work experience, and he shared how his patron and colleagues praised him at work, both in the Netherlands and in Luxembourg:

importansia di imigrason kuand bo te imigrá ke bo ten un sorte, ah primeru de tudu bo ta desejá ke tudu es jent ta ten sorte na kel lá, N ta dze-bu, mi N trabalhá na 3 naviu tudu kes gente era nha amigu, tinha un grand admirason pa mi. Despos da lá, N ba na 83 pa Luxamburg N tive 30 anu de kamionista mi

importance of migration is when you migrate that you have luck, ah first of all you wish that everybody has luck in that there, I can tell you, I worked in three ships, all those people were my friends. They had a great admiration for me. Then, after there I went to Luxembourg in 83 I had 30 years as lorry driver, I have

N ten ke dzé ke na mesma muita jent ta exjerá un bokadinh de vivé na meiu de branku, ma branku kuand bo ta trabalhá ma es bo ta, bo ta tentá ser uma pessoa. ker dizer sen kor se bo tentá po bo kor de parte ago es ta pobu de parte.

to say that even many people exaggerate a bit of living among white people, but white people when you work with them you try to be a person, this means without colour if you try to set your colour apart so they will set you apart [they will discriminate you].

He described migration success as a consequence of luck. That luck materialises, for example, in the way a migrant is received and perceived at work by his/her colleagues and patron. Furthermore, he criticised migrants who exaggerate racism. Instead, he stressed that migrants should work and not focus on that, because if they focus too much emphasis on it, they will be even more marginalised by white people who are their boss and colleagues. In essence, Julio defended that migrant's success is confined to the frame of their subalternity. They should be obedient in order to manage a life in the host country. Apparently, what he said here was that migrants do not have a large margin to revindicate otherwise they may face problems and mistrust, principally from their patrons at work.

He went on to talk about some tips on how to behave in relation to whites. In his view, these tips can help a migrant to succeed:

branku e kel kosa, p es da-bu premeru o ké k bo ten ke prendé bo trabalhu komu deve ser, ka mesté pa ninguen iziji pa bo ka ta trabalhá dretu, y k segundu bo ta tentá respeitá toda a malta de trabalhu, bo ta tentá kel e ke o prinsipal ke un pessoa ke imigrá ta devé fazé ... e base fundamental, mostrá-s ke bo sabé trabalhá moda es. bo un pessoa moda es. y despos mostrá-s ke bo sabé vivé també moda es, ke kada pessoa na tudu lugar kada pessoa ten un ideia, memu branku kada un ten un ideia ... també bo ta saí ke bo ideia ke bo kre mostrá-s ke bo també, bo ben de un paíz onde povo sabe viver.

whites are that, for them to give you first what you have that is to learn your work as it should be, there is no need for anybody to reclaim if you don't work well, and that is the second you try to respect everybody at work, you try what that is the principal that a migrant should do ... it's the fundamental base, show them that you know how to work like them, you are a person like them, and show them that you know how to live like them, for each person in all the place each person has an idea, even each white has an idea ... also you come up with your idea to show them you too, you came from a country where people know how to live.

Julio put a migrant's success in terms of showing to their white patrons that they can work like white colleagues, which resonates with Orlando's remarks above. A migrant should struggle to get some recognition from them. Migrants should strive to show similarity at working with whites. According to Julio, white people have the right to evaluate migrants at work and in society more generally. However, Julio recognised that there is hybridity of ideas and that the point is to show the white people that migrants know how to work and live well too. Julio saw

migration mostly in terms of obligations that migrants have to fulfil (e.g. *o kék bo ten k prendé* [what you have to learn], *ta devé faze* [have to do], *bo ta tenta* [you try to], *mostra-s k bo sabé* [show them that you know]). Here, it seems that Julio was advising migrants to remain in their position of subalternity, of social inferiority, as a strategy of survival.

Then, focusing on his work experiences in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Julio narrated:

N txigá na Luxamburg N tra karta de kamion N foi ben resebid, ben akolhid. Primer N trabalhá na 7 anu i meiu na un firma kes ta txumá Piersch, N foi akulhid komu un familia. Y despos N ba pa otu kes ta txumá Baatz, un de kes primeru ih firma de Luxamburg de pa alkasetá bsot estrada e isu. onde N foi konsideradu komu un dos, un dos melhor xofer ... N tive 22 anus na firma y N fazé 5 atreladu novu...era akolhid fora de serie. e moda N dze-bu primeru e bo trabalhu ... dá patron, dá patron, y mostrá-l ke bo tá interesadu na trabalhá ke el, y mostrá-l ke bo ta interessadu ajedá-l disinvolvé se firma.

I arrived in Luxembourg I took lorry driving license. I was well received, well welcomed. First I worked for seven years and a half form a firm called Piersch, I was received like a family. And then I moved to another called Baatz, one of the first ih firm of Luxembourg to pave roads, that is it. Where I was considered as one of, one of the best driver... I spent twenty-two years in that firm and I used five new trailers ... I was outstandingly received. It is as I told you, first is your work ... give patron, give patron, and show him that you are interested at working with him, and show him that you are interested in helping him develop his firm.

Note that Julio is an enthusiastic migrant (*N foi ben resebid, ben akolhid...komu un familia... akolhid fora de serie* [I was well received, well welcomed ... like a family ... outstandingly welcomed]). He shared about his success at work in that obtaining a truck driving licence was an asset for his career. That allowed him to work for nearly for thirty years until he retired in 2014, receiving a pension after some health problems. He suggested that he should pay back for the hospitality with hard work. He underlined the importance of showing to his patron that he was fully devoted to his work and motivated in serving and developing the company. Thus, his work ethos – being humble, hard-working for his white patrons – is historically engrained in centuries of white domination and black oppression in the form of slavery and colonialism (Fanon, 1967/2008).

However, Julio adopted a more critical standpoint concerning Cape Verde, his country of origin. Thus, when asked about differences between Cape Verde and *estranjer*, meaning his host countries in Europe Luxembourg and the Netherlands, he recollected:

difrensa e kel esperansa ke un dia nos téra ta melhorá de melhor ... as vez no ta pasá un bokadu de difikuldad sima mi N ka ten má deseju, ja N falá

difference is the hope that one day our country will improve for the better ... sometimes we face a bit of difficulty as me, I don't have an evil will, I've talked a bit

un bokadu de mi ma nhas kulega ... Kuand N trazé nha karu N txigá na Sonsent es pedi-m 1000 kontu pa despatxá-l. Bo bo ta ben k un dinherinh, ah, bo ta k ideia de txigá na Santanton ajedá bo familia k traboi, ajedá povu ke bo ta konxé, bo vizinh. Má kuand bo txigá na Sonsent kes pará-bu ke kel 1000 kontu ja bo ka ta podé ben. N ta otxá ke un dia estadu ta apoiá nos na kel kosa la purke no ten meninus na estranjer k grasa de ben k ta la k medu ... ka ta ben...ke un dia estadu ta ta ben pruvidensia disu...pa fasilitá pa nos tera, pa no ajedá nos tera pa kriá ... No ta ba pintá nha kasa, transformá nha kasa. Mas o kes txigá na Sonsent kes pega-bu na bo dinher asin bo kabá tude pa ... Y no ta devé tomá pruvidensia disu pes podé largá, pa no ben ke tud vez ke nos dinher de nos penson, e un grand kosa pa Kab Verd.

about me to my colleagues ... when I brought my car, I arrived in São Vicente they asked me for 1,000,000 CVE to dispatch it. You you come with a little money, ah, you are with the idea of arriving in Santo Antão to help your family with work, help people you know, your neighbour. But when you arrive in São Vicente that they stop you with that 1,000,000 CVE so you won't afford coming. I think that one day the state will support us on that thing because we have kids abroad with the will to come who are afraid ... they don't come ... that one day the state will resolve this ... to facilitate to our country, to us to help our country, to create ... we come to paint our house, transform my house. But when you arrive in São Vicente they stop you with your money so you are finished... and we have to resolve this so that they let, us to come at once with our money of our pension, it is a great thing for Cape Verde.

He explained the difficulties migrants face to take *inkomendas* and other things they send to Cape Verde. He gave a personal example from the time he sent a car to the archipelago. The price he had to pay to dispatch it was “1,000,000 CVE”, nearly enough to buy another car in Cape Verde. He expressed that migrants usually save some money in order ‘to help’ relatives, friends and neighbours when they are back. However, the fact that they usually have to pay high import duties to get their things out from the *alfandegas* (custom house) in Cape Verde affects development through remittances negatively. He went on to point out that this was also one of the reasons why many migrants, including their children born in Europe, are ‘afraid’ to come to Cape Verde and invest there. Julio was aware of the importance of migrant’s contributions to Cape Verde’s economy. In his view there was an overcontrol on their contributions (e.g. high tax demands on the products migrants send to Cape Verde) by officials, which hinders migrants in contributing as much as they wish, i.e. helping their relatives, friends and neighbours.

Julio went on to stress that he sees Cape Verdean migrants as a well ‘integrated community’ in Luxembourg. He explicitly referred to political discourses of integration and recounted:

grasas a Deus nos e ben integradu purke no ten un bokadinho de kultura de Europa. E u ke ajedá nos bastante. ta fasilitá txeu. justamente ja N ovi

thanks to God we are all well integrated because we have a bit of the culture of Europe. It is what helps us a lot, it facilitate a lot, justly I've heard a mayor

burgomestre de Luxamburg vila ta falá es ta ta interuga-l a nível de manera ke-l ta enkontrá nos integradu el dzé: “un Kabuverdianu ta integrá moda un Purtuges. purkê un Purtuges, un Kabuverdianu ondé ke no ta kazá es ta kazá també, ondé ke no ta fazé kuminhon es ta fazé també. ondé ke no ta batizá es ta batizá també. dondé ke no ta fazé un assada kon kosteletas es ta txigá es ta kompra. até i lá el da un pike, el dzé: “un Turku ja no ne te podé kombaté ke el purke el ten ke kemé otu karne, el ten ke ten otu igreja.” Lá N dzé: “es agora e verdade má e un bokadu komplikadu.” ... no ta da grasa a nos mistura ke no ten purke no panhá un bokadu de kultura d Europa justament no ten nos, nos mané ke no ta txumá nos jent ke ta ben, turista, es ta atxa fasilitade purke tudu u ke no ta kemé es ta kemé també. Es ta kemé txuk no ta kemé tudu enkuantu ... bon mi N ta falá na arabia má kada un ten se kultura, bo komprendé? ma prope mi N ta otxa ke pra nos e más fásil.

of Luxembourg City saying, they asked him in terms of how he found us integrated, he said: “a Cape Verdean integrates like a Portuguese because a Portuguese, a Cape Verdean where we get married they get married too, where we take the communion they do too, where we baptism they baptism too, where we make a barbecue with pork they arrive and buy,” till there he pick up he said: “a Turkish we cannot fight with because s/he has to eat another meat, s/he has to have another church. There I said: “now this is really true but it is a bit complicated.” ... we thank God of our mixture that we have because we took a bit of the culture of Europe justly we have our how do we call the people who come, tourists, they found facilities because everything we eat they eat they eat too. They eat pork we eat everything therefore ... well I say about arabia but each one has his/her culture, do you understand? But I myself I found that it is easier for us.

Here, Julio drew on that mayor’s view comparing migrants’ adaptation in Luxembourg in terms of their origin (Cape Verdean, Portuguese and Turkish). Julio took the mayor’s answer as a form of *elogio* (praise) when saying that Cape Verdeans adapt like the Portuguese. He thanks God for that assumed doubleness of Capeverdeanness in terms of origin (*grasa a nos mistura ... no panha un bokadu de kultura de Europa* [thanks to our mixture ... we took a bit of the culture of Europe]). Note that the mayor puts the issue mostly in terms of cultural and religious similarity, informed by an ethnocentrist ideology and apology for a certain assimilation and homogenisation of culture. To borrow Roberts (2013, p. 84) cynical phrasing: ‘you can be as diverse as you like as long as you are like us.’ (see also Heller, 2013, p. 19).

During a subsequent a telephone conversation, I asked Julio if he intended to return to Cape Verde to stay. He promptly replied “no” and stressed that although he felt equipped to return and stay, he would not leave far away from his daughter and son, the most important reasons for his life. However, he pointed out that he would keep going and coming, he could even spend six months in Cape Verde, but then he would have to return to Luxembourg.

6.11 Domingos: a firmly re-rooted retiree

Domingos is in his late sixties and originally from Santiago Island. He was the first Luxembourg-based participants I contacted when I met him at Walferdange train station, behind our former campus. Similar to Julio and other participants who grew up during the colonial period, he received nearly no formal education. Like most Cape Verdean migrants of that time, he grew up in a family of subsistence farming in the interior of Santiago and viewed going abroad to Europe as a form of *buska bida*. Thus, in 1968, aged 23 and together with eleven companions including his younger brother, he left Cape Verde to Senegal with the aspiration to reach France.

On the one hand, he was imbued with the colonial ties between France and the newly independent Senegal (1960), which led to a relatively fluid mobility from this ex-colony to France. However, on the other hand, Domingos explained his choice of going to Dakar first as a way of subverting the Portuguese colonial control over migration from Cape Verde to Europe. He explained:

anos nu ta binha pa Dakar pamodi purke pa bu tra dokumentu na praia, po mbarka klaru ka ta da, es ta mariabu ... ki maior parti bo ta ben ben klandestinu pa Dakar. Bu ta sai la di noti bu ta toma barku di noti ten ki paga kel eh eh kel bes era 2 barku ki tenha, un era Raul ... ka purke bu ta paga txeu mas go bu ten ki ben di noti ... nos era 6, 7, 8, ku lua klaru, ku kes omis tanbe ki era propiada pa ... ki ta trabadja ku kompanhia, dipos ta dau tantas ora pa nu kronta si de ba ku nos a ki bai la bu ten ki toma lantxa ... pa bu ba toma barku la la meu di mar. E ke vida ki e ka brinkadera mas di otu manera ka ta da.

we came via Dakar because to take documents in Praia to embark clearly, it couldn't be, they created difficulties to you ... so most came clandestinely to Dakar. You left at night, you took a boat at night, you had to pay that eh eh that time there were two boats, one was Raul ... It isn't because you had to pay a lot, but you had to come at night ... we were six, seven, eight, with a shining moon, with those men who were appropriated to ... who worked with the company, then they gave you a certain hour for us to meet so, to go there, you had to take a canoe ... to take you to a boat in the middle of the ocean. It's that, life isn't a joke, but by another way it wasn't possible.

In most literature concerning Cape Verdean migration to Europe, Portugal is highlighted and assumed to be nearly the sole stepping stone, a singular gateway to Europe. As mentioned above, most of our participants entered Europe via Portugal. However, many other Cape Verdeans also had to use other African countries as their gateway. For example, the role of Senegal is simply overlooked or just ignored, forgotten or not mentioned in this respect. Portugal was and is, today, romanticized as *a Porta da Europa* for Cape Verdean migrants (as

well as for migrants originally from other Portuguese colonies, including Brazil). On the contrary, Domingos' and his colleagues' travel to Senegal, a journey of about 350 nautical miles (650 km), took them thirteen days due to boat engine damage forcing them to resort to sailing as an alternative. As Domingos pointed out, Senegal offered a way of escaping the colonial control over and oppression of prospective migrants. Thus, they did it clandestinely and risked their lives at night on boats provided by *passeurs* (smugglers), who are now categorised and denigrated in the strongest possible pejorative sense in European political discourses. Such discourses are transported to the respective societal discourses, thus portraying the smugglers as the sole “*mau da fita* [bad guys]” in the context of migration regimes.

Domingos' narrative casts more light on how migration bureaucracy was also transnationally processed, as he pointed out concerning his time in Senegal and subsequent itinerary from there:

o ki txiga na Dakar dja pasa-n uns tenpu si, bu ta tra dokumentu, nau bo era era Purtuges ... ami na te inda N ten kel sedula, eh di Suisse, ke pasaporti bu ta manda tra mas e la Suisa ... tenha un kau ki bu ta bai mas o menus ki bu ta ba po u ba tra pasaporti, era kuazi sima li antigamenti, pur izemplu ora ki bu ba tra pasaporti es ta manda pa belga, ou pa holanda, Benelux, es era si, ma tenha un kou li sempri ki ta ba dikkala pasaporti un kalker kusa es ta manda buska. Na Dakar tanbe era si, ... es ta manda tudu bus dadus paa pa Suisa, ... algen ki benha pa Dakar fladu e poku, nehum ka tinh dokumentu ... ami N ten kel sedula inda ... keli e un kuza ki N ka ta brinka kol parke e un rikordason, e un rekordason pa bu odja, ma argen na buska bida e duru, ki mi mutas vezis ki mi kin odja kes kes rafajiadus ta toma barku ta ba pa li N ta xinti pena, ... pamodi e kori di morti.

when you arrive at Dakar, after some times already, you took documents, no you were Portuguese ... I still have that birth of certificate, eh it was from Switzerland, passport you demanded to be issued, but in Switzerland ... there was a place you went more or less, that you go to take passport. It was almost like here in the past, for example when you took passport they sent it to Belgium, or to Holland, Benelux, it was so. But there was always a place here to declare your passport, anything they demanded to search. In Dakar it was so too ... they sent all your data to Switzerland ... a few people shared about Dakar, none had documents ... I still have that certificate ... this is a thing that I don't play with because it's a souvenir, it's a souvenir to show, that one searching life is hard, so many times I see those refugees taking boats to go I feel a pity ... because that's fleeing death.

After arriving in Dakar, while being “*Purtuges ultramarinu*,” i.e. overseas Portuguese citizens, they asked for their documents, a passport which was issued in Switzerland. Domingos highlighted this passport, which he still carries as an important souvenir of the hardship of migration. Drawing an analogy with our current era, Domingos complained about refugees fleeing from the death imposed on them in their country of origin. This brought back memories

of the colonial past to Domingos, memories of at time when he had to escape the oppression of the Portuguese colonial power through what were then risky migration paths.

Meanwhile, as Carling and Batalha (2008) point out, Dakar used to be a refuge for those Cape Verdeans who were trying to avoid being sent to São Tomé and Príncipe by Portuguese colonial forces to work in *Roças* (plantations) (cf. Drotbohm, 2009). In addition, before that, Senegal had already been an alternative migration country for people from the archipelago after the introduction of the 1921 “Quota Law” for immigration to the United States (cf. Halter, 2008; Meintel, 2002, p. 33).

Domingos spent two years in Dakar, and with the help of his cousin in France (who also came via Senegal), he managed to come to France: “*N bai la na Fransa atraves di un primu ki N ten la... e staba na Dakar e ben pa Fransa* [I went to France through a cousin I had there ... he was in Dakar and he came to France].” However, the remoteness and quietness of the place he was living in the Southwest of France (Ambèst) made him consider moving again. He stressed that that place was incompatible with his young age and thus, eight months later, on suggestion of another cousin in the Netherlands, he moved there: “*kel kou era mutu era mutu fitxadu, era mutu fitxadu ate purku un gaju nobu ... pertu di Bourg, Ambèst ... dja N fla na N ta bai Holanda, dja nu bai Holanda, nos e un restu* [that place was very, very closed, it was very closed even because a young guy ... near Bourg, Ambèst ... so I said I’ll go to Holland, so we went to Holland, we were a few].”

It is worth noting here that according to Domingos, his trajectories from Senegal to France resulted in relatively lesser language difficulties compared to his colleagues who had immediately gone to the Grand Duchy. He learned French in practice, in the day-by-day interactions with people during the two years he spent in Senegal and the eight months in France, as he recollected:

mi dja kantu ki N txigaba li N ka badu kol nun kou pa papia pa mi pamo mi ntivi na Dakar dja doz anu, y dipos N ben pa Fransa N ben N tivii la ... oitu mes purke djes fazeba mi propi papel ..., pa N ba tomaba.

me when I arrived here already, I wasn’t taken to any place so that anyone could speak for me because I’d been in Dakar already for two years, and then I came to France I came I’d been there ... eight months because they’d already made paper ... for me to take.

While not being able to write French, knowing French helped him be more autonomous than his companions. He went on to explain the reasons why and how he left the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, like Julio, he was working on a Greek boat, but “*na negru* [undeclared work]”, so

he aspired to find another kind of job. Thus, in 1971, after calling a friend who had already been in Luxembourg, he left the Netherlands to the Grand Duchy, where he later married and had two children. The search for jobs and social wellbeing functioned (and still functions) through a snowball process. This was salient within the Cape Verdean migration circuit and allowed migrants to move around many countries within Europe. Domingos shared the first steps he took to come to Luxembourg:

purmeru N ta prokura si N ten amigu li, N ta pergunte-l: "trabadju modi ki sta la?" "ah mo li trabadju ten pa fronta, bu ta ben oxi manhan si bu kre bu ta trabadja, trabadju ka ten problema kau mora ki e un bokadu difisil," N ta fle-l "bon nton ta da o ka ta da?" "nau pera N ta papia ku omi enkaregadu enkaregadu di area di kaza." ...mas e impregadu mas e Purtuges, e Purtuges, dja dje staba mas tenpu li e ta kuzinha midjor Franses, dja ta dizaraskaba dipos ... kes bes es ta fazeba dinheru ki ka brinkadera pamodi bo un kuartu kel bes ta tenha ta ten tres par di kama ... ten un gaju la di Laxinha, kantu ki N benha propi nbenha ku si dereson ... e papia ku omi si podi da-n aranja-n un kuartu, nau da-n kama, kel bes e ka ara kuartu era sima tropa mo ih abo era doz un di riba un di baxu ... e friu, e friu, era na novembru, kau go era kel choufage di choufage a gaz di garafa gaz ... alves bu ta odja agu ta dixi na paredi si y a ki bu deta li sinsin e pa bu sta la purke si bu vira pa otu ladu bu ta pensa ma bu sta dentu d'agu.

first you search if you have a friend here, I asked him: "how is work there?" "ah man here work is abundant, you come today, tomorrow if you want you work, work is no problem, a place to dwell that is difficult," I said to him: "well so it'll be or it won't?" "no wait I'll talk to the man in charge of dwelling" ... but he was an employee but a Portuguese, a Portuguese migrant who had already been longer here, he spoke French better, so he got by then ... at that time they made a lot of money that was not a joke, because in one room you had three pairs of beds ... there was a guy from *Laxinha*, when I came I came with his direction ... he talked with the man if he could find me a room, no give me a bed, at that time it wasn't a room, it was like soldiers ih it was two, one above one below ... it was cold, cold, it was in November, there was that heater, gas heater, of a gas bottle ... sometimes you saw water running through the wall so and when you laid here, it was to stay there because if you turned to the other side, you felt as if you were inside the water.

Here, like our other participants, Domingos explained the snowballing practices that guided migrants' trajectories. Usually, they first had to have a contact person (an mediator) who could be a close relative (brothers, sisters, cousins etc.), an entrepreneur for construction work or a friend. Domingos' move from the Netherlands to the Grand Duchy was possible after contacting a Cape Verdean migrant, a friend he had known since before leaving Cape Verde, and a Portuguese migrant, an mediator for dwellings. The above excerpt shows that Europe in general and Luxembourg in particular was in need of 'unskilled' *main d'oeuvre* and in need of development. It was relatively easy to find jobs for migrant workers like Domingos, and they

lived in precarious overcrowded houses. This resembled the ‘poor’ living conditions frequently portrayed now by European media and political discourses in what is problematically termed the ‘Third World’ (cf. Escobar, 2011).

Domingos went on to compare the labour market of that time with that of the current Luxembourg:

kes bes ka tinha chômage ah, na si bu ka trabadja bu ka kumi, na bo chômage ben komesa si n ka sta reportadu dipos di 75 pa li ... mas istu e pa bu ten patron embuxedu ... Kel bes tinha txeu posibilidadi, bo ka kre trabadja nes patron li si bu ka dura la bu ta pidi konta bu ta bai mas dja si dja bu ten apartir di 6 mes, bu ten direitu di daba dja doz simana, es ta pediu doz simana di pre-avis, po u kunsa bai otu patron, dja es ta da-u kel papel pa u bai, eh eh mas patron era txeu, trabadju era txeu.

that time there was no *chômage* ah, no if you didn’t work you didn’t eat, no *chômage* if I’m not wrong, started from 75 on ... but this was for you to have a patron’s contract ... that time there was a lot of possibilities, you didn’t want to work with this patron, you didn’t stay there long ... you asked for your count you left but if you’d had about six months already, you had the right to give two weeks, they asked you two weeks of pre-warning, so that you could go to another patron, so they gave you that paper to go eh eh but patron was a lot, work was a lot.

In line with Deleuze and Guattari’s (1980) philosophical concept of spaces, let me state that according to Domingos’ narrative (and those of other retiree participants), there was a ‘smoother’ path to the labour market in Europe at that time than there is now. However, there is now improved social support for unemployed people, e.g. with the introduction of *chômage* benefits, as Domingos pointed out.

Nevertheless, the labour market is becoming more and more ‘striated’ space. In other words, the market is becoming more compartmentalised, which causes many migrants to face more striations in their search for jobs. These striations are heavily anchored and imbricated with the strategic over-use and ‘abuse of language’ (Blommaert, 2001) as the principle means of workers’ selection, so that even for cleaning and similar jobs language can be a gatekeeping device now. This gatekeeping process is very salient in trilingual Luxembourg, where it seems that language is valued above any other skills, similar to what Weber (2014) discusses for the educational context. On the one hand, there is an essentialist (political and societal) discourse of multilingualism that obfuscates in discriminating between language needs and other skills. On the other hand, this discourse is a result of ‘vested interests underlying language policies’ (Weber, 2014, p. 9). As Crawford (2000) puts it, ‘ultimately language politics are determined by material interests – struggles for social and economic supremacy – which normally lurk beneath the surface of the public debate’ (cited in Weber, 2014, pp. 9–10).

Gerstnerova (2016, p. 426) points out that:

The time is long gone when non-EU immigrants had an array of choice in work opportunities. The employers have become more selective and a simple desire to work is no longer sufficient. Moreover, the non-EU immigrants have to face fierce competition from European citizens to whom the European Union guarantees advantageous access to the local labour market.

Given the advantages European passport holders experience in employability today, it is easy to understand why many Cape Verdean and other non-European migrants are keen to acquire European citizenship. As an illustration of this, Domingos narrated an episode he had with a friend to whom he suggested to ask for a Luxembourgish passport. The friend replied: "*kredu mo mi N ta troka nha nha paiz ku kusa* [jesus, how come I change my country with thing]." Here, his friend put the nationalistic, symbolic attachment to Cape Verde before the possibility of applying for the citizenship of the host country. Domingos did not approve of his friend's view and pragmatically replied: "*bo kata troka nun kusa ku nada, bu ata troka bu situason* [you are not changing anything for anything, you are changing your situation]." He also pointed at the ambivalence of choosing between Portuguese and Cape Verdean citizenship after the Independence of Cape Verde. According to him, at that time many migrants preferred to keep the Portuguese citizenship.

Finally, when I asked him about the possibility of returning to Cape Verde to stay there, since he was retired, Domingos seemed to be sure about staying in Luxembourg:

nau mi en purmeru lugar, N ta fla nau mi ba xinta la nha tera nunka N ka fazi ideia, eh pamod ki e ami N ta fika ku tudu doz, ma mas li ki la, la e pa N fla mudjer pa nu bai pa nu ba fika la, mudjer tanbe e ka ta bai purke modi ku ta bai pa bu ba fika la dentu kasa ta djobi paredi, ... abo sta fika dentu kasa xintadu di palmanhan pa noti, bu ta falau bu ta sai bu ta ba kasa di un amigu la, o mudjer ta sai ta ba kasa di un familia la, mas e ka tudu dia tanbe ki bu ta bai kasa di algen ... pa mudjer fika dentu kasa si ta djobi televizion ta kusa si, bu ta fla: "mi ki ta fika la, nau N ta ba fika la Luxemburgu, la N teni fidju, N teni netu, si da kazu N ta txoma ta ben atxa-n kel ora ... Kau Verdi N ta bai go sempri, asves un anu sin, asves nau, asves N ta bai dos anu pegadu, trez anu pegadu, N ta bai mas mi go ku ideia pa N ba fika na

first of all, I say no for me to go and sit there in my country I never have this idea, eh because me I stay with both the two, but more here than there, there it is to ask my wife for us to there and stay there, wife also she won't go because how can you go and stay there inside the house watching the wall ... you sit inside the house from morning to night, you can say that you go out, you go to a friend's house there, or wife goes out to a relative's house there, but it's not every day that you go to someone's house ... for your wife to stay home so watching TV so, you say: "me that will stay there, no I'll stay in Luxembourg there, there I have my children, I have my grandchildren, if there's a problem, I call them they come and meet me soon" ... I always go to Cape Verde, sometimes a year yes or sometimes no, sometimes I go two, three

Kau-Verdi kel dja N ka teni, mas di kontu propri algen ta fla-n N ta fla-l: "mi Kabu Verdi ka da-n nada," ate go N ta ganha li N ta ba Kabu Verdi N ta gasta la, ma pa N fla nau N ta fika la Kabu Verdi, ami N ta ganha li go pa N fla na N ta ba gasta la Kabu Verdi pa li N ka gasta, nau ke li ki ami li ki nteni nha vida, N teni nha fidju, N teni nha familia, orientadu.

years linked, I go but the idea to go and stay in Cape Verde I don't have already, as it's said one asks me I say: "Cape Verde didn't give me anything," even so I gain here I spend there in Cape Verde, I spend there, but to say no I'll spend there in Cape Verde to not spend here, no, it's here that I have my life, I have my children, family, established.

Many publications concerning Cape Verdean migrants, returnees and retirees (e.g. Åkesson, 2004, 2011, 2016; Carling, 2004; Batalha & Carling, 2008) show the keenness of the Cape Verdean state in reminding overseas Cape Verdeans of their 'assumed attachments' with the archipelago and the need for encouraging them to contribute to national development. The state does this through various initiatives like politicians' encounters with diasporic communities or with migrants during their holidays in the archipelago (usually at summer times) and cultural festivities. Politicians tacitly try to re-enforce this nationalistic or 'symbolic' duty of migrants in the development of their country of origin.

However, as Åkesson (2011, p. 61) puts it, they often try to make

migrants responsible for development [while neglecting] that structural conditions have a fundamental impact on individual migrants' abilities to support development, a perspective often left out of contemporary policies.

For example, these structural conditions are what Julio (Chapter 5.9) criticized above and what Domingos used as one of his reasons for not returning, although in conjunction with starting a family in the host country, their aging and the weakening of ties with Cape Verde. Indeed, all of these led Domingos to question what Cape Verde had given him back: "*mas di kontu propri algen ta fla-n N ta fla-l mi Kabu Verdi ka da-n nada* [by the way when one asks me I say to him/her: me, Cape Verde didn't give me anything]." Thus, this challenges those political discourses which try to 'deliberately construct emigrants as an asset to national development and encourage them to channel their remittances towards investment and development in the countries of origin' (Levitt & de la Dehesa, 2003, cited in Ho, 2009, p. 117).

Kresse and Liebau (2013, p. 8) point out that 'scholars have argued that family needs, demands, obligations and expectations might be a reason for movement, as family can act as both, a support and reference-point as well as a beneficiary.' In the same way, family can also be a reason for not moving back. As Domingos' case shows us, the construction of family in the host country and the fading of social ties with the country of origin are important reasons for 'not returning,' thus, turning the return into 'a myth.' For, most Cape Verdeans initially

migrate with the idea of returning back ‘home,’ but in the end many of them decide to return only for holidays (even after retirement), even though, they may keep that idea of returning in their imagination. However, our next participant, Aguinaldo, who is Domingos’ *kumpadri* (i.e. Domingos is the godfather of his child), did return and reside in Cape Verde after retirement. He has managed to harmoniously divide his life between Cape Verde and Luxembourg for a long period.

6.12 Aguinaldo: a trans-migrant retiree

My encounter with Aguinaldo was on the referral of a priest I met in Cocali in Santo Antão. The priest had travelled to Luxembourg many times. He gave Aguinaldo’s phone number to me to arrange for a meeting when I come to Mindelo on São Vicente Island. I phoned Aguinaldo, and he invited me to his house where we had our first interview. Since then, during subsequent fieldwork trips I kept visiting him. This is how we became friends and we now keep in touch via Facebook.

Aguinaldo is in his late seventies and left Cape Verde for Portugal in 1970, as an *Europeu de sigunda* [second European] (see Chapter 1), by a boat journey of one week. He spent ten days working at *Doca de Moscavide* in Lisbon until a friend who lived in the same pension told him about a migrant entrepreneur who was looking for workers to take to Luxembourg to work in construction. Aguinaldo had not even heard of Luxembourg at that time, as he pointed out:

*nomi di Luxamburgu ka txigaba Kabu Verdi inda ...
N bai na Purtugal, nha aspirason era Fransa o
Holanda, ki era konhesidu, ki dja tinhia migrants di
rigresu na Kabu Verdi ... mas komu mi nha
aspirason e ka era so skodjeba pais, nha aspirason
era tra nha dia di tarabadju*

the name of Luxembourg hadn’t arrived to Cape Verde yet ... I arrived in Portugal, my aspiration was France or Holland which were known, from where there were migrants who had returned to Cape Verde already ... but as my aspiration wasn’t only choosing countries, my aspiration was to have a day of work

Similar to Domingos, his aspiration was to come to Portugal, which was the metropole during the colonial regime, and then move to France or the Netherlands, i.e. to the countries he had heard about before he left Cape Verde. But, as he states, his aspiration was to work, so he decided to come to Luxembourg in replying to his friend’s suggestion like this: “*bon ami nha boka ka sta la, N ta bai* [well my mouth is not there, I will go],” meaning I do not care. The excerpt above shows that Aguinaldo’s migration to Luxembourg was unexpected for him. In

his search for a job, he unexpectedly moved to Luxembourg, where he later married a Cape Verdean woman and had two daughters.

When asked about his first impression of Luxembourg upon his arrival, he pointed out:

N txiga Luxamburgu na pays tiers monde ... y tudu Luxamburges sabia, es staba na pobreza inda ... y ate ki N ta moraba na kaza na Beljika ka tinha toilette ... mas prontu Luxamburgu staba konpletu na terseru mundu.

I arrived to Luxembourg in the Third World ... and all Luxembourgish people knew, they were in poverty still ... and still more I lived in a house in Belgium that didn't have toilet ... but well Luxembourg was completely Third World.

Here, he emphasized that when he arrived in the Grand Duchy, the country was not yet developed. He added that he was not surprised at all, because he had already had a “*stajiu* [an internship]” and observations of a certain precarity in Portugal. According to Aguinaldo’s narrative, the concept of Third World refers to poverty regardless of the geographic or political position of spaces and places in concern. It is important to see how Aguinaldo used the concept of Third World according to his lived migrant experiences, thus deconstructing Western discourses of Third World which emphasize poverty rather in geopolitical terms. As Cederberg (2014, p. 133) points out, ‘biographical research provides access to a wealth of information that helps us to better understand the migratory experience, and to perspectives that add to and at times challenge dominant understandings’. Furthermore, when comparing Aguinaldo’s migration time with current migrants’ situation in terms of job offers, Aguinaldo highlighted with nostalgia the fact that at his time (i.e. in 1970s) employers knocked on migrants’ windows asking: “*qui veut travailler* [who wants to work]?” Aguinaldo recalled that he arrived in Luxembourg on a Thursday and asked to go and work on Friday, but he postponed this to Monday.

In Luxembourg, at the beginning the entrepreneur took him and some other Cape Verdean workers (who came together with him) to work in construction in Belgium (during the Summer time), but after six months they returned to work in Luxembourg. Two months later, Aguinaldo left construction and started working for *Dupont de Nemour*, an American company producing plastic. Then he moved to Goodyear, another American company, but specialised in tire manufacturing. He worked there until his retirement in 1998.

However, Aguinaldo’s initial decision to migrate was to work and have enough money to buy a car or a motorbike and return to Cape Verde soon. He reported his reasons for ‘*sai fora* [getting out]’ (Bordonaro, 2009) not in terms of necessity but of luxury. For he was a famous

tailor before migration, which allowed him to live well in Cape Verde, but having a car or motorbike in Cape Verde during the colonial period was affordable only to very few people, as he explained:

N ta odjaba imigrantis ta ben mas nha interesi era ter un mota ou ter un karu, ki N sabia era mutu difisil pa N ter el na Kabu Verdi, então esse que era nha motivu. N staba lonji di pensa na kunpra terenus, ou ben adikiri predius o kela ninhun N Ka N ka tinha el na ideia purk Nstaba joven, 24 anus, Nfazi 25 anu nas altura y nton N ka tinha interesi keli,interesi N tinha interesi dentu di luxuria, pa N pa N viveba sima N kre ... mi era alfaiti N ta kozeba, N ta ganhaba alguns tustoes di nha un juventudi N ka kre fla midjor di ki alguns outros ma prontu ... N trabadja, N tinha, N ta solusaba nha juventudi na Kabu Verdi kuza mas konformi Nfla ihh ter qualquer coisa sin pa si, N ka tenha intenson pa kunpra algun. Mota ou un karu, sin ... intenson ki N ta gostaba txeu, enton es li foi nha motivu ki N sai pa fora ki N trabadja ... N ben pa trabadja pamo mi konformi N ben ku intenson pan paraba sais mes ou un anu pan voltaba, N dexaba pikenas txeu ki N ta fala sais mes.

I used to see emigrants coming but my interest was to have a motorbike or a car, that I knew it was very difficult for me to have in Cape Verde, so this was my motive. I was far away of thinking to buy terrains, or acquire buildings or none of that I had in my idea because I was young, 24 years old, I became 25 at that time and so didn't have this interest, interest I had interest in the luxury, to live as I wanted ... I was a taylor I used to sew, I used to gain some money of my youth that I don't want to say better than others but well ... I worked, I had, I resolved my life of youth in Cape Verde so but as I said ihh having something like so, I didn't have intention to buy some other thing. Motorbike or a car yes ... intention, that I liked a lot, so this was my motive to get out that I work ... I came to work because as I came with the intention to stay for six months or a year and return, I left a lot of girlfriends behind to whom I said in six months [I'd return].

From his dream of owning a car or motorbike, which in Aguinaldo's imagination could be ephemerally acquired in Europe, and then return to have a life of luxury in Cape Verde, he ended up spending about three decades in Luxembourg. This points to the limitations of planning in migration, i.e. it is full of unexpected moments that can shape migrants' lives in ways that are very different from what they intended at first. Aguinaldo sees himself and is seen by his society of origin as a successful case of migration who returned with economic prosperity (cf. Carling, 2004; Åkesson, 2016). After securing a retirement pension that allowed him and his wife to maintain a high standard of life in Cape Verde, Aguinaldo sent a nice car and bought *predius* (buildings of two floors at least) there. He shared that he prepared to return. The preparation consisted, at least, of building a house which avoided societal stigma towards him, as had happened with Sonia, Mark and Carlos, who returned 'empty-handed' and/or by force.

Yet, talking about his arrival in Europe, he recounted the few days he had spent in Portugal:

*kuandu N txiga na Purtugal dja, ki N odja
movimentu dentu di karu, pur isu ki as vezis na
brinkadera N ta fla Kriolu mori txeu na Purtugal,
purke dislexu, as vez ka ta ruspeta strada ben purke
ben di pais undi ki ka ten karu, Purtuges ka ta kuza
aquilo porque réstia a parte do negro ta kuza ta da
ne-l pan ta da ta mata.... Aquilo foi tudu nha
adimirason, ou alias nos tudu nu ta odjaba aquilo,
kantu N ben ta konxi o que es ta fla ihh kaminhu di
feru konboi ta kuza, metru ta trabesa pa li ta
trabesa pra la, tudu aquilo sistema di transporti na
Purtugal kantu nu txiga era ahh banal ... un algen
ki ben di Kabu Verdi, kuandu txiga na Purtugal ta
adimira tudu, ta dimira tudu...Tudo aquilo na
Purtugal, quando N txiga dja bu ta bai na restoranti
txiga bu xinta bu ta fla: “da-n tal kusa”... o bu
dadu carte bu skodji kuze ki bu kre.*

when I arrived in Portugal already, that I saw movement in the car, that's why sometimes in joking I say *Kriolu* died a lot in Portugal, because of negligence, they sometimes don't respect the transit rules because they came from a country that doesn't have car, Portuguese [drivers] don't care about that because fuck a negro so they run over pan and kill...that was all my admiration, or by the way we all saw that, when I started to know what they say ihh railways, trains, metro crossing here crossing there, all that system of transport was ahh banal when I arrived ... one who comes from Cape Verde, when s/he arrives in Portugal s/he admires everything ... all that in Portugal, when I arrived already, you go to a restaurant, you arrive you took a sit you say: “I'd like something” ... or you are given a menu to what you want.

Here, Aguinaldo's narrative conflated his admiration for the development of Portugal and 'jokes' about race relations. It seemed as if he had entered a new world order. Although his focus was on the development of transport, hotels and restoration in Portugal that he praises, the topic of racism emerged as an outcome of development, e.g. that the development of transport was new for Cape Verdeans.

His few days in Portugal served as a warm-up stage to his trajectory to Luxembourg, so that he was not surprised when he arrived in Luxembourg, as he recollected:

*dja na Luxamburgu komu komu ta fladu dja dja N
fazeba stajiu na Purtugal, dja djan odjaba tudu na
Purtugal, dja N tinha kel un mes na Purtugal, N fazi
stajiu na Purtugal dja kantu N txiga Luxamburgu
tudu ki N odja la djan odjaba ... Luxamburgu oji
dizenvolvi monitariamenti, e sta pais kuazi mas riku
di mundu ... então dja kantu N txiga na Purtugal ...
N odja manera ki algen ta vivi dja kantu N txiga na
Luxamburgu ka da-n grandis, N ka tivi otus*

already in Luxembourg as as it's said I'd already had a training phase in Portugal, I'd already seen all in Portugal, I'd already had that one month in Portugal, I had a trainging in Portugal that when I arrived in Luxembourg all I saw there I had already seen ... today Luxembourg developed monetarily, it's almost the richest country in the World ... so when I arrived in Portugal ... I saw how people lived that when I arrived in Luxembourg, it didn't take me long, I didn't see

mudansas purke, Luxamburgu staba igual ku Portugal, ka tenha nada differenti di Portugal.

change because Luxembourg was equal to Portugal, there wasn't anything different from Portugal.

When talking about his language repertoire, he put it more in terms of friendship, 'conviviality' and hospitality, comparing the importance of language in his life. Busch (2012, p. 520) remarks that:

the meanings that speakers attribute to languages, codes, and linguistic practices are linked with personal experience and life trajectories, especially with the way in which linguistic resources are experienced in the context of discursive constructions of national, ethnic, and social affiliation/non-affiliation.

For example, concerning the Luxembourgish language, Aguinaldo pointed out that, at the time his arrival, it was not an official language, and he stressed that:

ten txeu velhus ki ora ki bu risponde-l un palavra na Luxamburges ta fika kontenti ..., ta adikiri amizadi. Anton mi N ta fla pa mi prendia Luxamburges e so pa adikiri amizadi ku ken ki ka ta falaa Franses purke te inda gosi talves nau purke dja kel dja ka mo ... ma dja na nha tenpu tinhia txeu Luxamburges ki ka sabia falaba Franses, ta falaba unikamenti Luxamburges, então pa bu ser amigu k'os pa bu kuza bu tinhia ki prokuraba konprende-s un bokadinhu,

there are many old people that when you answer them a word in Luxembourgish they feel happy ..., it acquires friendship. So me I say for me to have learned Luxembourgish it was only to acquire friendship with who couldn't speak French because until now maybe not, because that already not ... but so in my time there were many Luxembourgers who couldn't speak French, they could speak only Luxembourgish, so to their friend to, well, you had to try to understand them a little bit.

Similar to Julio, Aguinaldo tried to speak Luxembourgish as a matter of satisfying Luxembourgers, to approach them and build some network or friendships. He also framed it as a way of showing respect to them, since many of them were 'monolingual' Luxembourgers. This partially resonates with the current official and societal discourse of Luxembourgish as the language of 'integration.' However, Luxembourgish was not the most important language for Aguinaldo. If we consider *adikiri amizadi* (acquire friendship) as part of 'integration,' note that in this respect Aguinaldo highlighted not only Luxembourgish, which was considered a 'patois', but also Italian and Spanish. He attributed different values to language(s) according to his lived life practices. He added that he wanted to take a Luxembourgish course but, he said, "*nha interesi era fazeba Luxemburges mas ainda Luxemburges era dialecte, era patois, [my interest was to do Luxembourgish but Luxembourgish was a dialect, a patois].*" In addition, at his arrival there were no Luxembourgish courses.

Thus, he decided to take a German course instead. He lived in Echternach, a border town that had a strong German influence, and he mentioned that this was another reason to take the course. Aguinaldo's language learning highlights the importance of 'language socialization,' i.e. 'the process by which novices or newcomers in a community or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy in the group' (Duff, 2007, p. 310), as he mentioned: *N ta papia Alemon malmenti ... ma si N bai Alemanha dja N ka ta mori di fomi* [I can speak German badly ... but if I go to Germany, I won't die of hunger].

He started to learn French in Portugal on his way to Luxembourg, using the book "*Francês tal e qual se fala* [French spoken as such]." Thus, at his arrival he already knew the basic French vocabulary (e.g. how to ask for information about transport, ask for foods, water or an address), which facilitated his life in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, he remarked. On the other hand, Aguinaldo put his learning of Italian and Spanish as being better than Luxembourgish (even after taking courses later on), but at the same level of 1) his Portuguese (the only official language of the metropole and Cape Verde as a colony then and now) and 2) French, one of the Luxembourg's official language. He recollected:

perante contacto, N ta fala Italianu ate midjor ... N ta fala Italianu kuazi igual ku Francez ki N ta fala, N ta fala Spanhol igual kuuu Italianu ou Purtuges tamben, ... ihhh voila ..., so pa kontaktu kuuu ku amigus ... so ku kolegas na, so ku relason na trabadju, porque N ta trabadjaba na "Dupont de Nemours" ki era un fabrica Amerikanu tenha txeu Italianus y tinha txeu espanhois tanbe.

there through contact, I can speak Italian even better ... I can speak Italian almost equal with French that I can speak, I can speak Spanish the same as Italian or Portuguese too ... ihhh voila ... only through contact with with friends ... only with colleagues in, only with the relation at work, because I worked at Dupot de Nemours that was an American factory there were a lot of Italian and Spanish people too.

Aguinaldo stressed the importance of learning Luxembourgish to establish friendships; however, this excerpt also shows that he had little contact with that language. He had weak social and work ties with ethnic Luxembourgers. He learned better Italian and Spanish, and he highlighted the learning of these languages as a result of informal conversation (e.g. during lunchtimes) with his Spanish and Italian work colleagues, although he also stressed that French was their *lingua franca*. He continued:

N ta gosta txeu di di satisfazi stranjeru li di si purguntan un kuza pa N sabi risponde-l ... sta na kel festa bu ka sabi fala bu ka tinha komu kontakta ku amigu, bu ka ta adikiri amizadi, então esse foi

I like to satisfy strangers here if they ask something for me to be able to respond ... be at party where you couldn't speak you didn't have any way how to contact with friend, you didn't acquire friendship, so this was

nha motivason di prokura sabi kuze ki bu ta fala pa N flau ti undi N ta bai ou sinon pa N prendi ku bo pa nu bai un bokadinhu, es ki nha interesi di kontaktu ku povu stranjeru pa un kualker lingua.

my motivation of searching to know what one said to tell you till where I go or otherwise to learn with you for us to go a little bit, this is my interest of contact with strangers for any language.

Here, maybe Aguinaldo's migrant life made him see that one of the reasons to learn languages (no matter which one) is to communicate and socialize with strangers, who can become friends. It is interesting that he frames this as a matter of adapting to the stranger. Note that stranger here means the other who speaks a different language or is originally from a different nation state. Differently from Julio, Aguinaldo implicitly put it as the effort of both sides (from you and from the stranger); according to his narrative, we are all strangers to each other in the beginning. This contradicts the normalized official and societal discourses on migrants as the ones who have the duty to adapt, to assimilate to the official and/or assumed language(s) of the local ethnic people. Today, there is so much emphasis on this that it seems as if speaking the local language can be almost straightforwardly exchangeable for social inclusion of the stranger or for migrants to be received well in the host country.

Aguinaldo's language life in Luxembourg tells us much about the evolution of language attitudes and how language policies have changed according to the evolution of the Luxembourgish economy and society itself. This allows us to see how language practices are 'also subjected to the time-space dimensions of history and biography' (Busch, 2012, p. 521). According to Aguinaldo's narrative, at his arrival there was no strong pressure for language learning. Furthermore, note that he learned Italian and Spanish and speaks it almost as well as Portuguese or French and even better than 1) Luxembourgish, which, although of not an official language at the time, was spoken by the local ethnic people majority, and 2) German, which was already one of the official languages.

Today, governments are increasing demands on migrants to learn and acquire strong competence (or skills) in the assumed language(s) of the host country. However, it is rarely questioned if the respective society locally offers migrants opportunities to learn the local (and official) language(s). Aguinaldo's narrative about his language repertoire illuminates the fact that learning language at work should not be overlooked. The way he learned language(s) in practice and at work can be an example to counteract the neoliberal language policy which overemphasises the need of certain languages for certain work, when in reality it is often not necessary the overloading linguistic demands for certain jobs to be done.

In 2000 he returned with his wife to live in Cape Verde, while their two daughters, who were both born in Luxembourg, stayed. Since then, he has moved back and forth between Luxembourg and Cape Verde. He comes to Luxembourg at least twice a year a) to visit his daughters and grandchildren, b) for medical appointments and c) sometimes to renew his Luxembourgish passport. However, when I visited him during my second field trip in Mindelo, he expressed that he and his wife had started to consider returning to Luxembourg to stay with their family and go to Cape Verde only for holidays, as for example Julio and Domingos do. He mentioned that their concern was due to their old age and that they would prefer to live with their children in Luxembourg than go to a *maison de retraite* [nursing home] in Cape Verde.

Aguinaldo's narratives point to the fact that at the time of his arrival in Europe (1970), migration regimes were 'smoother'. However, note that smoother does not necessarily mean easier; the point is that migrants' lives were less compartmentalized then, i.e. it was easier to find a job and there was less pressure for acquiring language competences. In general, his narratives, as those of all the other participants (who all came to Luxembourg after him), show how Cape Verdean mobility to Europe was and is constrained from colonialism to Late Capitalism.

6.13 Summary

This chapter has presented the mobile struggles of aspiring and accomplished Cape Verdean migrants to Luxembourg in their twenties, thirties, forties, fifties, sixties and seventies, highlighting different mobile experiences and capabilities. Note that the participants discussed at the beginning of this chapter are much younger (Carlos, Marku, Sonia, Alexandrino, Salvador, Jorge) than those at the end, including the two entrepreneurs (Luis and Orlando) and the retirees (Julio, Domingos and Aguinaldo). Thus, it is important to stress that this chapter has looked at different moments in the history of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. Furthermore, as seen above, the cases have shown that Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg was, to a certain extent, unexpected for some of them (e.g. Aguinaldo) or not the first option for others (e.g. Jorge, Domingos).

Comparing these cases, I want to stress that together they give insight into the life cycle of migrants: before migration (Alexandrino), the hardship at the beginning of migration, possible rejection and exploitation (Sonia), and deportation (Marku and Carlos) as well as new possibilities; established migrants like Jorge, Salvador, Luis (who is facing a return dilemma) and Orlando; and finally old migrants like Julio, Domingos and Aguinaldo, who manage to

divide their time between the two countries in a seemingly ‘harmonious’ way. Reading in between their narratives from *the point of departure* into *the point of arrival* allows us to see the increasing role of language as one of the main gate-keeping devices of migrants’ social and work mobility in the host country, thus, increasing inequalities. Given this, let us present some spaces and spatial practices that migrants ‘navigate’ and endeavor to better their constrained life in *the point of arrival*.

CHAPTER 7

The point of arrival: Cape Verdean spaces in Luxembourg

‘spaces are culturally and communicatively constituted, and the meanings of spaces are established by the way they are represented ... and by the nature of social inter/actions that take place within them.’

(Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011, p. 363)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns how Cape Verdeans experience spaces in Luxembourg. By space I mean physical, social communicative, virtual and imagined spaces, such as a house to live in, a place to work and meet other Cape Verdeans, to talk and become more visible, and to make sense of their migrant lives. In his attempt to show the interrelation between the concepts of space and place, Cresswell (2008, p. 9), points out that ‘naming is one of the ways spaces can be given meaning and become place.’ And the practices in a place and their interrelations lead us to de Certeau’s (1984) ‘spaces as practiced places.’ Drawing on this notion and on Vigouroux’ (2009) study on the relational understanding of space, I see spaces as a range of practices and interactions into a place.

As in other Cape Verdean ‘communities’ abroad, as Carling (2008) notes for the community in the Netherlands, very few Cape Verdeans are self-employed or entrepreneurs in Luxembourg. Besides the construction industry, Cape Verdeans, especially women in the cleaning and domestic sector, work at places such as hotels owned by the locals or other immigrants, usually in the upper stratum of the social hierarchy (cf. dos Santos Rocha, 2010; Manço et al., 2014). Their self-employability in Luxembourg can be indexed and made visible in public spaces through the naming of places, which is part of the linguistic landscape (LL) of the areas where they are placed.

Cape Verdeans are visible in Luxembourg not through the literal linguistic aspects but rather through semiotics and material objects, i.e. their bodies in the environment, events, personal belongings and common signs of ‘distant’ nationalism (e.g. flags), as illustrated above in Chapter 5 and below in Figures 13 and 17. Cultural objects/artefacts help to make the foreign and distant familiar. Traces of Cape Verde are quite visible in forms of those mobile texts and moving bodies (i.e. migrants moving in the landscape), through relatively durable signs – like associations’ plaques and other places associated with Cape Verdeans presented by their

semiotic layout –, and by more ephemeral signs advertising cultural events for the celebration of important Cape Verdean dates, such as the festival of migration, solidarity campaigns and weekend *soirées*. As shown above in Chapter 5, the intersection of the linguistic landscapes of the two countries is a result of and re-presented by the flow of ideas, discourses (of development and solidarity), objects and people, i.e. migration and mobility between the two states.

In what follows, I focuss on two (transnational) Cape Verdean entrepreneurial spaces (7.2) in Luxembourg – the *Epicerie Créole* (7.2.1) and *Metissage* (7.2.2), a grocery shop and a bar restaurant, respectively – and I discuss the interactions and social practices that take place within and around them. Then, I turn to Cape Verdean migrants' associations (7.3) and examine their transnational practices, goals, and their operability for the migrants and their inter- or de-connectivity (7.4). And, finally, I summarise the implications and consequences of the creation and navigation (individually and through institutions) of those spaces and places for Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg (7.5).

7.2 Entrepreneurial space

Given the relatively long history of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg of approximately half a century (since 1960s), one might assume that perhaps there would be many entrepreneurial Cape Verdean spaces in the Grand Duchy. Contrary to the proliferation of Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg (see Chapter 7.3 below), in general, according to my observations and interviews with Cape Verdean migrants (entrepreneurs and associations' administrative members) in Luxembourg, there are few Cape Verdean-owned places in all of the Grand Duchy (less than twenty, according to my observations and interview of some Cape Verdean entrepreneurs in Luxembourg).

This resonates with what Huddleston et al. (2011, p. 130) claim concerning the access to the labour market in Luxembourg:

non-EU residents have unfavourable access to the labour market... and [there are] few measures targeting their specific situation. Non-EU residents with the right to work are excluded from the public sector ... several areas of the private sector ... and self-employment ... What jobs they find may be outside or below their qualifications, despite limited government efforts ... Non-EU employees generally enjoy the same worker's rights and access to general support to improve skills. Most established immigration countries, such as neighbouring France, Germany, the Netherlands, are introducing complementary measures targeting needs of foreign-born and –trained workers.

Regarding this tighter access to the labour market for non-EU employees, in so far as it concerns

Cape Verdean migrants, Åkesson (2016, p. 116) points out that

there is a lack of an entrepreneurial tradition in Cape Verde that goes back to Portuguese colonial times when either higher education or employment as a public servant, or both, provided the few openings for upward socio-economic mobility both in Portugal and in Cape Verde. To some extent, this colonial ideal lingers and ... [Cape Verdeans] are unfamiliar with the idea of starting up a business.

Furthermore, opening a business tends to be a risky path that can be ephemeral, for example, if one lacks financial capital and specific personal skills and knowledge. Thus, Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg do not often risk opening their own business due to their fragile economic capital, which usually only allows them to save little and get along day by day. Some have tried to open their own business, but they could not sustain/keep it for a long time due to their limited social and economic capital. As noted above, most Cape Verdean migrants work in the service sector, like hotels, catering and in construction work. Besides the ethno-stratification (re-enforced through people's low linguistic competence), which is salient in the Luxembourgish job market, Cape Verdeans are usually situated at the lower ends of the sector and so earn the lowest salaries (cf. Manço et al., 2014; Jacobs et al., 2017). The few who have managed to purchase and keep their own business are usually the ones who have been living in the Grand Duchy for decades, and their business spaces have been a "*portu seguru*" (a secure place) for them.

Migrants holding financial capital invest in spaces in order to be less dependent on the macro-levels requirement of the host countries and gain autonomy in navigating their relationships, employment and aspirations. In the private sector, they invest mostly in groceries, restaurants, hair salons, telephone shops etc. Sabaté i Dalmau (2014) presents an interesting study on migration business in that she highlights the role of *locutorios* (a telephone call shop) in the navigation of migrants' lives in Catalonia. As stressed above by one of our key participants, Orlando (see Chapter 6.9), migrants also create entrepreneurial spaces in order to bridge the unemployment gap for other family members, possibly a wife or brothers/sisters, and also to avoid discrimination at work (cf. Serwe & de Saint-Georges, 2014). It is important to note that in the Cape Verdean migration context and beyond, business places can be used not only for earning money but also as a way to fill spare time and to maintain transnational ties.

Below there are two examples of 'iconic' Cape Verdean entrepreneurial spaces in Luxembourg. The first (in 7.2.1) has been established and has resisted for more than two decades, while the second is a relatively new space (in 7.2.2) with six years of existence at the time of writing. Note that both, in the end, are symbols of successful Cape Verdean migration trajectories into the Grand Duchy.

7.2.1 *Epicerie Créole*: the *informal embassy*

An ambassador is a foreign representative of a country, appointed by a foreign government to represent that government in another sovereign state in order to protect the interests of its citizens and the diplomatic relationship between the two countries. The ambassador works for peace between the two countries and is the chief spokesperson of the foreign government in the host country. On the basis of that, an informal ambassador is not appointed by the foreign government but informally recognised as such by foreign citizens to protect and further their interests in terms of wellbeing. The *informal embassy* of *Epicerie Créole* (EC) is a safe space for networking where migrants have a voice, and where problems regarding work, housing, among other things, may be solved through a network of peers. In contrast with the official embassy in Boulevard Prince Henri, Luxembourg City, the *Epicerie* is an easily approachable space, with a low threshold and little hierarchy and a place for everyday socialising and conviviality. Given this definition, let us explain the reasons for arguing about the *Epicerie*, as such.

On the first day of the STAR project's fieldwork, we (the PI for the project, a student assistant and myself as a doctoral student) went to Bonnevoie, a *quartier* situated just behind the *Gare Centrale* (the main train station) in Luxembourg City, which is one of the most multicultural places of the entire country (cf. Statec, 2014). We were looking for signs of Cape Verdeans displayed in public streets and places in Bonnevoie, seeking to document and identify Cape Verdean navigation in the Grand Duchy. Jurdana (the student assistant) came with a picture of the *Epicerie* and we went there in order to talk with Cape Verdean migrants about our project. While taking photographs of the front façade, Orlando (see Chapter 6.8 above), who is the owner, invited us to come in. We entered and presented ourselves as well as our project. That is how the *Epicerie Créole* came to be our main field site and research space in Luxembourg. There, I found most of the focal participants based in Luxembourg and we became quite well known in that place and space. Since then, I have been a regular visitor and client, and I have started to observe the interactions between clients that are mostly Cape Verdeans in addition to Bissau-Guineas and Portuguese, shopkeepers and the owner. Before leaving that first day, we left our contacts and Orlando gave us his business card as well.

During a formal interview, Orlando shared that in 1993 he opened the *Epicerie*, after finishing a course on small business management at *Chambre de Commerce*, the official stakeholder for work and business regulation in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The *Epicerie* core clientele is formed by an embedding of colonial histories, grouping people from ex-

colonies (Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau) with those from the respective ex-colonizer country (Portugal), although the latter come on a less regular basis. It is an ethno-linguistic place and space, not to use the term ‘ethnic enclave’ (Portes & Jensen, 1992), which is often seen as a way of stereotyping in the host society and as a danger in the ‘discourses of integration’ (Horner, 2009; Weber, 2015).

From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is worth noting that communication at the *Epicerie* takes place mostly in the CVC, which is very similar to the Creole of Guinea-Bissau. There, Cape Verdeans and Bissau-Guineans are mutually intelligible. Furthermore, Portuguese is also used. As seen above, it is the official language of the three countries of the migrants’ origins (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal), so the repertoire of the main clientele overlaps at some points in that they share one language (Portuguese). Sporadically, French, the language used in the front façade of the *Epicerie* (see Figure 7.1 below), indexing the language hierarchy, is used as a *lingua franca* when customers are Luxembourgish, French or speakers of other languages. English is rarely heard, but I remember one day a Caribbean woman wanted to buy a *longisa* (a homemade sausage, as it is made in Cape Verde) for her husband. She could not speak French and the shop keeper had some difficulties understanding her English. Thus, I helped the communication by speaking English with her and explaining how *longisa* is made and how it tastes. Thus, my role there turned from an observing participant to a participant observer, but not only in linguistic sense. For instance, when the products arrived, as other clients do, I usually helped the shopkeeper carrying them inside the shop. Thus, there is an ‘interaction order’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) in the *Epicerie Créole*, i.e. ‘ways of being together with others in the social space’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, P. 16) that index a spirit of “*djunta-mo*” [keep hands together] (Ascher, 2010; Weeks, 2012; Pardue, 2013) and complicity. Whenever the owner comes with a lorry full of products, clients help him carry them inside, in spite of its profit-making rationality.

When there is a Spanish customer, the communication can flow on in a ‘*lingua receptiva*’ mode (Franziskus, de Bres & Gilles, 2013; ten Thije, 2013). This is due to the proximity between the repertoire of the Spanish customer with that of the owner, shopkeeper and other clients (containing Portuguese, Spanish and the Creole of both Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau). People thus draw on their entire repertoire to communicate. This practice is very common in Luxembourg, not only within the business arena but also on a daily basis between speakers of mixed or migrant families, on public transport (bus, train), and in places like train stations and commercial centres, which are usually receptive spaces where people often communicate in the receptive mode.

Duchêne et al. (2013, p. 5) point out that:

language is considered a practice as well as a resource that can have both symbolic value and exchange value in a market economy (Bourdieu, 1991) and where knowing the right kind of language or variety can enable access to desired resources such as jobs or to public and private services provided by states.

The *Epicerie Cr  ole*'s language practices represent one of distinctive aspects of Luxembourgish multilingualism that is not valued in the official public discourses. This 'flexible' multilingualism is positioned by the official and societal language discourses at the 'bottom stratum' (Baynham, 2009, p. 132), but it is extremely determining for the lives of a great proportion of Cape Verdean migrants in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. These people are at the margins of the economic and political mainstream discourses and strata in which their repertoire is neglected, not considered the right kind of multilingualism for certain jobs, as in some extreme stances it is seen with uneasiness as a problem by 'discourses of integration' (Horner, 2009; Weber, 2015). The 'multilingualism from below' (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) visible at the *Epicerie* challenges and adds to (both in writing and orally) the official multilingualism visible in street names, road signs and public buildings that are often taken as a banner for Luxembourgish multilingualism as the Grand Duchy 'is frequently held up as the European Union country that fosters multilingualism *par excellence*' (Horner, 2011, p. 492).

The multiculturalism of Bonnevoie may presuppose that informal places there could transmit the impression of 'super-diversity' (cf. Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013) by the connections and meeting of people originally from varied nationalities. However, for the *Epicerie* (a micro-space) the clientele is culturally specific and not as heterogeneous as Bonnevoie's population in general. The *Epicerie* is a sort of 'ethnic enclave' (Portes & Jensen, 1992) in that the clientele is linked through in historical and language bounds. Note that space and place navigations are also economically, socially and politically bound up and may be indexical in ethnic terms when it comes to intense migrants' hubs such as Bonnevoie.

The outer semiotic artefacts of the *Epicerie* 'insert or exclude the [*Epicerie*] into the larger scale of the global economy while still displaying locally through language' (Vigouroux, 2009, p. 78). Its transparent window projects a Cape Verdean flag and the shapes of the islands inscribed on the flag, besides other products (like hair extensions, special shampoos, *cr  mes* etc.) on the shelves that are also visible through that window (see Figure 7.1 below). The green colour scheme on the front facade and the logos refer to Bofferding, a local beer. This leads us to reflect on the ownership of places and spaces. It resonates and challenges the dichotomic distinction between top-down and bottom-up signage practices so heavily used in the early days of LL research, which Leeman and Modan (2009, p. 334) consider to be 'untenable in an era in

which public-private partnerships are the main vehicle of urban revitalization initiatives in urban centres in many parts of the world, and when government policies constrain private sector signage practices.'



Figure 7.1a) and b): *Epicerie Cr?ole* in Bonnevoie, Luxembourg City, photographed laterally and frontally (photographs taken by B. Tavares, June 2014 and January 27th, 2017)

During a formal interview, the owner told me that drinking logos like this are usually placed by beer companies (e.g. Bofferding, Diekirch, Super Bock etc.), which pay eighty percent for the sign production and are in charge of the sign emplacement. Vigouroux (2009, p. 79) points out that 'signs help shape the definition of the space in which they are inserted.' And Leeman and Modan (2009, p. 335) 'advocate to distinguish between signs/texts made for a specific establishment and those made for more general distribution.' The words *Cr?ole*, *exotiques* and *tropicaux* on the front façade point to somewhere else (distant from the West, i.e. from the global South and Asia), and the flag on the window specifically indexes Cape Verde. All of these artefacts do not only index 'the kind of services provided by the location but also shape social practices within the latter for example by triggering patron's expectations on the kind of beverage or food that are ... offered' (Vigouroux, 2009, p. 79).

The products and the flag advertise 'Cape Verdeanness' (Batalha, 2002, 2004; G?ois, 2008, 2010). Likewise, they index the identity of the owner and the shop itself. The containers outside the *Epicerie Cr?ole* as visible in Figure 4b above are of great importance, but if we do not immerse ourselves and talk to 'navigators' inside, we can easily gain a skewed or false interpretation of their emplacement outside. Cape Verdean immigrants buy them empty for 25 to 30 Euro each to fill them with products like clothes, foods, cosmetics and so forth and send them to their relatives in Cape Verde. The transportation service is also organised by the *Epicerie* (i.e. the owner and his employees) to the port of Rotterdam to be embarked to Cape Verde. It usually takes one month for the containers to be delivered in the archipelago.

The inner semiotics of the *Epicerie* present traditional products like *grogue* (*aguardente*, meaning rum in English), dried fish, biscuit and so forth, which are imported mostly from Cape Verde and Portugal, as shown in Figure 7.2 below.



Figure 7.2 Products imported mostly from Cape Verde and Portugal, with two Cape Verdean immigrants holding up dried fish imported from Cape Verde (photograph taken by B. Tavares, January 27th, 2017).

Figure 7.2 also presents different brands of *grogue* in the upper shelf, raw foods (beans, grained corn etc.) and wine brands from Portugal in the middle shelves, and finally a box of dried salted fish on the floor, imported from Cape Verde. Those shelves are very mobile since their semiotics change all the time and there are no names on the labels, only prices are included for some products. During a conversation with Orlando about the lack of names on the labels, he pointed out that this is due to the clients' knowledge of the products and names are already on the bottles and bags, so this strategically helps to facilitate interactions. Clients who are not familiar with the products (as shown above regarding the Caribbean woman) usually ask the shopkeeper for more information and thus trigger more interactions.

Rouse (1991/2011, p. 14) in his study about 'transnational circuits' concerning Aguillans in the U.S. points out that 'people monitor what is happening in the other parts of the circuit as closely as they monitor what is going on immediately around them.' Besides the products imported from Cape Verde and Portugal, at the *Epicerie Cr  ole* one finds material signs like leaflets and posters advertising cultural events, book launches, apartments, houses and land to buy or rent in both Cape Verde and Luxembourg, solidarity campaigns, job advertisements etc. In this sense, besides the offer of services mentioned above, i.e. the provision of goods and information, the *Epicerie* bridges the distance between Cape Verde and Luxembourg for Cape Verdeans. This is true also for the topics of conversations that usually take place there. Thus, it

is a sort of *informal embassy* of Cape Verde in Luxembourg. It is a transnational place constructed to respond to Cape Verdean needs, owned by a Cape Verdean, that is closer and more accessible to the immigrants than the official Embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg.

During an interview with the shop owner, he highlighted the meaning of the *Epicerie*, saying that “*rapas fla Epicerie Créole e mesmu mas ki inbaxada pamodi la nos tudu e igual* [folks (Cape Verdean clients) said *Epicerie Créole* is even more than the official embassy because here people are of equal status]”. For him, and for the clients as will be shown below, the *Epicerie* is not only a place of ‘profit’ (economic and leisure time profit) but also a matter of ‘pride’ (Duchêne & Heller, 2012) in the engagement of services that is provided for the clientele, which helps them navigate their lives and other spaces in Luxembourg. There, people feel free to talk about any subject, which can range from narratives about their childhood or earlier times in Cape Verde, sports, their struggle to migrate, their struggles after migration, to criticism of the political and migration regimes of both countries (Cape Verde and Luxembourg). Thus, one can argue that the *Epicerie Créole* is also a venting and contestation place as well as a ‘time and space compression’ (Harvey, 1999; Collins et al., 2009) or ‘time-space embedded’ (Vigouroux, 2009).

On a visit I paid on a Sunday morning, I met João da Luz, a Cape Verdean who has been living in Luxembourg for more than twenty years and works at *Radio Latina*, a station that is directed specially at the Lusophone immigrants in the Grand Duchy (meaning here people originally from Portuguese-speaking countries). He said metaphorically “*li e nha igreja* [here is my church].” At a first glance, João’s statement was a response to Orlando’s question if he was going to attend a mass, since he was well dressed, accompanied by his wife, and there is a church (*Eglise paroissiale de Bonnevoie ‘Marie Reine de la Paix’*) around the corner, where mass is sometimes held in Portuguese and where some Cape Verdeans are choral members. Echoing Scollon and Scollon (2003), I can stress that Orlando’s question was informed by his knowledge of the material world, i.e. his knowledge of Bonnevoie, the church in combination with the situated visual (well dressed) and time (Sunday morning) appearance of João and his wife. A more nuanced reading of this situated statement would be that João is praising the *Epicerie* by comparing it to a church with its connotation of a sacred place, thus highlighting the importance of the *Epicerie* for him for both symbolic and practical reasons, but at the same time reducing the importance of a church for him.

On April 12th, 2017, *Contacto*, the Portuguese printed and online version of the mainstream Luxembourgish newspaper *The Wort*, published an article concerning the *Epicerie Créole* (see

Appendix B). The article was written by Aleida Vieira and Henrique de Burgo, two journalists of Cape Verdean origin. It was based on interviews they had conducted with Cape Verdean migrants at the *Epicerie*, the owner and me as a researcher studying sociolinguistic interactions within the *Epicerie*. The article was also posted on *Contacto*'s Facebook page and many Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg and beyond reacted to it, as shown below by screenshots of comments (in CVC, Portuguese and French) and their respective translation into English (see also <https://www.facebook.com/188340964520479/posts/1461364240551472>):



Loureiro João Para mim, significa: solidariedade, convívio e saudade. Pois em 2007 ano em que cheguei au Lux eu habitava num café desses que todos conhecemos sem condições mínimas, onde partilhava um quarto com o Sr.Rodrigues
(um cabo-verdiano que já abalou faz tempo para Portugal) que me levava aos sábados à tarde para a épicerie Creole, pois eu não me dou bem nos cafés onde não se aprende nada. lá atras na cozinha ' havia sempre uma grande panela de cachupa ou feijoada para todos se servirem gratuitamente, e onde fui sempre bem tratado e respeitado. UM GRANDE BEM HAJA PARA O ORLANDO

Like · Reply · 2 · April 12 at 11:05pm · Edited

LJ: for me, it means: solidarity, conviviality and homesickness. In 2007, the year I arrived in Lux, I lived in a café without minimal conditions, that we all know, where I shared a room with Mr. Rodrigues (a Cape Verdean who have already long returned to Portugal) who took me to the *Epicerie Crêole* on Saturday afternoons, for I don't get well at cafés where one doesn't learn anything. There, behind in the kitchen there was always a big pan of *Cachupa* or *Feijoada* [two Cape Verdean traditional foods] for everyone to serve for free, and where I was always well treated and respected. A GREAT HONOUR TO ORLANDO



Mirabelli Steve Breck Fu Slub c'est super mnt tu peut demander une visa et les ingrédients du cachupa en même temps 😂😂😂😂😂😂

Like · Reply · 2 · April 12 at 11:50pm

MSBFS: it's super mnt you can ask for visa and the ingredients for *Cachupa* at the same time.



Djinoca Silva Ho Orlando bo tem que renovame nha Passaporte na bo deve ser mas rapido kkkk abraco e e um grande verdade

Like · Reply · 2 · April 13 at 6:38am

DS: oh Orlando you have to renew me my passport, there from you must be faster kkkk a hug and it's a big truth.



Amilcar Mustero Bunito Spera um sta bai fazi 9vo passaporte la um fazi na consolado de Cabo verde na Luxembourg djan tem maz kui 2anu inda éz ca dan el vergonha pa noz embaxada abraços

Like · Reply · April 13 at 1:11pm

AMB: wait I'm going to take a new passport there, I took at the consulate of Cape Verde in Luxembourg more than 2 years ago but they haven't give it to me yet,

shame on our embassy. Hugs



ALM: house of all *Kriolu*, there there is no *sampadjudu* neither *badiu*, it's only one country, Cape Verde.

The comments of Cape Verdean migrants (and also Portuguese) go beyond praising the *Epicerie Créole* (and the owner) for its multi-functionality, solidarity, socializing and commercial practices. Migrants also took it as an opportunity to criticise: 1) the services that the official embassy provides to them, as in DS' and AMB's comments above, in the form of a joke, to show their discontent with the long wait to get their passports issued; 2) the '*sampadjudu* and *badiu* divide,' as ALM explicitly states, and the tension between these two 'groups', which according to my observations and interviews with Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg seems to be as fierce in the Grand Duchy as they are in the archipelago. ALM semiotically (by the use of nine hand pair stickers) calls for 'peace' and unification between Cape Verdeans by reminding them and highlighting Cape Verde over fragmentations and persistent tensions that exist within 'Cape Verdeanness' (Batalha, 2002, 2004; Góis, 2008, 2010). Furthermore, he metaphorically refers to the *Epicerie* as " "*Casa de tudo criolo* [house of all creoles]," defining it as a space that 'erases' and overcomes the divide, using the word *criolo* (also *Kriolu*, meaning both CVC and Cape Verdeans) as a unifying device.

Those comments above lead us again to Jaworski and Thurlow's (2011, p. 363) comment that 'spaces are culturally and communicatively constituted, and the meanings of spaces are established by the way they are represented ... and by the nature of social inter/actions that take place within there.' Drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) triadic conception of space, the authors remind us that 'space, as something conceived, perceived and lived, is clearly realized in the ways we represent it: how we write about it, talk about it, photograph it, advertise it and design it' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011, p. 363).

Through participant observations, interviews and linguistic landscaping, I was able to grasp the relevance of how Cape Verdeans make meaning of the *Epicerie Créole* and how they interact there. The clients are very close to each other, as can be seen by the way they talk to each other and shake hands with everyone in the *Epicerie* when they arrive and depart. This is typically rooted in 'Cape Verdean culture and way of life.' Thus, there is a transfer of practices of socialization from the 'homeland' to the host country, where there is no a consistent tradition of shaking hands and there is wider physical space between people in communication. The

interactions take place in the *Epicerie* in a quasi-familial way, indexing the close relationship and complicity ties that exist between the clients, the shopkeepers and the owner.

The *Epicerie* is a multi-functional place for Cape Verdeans migrants. Its multi-functionality is indexed on a ‘service-free fridge’ (see Figure 7.3 below) in the centre of the shop, directly opposite the entrance door, which is also covered by advertisements.



Figure 7.3a) and b): The ‘service-free’ fridge photographed frontally and laterally including food, drink, cosmetics and CD shelves (photographs taken by B. Tavares, January 27th, 2017)

The first function of a fridge is to conserve foods and drinks. But this fridge is always covered by ephemeral texts like leaflets, posters advertising diversified Cape Verdeans concerns (a mix of political, musical, business, societal, sportive and informative posters), which index other Cape Verdeans spaces in the Grand Duchy, like associations (see the section below) and so forth. In addition, these ephemeral advertising modes are strategically placed on the fridge. It does not point to Cape Verde, Portugal, Luxembourg and other countries through the drinks and foods inside it only, but also by pieces of paper stuck on or around it, as shown in Figure 15 above, advertising houses and land for sale both in Cape Verde and Luxembourg. The fridge also transfers the shop into a bar, as drinks are consumed on the spot.

Drawing on Collins et al. (2009, p. 6), who point out that ‘globalization has also been understood as space-time compression, a sharpened awareness of simultaneity’, I argue that the *Epicerie Cr  ole* represents ‘space-time compression’. It approaches Cape Verde and Luxembourg for Cape Verdean migrants, i.e. when Cape Verdeans are there, they feel closer to their country of origin not only in their imagination, exchange and transactions of “exotic” and Cape Verdean products, but also by the socializing ambience of informal discussions about Cape Verde politics, sports and stories, narrative moments of “*konta partis*” (telling jokes) and

language practices that determine the interaction patterns within the shop and are made visible by the linguistic landscape of the *Epicerie* as well. The *Epicerie* re-enforces this simultaneity of migrants' belonging and living across spaces that characterizes (transnational) places 'affected by conditions of displacement or spatio-temporal trajectories of migrants' (Collins et al., 2009, p. 7).

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014, p. 161) explore the relationship between what they call

metrolingual multitasking the ways in which linguistic resources, activities and urban space are bound together and the spatial repertoires the linguistic resources available in a particular place arguing that a focus on resources, repertoires, space, place and activity helps us understand how multilingualism from below operates in complex urban places.

They draw on interactions in a restaurant – *Petit Paris* in Tokyo – in order to show the dynamic relations between semiotic resources, activities, artefacts, and space. Similarly, the authors use an ethnographic study in a Bangladeshi-owned video and spice store situated in the suburb of Sidney to 'show how the intersection of people, objects, activities and senses make up the spatial repertoire of a place' (2015, p. 191). They point out that smell is overlooked as 'the least important of our senses' and stress that it 'is an important mean by which we relate to place ... smells often evoke memories of earlier times ... and places' (Pennycook & Otsuji, pp. 191–196). Drawing on the notion of 'smellscapes' (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), i.e. the spatial relations between smells, identities, places and languages, I argue that the spatial organization and the 'spatial repertoires' (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014) of the *Epicerie Cr  ole* evoke memories of the homeland (Cape Verde). The smell of products like dried fish, *grogu*, biscuits, *longisa* (sausage) and *torenba* (a sort of fried bacon) makes migrants feel 'home.'

The combination of the *Epicerie*'s visual, linguistic and sense aspects, as well as its 'soundscapes' (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013), makes immigrants take a virtual journey to Cape Verde by virtue of their memory. The soundscapes of the *Epicerie* recall Cape Verde to immigrants not only through the languages spoken (CVC and Portuguese) but also through traditional and popular Cape Verdean songs that are played there the whole day. Many Cape Verdeans, at the end of a long, hard work day (mostly men working in the construction industry), go to the *Epicerie* and have some beers, chat a little, buy some foods to be cooked at home and listen to the music. It represents a transnational contact/meeting point where Cape Verdeans socialize among themselves with Bissau-Guineans and Portuguese migrants through language and products like foods and drinks.

Migrants like Orlando, as Sabat   i Dalmau (2014, p. 15) in her study on *locutorios* points out, 'have accumulated capital, experiences and several years of temporary residence as

employees, but then registered with the social security office as self-employed and employers, instead of employees.' Similarly, Serwe and de Saint-Georges (2014, p. 4) in their study on a Thai supermarket in the border region of Saarland (Germany) point out that 'immigrants' business tend to occupy markets that have low formal entry requirements.' During a conversation with Orlando about regulatory requirements to open a business in Luxembourg, he told me that: "*gosi e fasil abri negosiu na Luxembourg* [now it is easy to open a business in Luxembourg]." Prospective business owners have to take a course (in the required business area) for at least six months at the *Chambre de Commerce*. They have to pay a total fee of about one thousand Euros. There are no linguistic entry requirements, but migrants have to have at least three years of legal residence in Luxembourg. Those who manage to succeed are given a diploma and can use their financial capital to open a shop, restaurant, hair salon, café bar, cyber café, etc. The owner of the *Epicerie Cr  ole* added that nowadays the regulation is more flexible to the extent that if one has already had at least three years of experience as an employee in the area of the business s/he aspires to hold, s/he does not have to take the course, i.e. the right for the diploma is automatically guaranteed by the law due to her/his long-situated experience in the business branch in question.

Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of capital, I argue that not only the owner but members of other Cape Verdean spaces and immigrants individually capitalize on specific products, practices and services offered in and by the EC and in general to give visibility to their practices and events outside the *Epicerie*. They invest in the 'spatial repertoire' of the *Epicerie* and its associated 'culture capital' and turn them into 'economic capital' and networks. For instance, by reading the fridge every day one can grasp the intensity of movements and (language, cultural or economic) practices into other Cape Verdean spaces in the Grand Duchy. The *Epicerie* is a rich, information-loaded place and space. However, it is silenced by the competition of bigger supranational business corporations, which is one of the reasons for its existence, but it is notable space by the services it provides to Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg. Taking into consideration all its functions referred to above, I close this section by stating that, to a certain extent, the *Epicerie Cr  ole* is an emblematic space and place where Cape Verdean migrants 'have voice.' Let us now turn to *Metissage*, another Cape Verdean space in the Grand Duchy.

7.2.2 *Metissage*: a restaurant/caf  in Bonnevoie

Metissage is a restaurant/caf  which also promotes Cape Verdean food and culture. But before going into more explanation about *Metissage* as a Cape Verdean restaurant in Luxembourg, I will begin to provide some historical notes of *m tissage* as a colonial racial ideology in the Cape Verdean context. The entire ideology of *m tissage* or *mesti agem* in Portuguese, meaning literally the crossing of race, is a very charged term that was spread and reinforced by the colonial Salazar regime of *Estado Novo* – an authoritarian Portuguese regime from 1926 until 1974 (Swolkien, 2015). It defended that Cape Verdeans were better than Africans, or not Africans because they have white blood which defines them and saves them from being totally uncivilized (cf. Meintel, 1984). Below I will show how this colonial ideology is reappropriated in the context of Cape Verdean migration trajectory into Luxembourg.

The *Metissage* is located in Bonnevoie only a few blocks away from the *Epic rie Cr ole* and was opened in 2011 by Luis whom we got to know in the previous chapter (see Chapter 6.8), who still owns and manages the place. There is a slight difference between *Metissage* restaurant and the *Epic rie Cr ole* in terms of their clients' diversity. The *Metissage*'s clients are more diverse in terms of ethnic background, although most of its clientele is of Cape Verdean origin. This is due to its service being oriented towards catering as a bar/restaurant. Clients from other nationalities go there to try Cape Verdean traditional food like *katxupa* and drinks like *grogue*, *pontxi* (a mix of *grogue* with sugar cane molasses or coconut milk). In contrast, the *Epic rie Cr ole* is more multi-functional but has a more clear-cut, specific clientele of 'Lusophones'. They also have different business statuses according to the French acronyms, i.e. *Epic rie Cr ole* is an SA (*Soci t  Anonyme* [anonymous company]), while *Metissage* is a SARL (*Soci t    responsabilit  limit e* [Limited Liability Company]).



Figure 7.4a) and b): *Metissage* in Bonnevoie, Luxembourg City, photographed laterally and frontally (photographs taken by B. Tavares, August 19th, 2017)

During a formal interview, Luis (the owner) talked about how he was trying to find the best name for his restaurant when developing a business plan. He pointed out that after thinking about famous restaurants he had heard about around the world and listing names that trigger connections to Cape Verde, the name of *Metissage* came to him suddenly, when he thought about the origin of his children, as he recollected:

oh pa Metissage foi un ideia ki ben na, eh pah foi un kuza, foi moda un flash, N sta djobeба, kantu N atxa kel lokal li ... N tinha ki fazeba un un business plan ... nton txiga na kel momentu, es purgunta-n modi ki bu empreza txoma, tudu mas, mas dipos N fika N ta pensa N pensa propi na kel park na New York na tanbe ki e un kuza mutu mutu famozu, ... dipos N pensa na nos, mas ki ta bai ku nos orijen, N pensa na poi nomi di Katxupa, dipos N pensa na po-l nomi di Les îles, dipos ah, oh pah N ben ta pensa di nha di nhas fidjus, pamo ... nha sigundu fidju e k un Luxamburgeza, na kel senpri ta ben kel nomi métis, métis “ah oui mon fils il est métis,” pamod ate es atxa-l asin ta ku rapazinhu, es ta pergunta-l na undi ki e adota-l, na ki pais ki e ba adota-l, pamodi bunitu tudu mas, e fla lagrima ben na odju e fla: “ah nha fidju e dimeu, N ka adota-l ... nha fidju e mi ki pari,” dipos es fla: “ah bon bu ten fidju ah ah pretu?” Dipos e fla: “nau nau il est pas noire, il est pa noire, il est métis.” Dipos na kel, N fika ta pensa métis métis, metissagem, dipos kantu N ben odja, fazi un bokadinhu di buskas, N ben odja ma metissage finalmenti ma e mistura ki nos tanbe ki ta danu nos orijen, pamo nos tanbe nos orijen foi di un metissage, di Afrikanu y kolonus Purtugezis ... nton N atxa ma metissage era midjor nomi ki N podia daba, pa pa kafe, dipos mi tanbe N kreba pa un lugar ki tudu algen podeba entra.

oh Metissage was an idea that came in, eh pah it was a thing, it was like a flash, I was looking for when I found this place ... I had to make a business plan ... so at that moment, they asked me what is the name of my enterprise, and more, but then I kept thinking ... I even thought about that park in New York too that is a very famous thing ... then I thought about us, but something that goes with our origin, I thought of naming it *Katxupa*, then I thought of giving it the name of *Les îles*, then ah, oh pah I came and start thinking about my children, because ... my second child is with a Luxembourgish woman, so in that the name of *métis* came always, *métis* “ah yes my son is *métis*,” because they found her so with the boy, they often asked her where she adopted him, in what country she adopted him, because he’s a nice boy and all more, she said: “tears fell down from my eyes,” she said: “ah my son he’s mine, I didn’t adopt him ... it was me who gave birth to him,” then they said: “ah well you have ah ah black son?” Then she said: “no he is not black, he is not black, he is *métis*.” Then in that, I kept thinking on *métis*, *métis*, *metissagem*, then when I realised, I surfed a little bit, I finally found out that *métissage* is a mix that gave our origin too, because we too, our origin was from a *métissage*, of Africans and Portuguese colonials ... so I found that *métissage* was the best name that I could have given to the café, and I also wanted a place that all people could come in.

It is interesting how Luis ended up establishing a link between history, colonization, racialization and his own migration trajectory in his search for a suitable name for his restaurant. Luis managed to ‘translate’ all these aspects and facets of mobility and society in a single word, *métissage*, which is for that reason more than a branding name, a constellation of ‘acts of

identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), i.e. occasions of identity constructions through language, history and culture.

I argue here that Luis re-invented the meaning of *métissage* in a new context, that of migration or globalisation, at large. For, from the historical perspective *métissage* reflects and was conceived under extreme violence of colonisation and subjugation of female slaves who had to accept the sexual and mental abuse of their colonial masters, a history that is embodied in all of us *Créoles*. However, Luis succeeded in transform that negative historical connotation into a more positive meaning drawing on his son of mixed Cape Verdean and Luxembourgish origin, as an alternative way to better his life as a migrant. He decided that *métissage* was the name best connected to his origin, his family and Cape Verdean migrants in general and that at the same time indexed diversity and inclusivity rather than exclusivity. Thus, in December 2011 he opened the *Métissage*. The logo of the *Métissage*, a wave of blood, paradoxically, at the same time indexes origins (i.e. a race, Cape Verdean) and to a certain extent neutralizes racialization (see Figure 7.5 below), since human blood is always red.



Figure 7.5 A screenshot of the logo of *Metissage*, a Cape Verdean café/restaurant in Bonnevoie (taken from <http://www.metissage.lu/fr>)

Luis narrated that in the beginning Cape Verdean migrants kept their distance from it because they assumed that his ex-wife, who worked at the restaurant, was European or from Algeria or Morocco, due to her light skin complexion and because she addressed all clients in French. Nonetheless, she was originally from Santo Antão Island, Cape Verde. According to Luis, some Cape Verdean migrants were influenced by a nationalist ideology which led them to consider that in a Cape Verdean space, a restaurant in this case, the services should be

provided by a Cape Verdean person. Initially, clients were mostly local people (Luxembourgers), but when his eldest daughter took over the restaurant after Luis broke up with his wife, clients of Cape Verdean origin started to increase. This is also a form of racializing space as Luis pointed out: “*dipos keli ben kaba pamo kantu nha filha ben toma konta di tudu ... ben fika dja kel klima dja dja di un kuzinha di N podi fla-u tanbe di rasismu ah* [then this ended because my daughter came and took over everything ... that feeling then of a little of I can tell you also of racism ah].”



Figures 7.6a) and b): The inner side of *Metissage*, photographed from reverse angles (photographs taken by B. Tavares, August 19th, 2017)

As shown in Figure 7.6 above, the inner-semiotic artefacts of *Metissage* index an entanglement between Africa and Europe (Portugal and Luxembourg). Beside the functional materials, its inner-semiotics are composed of a menu written in Portuguese by the TV screen, a Cape Verdean flag on the wall, Cape Verdean music videos that are always shown on a TV, and paintings on the wall indexing African people and culture. Based on my interviews with the owner and some clients I met there as well as observations of interactions within the restaurant, I argue that its decorations represent an ‘idealized’ harmonious relation between Africa and Europe that is in the essence and creation of the *Metissage*, as “*un lugar ki tudu algen podeba entra* [a place that all people could come in],” as the owner stated. This semiotic combination of visuals and marks of identity also reflects the migration trajectories of the owner as detailed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 6.8), who was born in Cape Verde, migrated to Portugal, and re-migrated to Luxembourg where he has lived most of his life. The careful construction of this restaurant informed by history, migration and race, and its semiotic landscape has

contributed to the success of his business. It is also important to note that, like the *Epicerie Cr  ole, Metissage* is a meeting point where Cape Verdeans go to socialize among themselves while enjoying Cape Verdean foods, music, drinks and talks/chats.

Let us now turn to other Cape Verdean spaces, i.e. migrants associations, which can be also considered *informal embassies* (see above) but differ from the entrepreneurial spaces mentioned above (SA or SARL) because of their status of A.s.b.1 (*Association sans but lucratif* [non-profit association]). However, some of their concerns conflate and they capitalize/draw on each other's space-making.

7.3 Spaces of associations

Associations are usually mobilising spaces where the hope of having a better life can be 'cooked' or emerge. In migration context, they are used also as a reclaiming space, i.e. as a channel to foster the debate concerning critical, cultural, societal, economic and political issues that affect the lives of people who share a given 'assumed-assigned [collective] identity' (Pati  o-Santos, 2014), which is (often) primarily defined on the basis of their nation state of origin and its associated (national) language.

Given these (identity and language) ideologies, migrants group together in forms of associations in order to compact their energies, in solidarity as 'brothers in arms', to minimise their struggles in the host society and to help their compatriots left behind in their country of origin or in other diasporic communities. They do so because they usually face similar challenges and are 'framed' under similar rights and duties due to the fact that they were born somewhere else, i.e. as Nyers (2004) put it, 'in political spheres, ... belonging is ascribed as an accident of the place of one's birth' (cited in Drotbohm, 2011, p. 382), and speak different languages. This idealised perception of associations, in my understanding, can be resumed or 'entextualized' (Blommaert, 1999) in one highly used hyphenized Cape Verdean word: "*djunta-mo* [keep the hands together]" (Fikes, 2008; Ascher, 2010; Weeks, 2012). This word means solidarity and collaboration, which, however, for reasons I will indicate below, is almost 'a myth' when it comes to Cape Verdean associations in organising Cape Verdean social lives in Luxembourg.

Concerning the Luxembourgish immigration context, Andrea Gerstnerova's (2016) article is one of the most insightful studies on migrant associations in general and on Cape Verdean migrant associations in Luxembourg in particular. She points out that 'the precarious

socioeconomic situation of Cape Verdean and ex-Yugoslav immigrants on the Luxembourgish labour market has encouraged them to create self-help groups: migrant associations' (Gerstnerova, 2016, p. 424). There are more than forty Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg (see Appendix C). However, only approximately fifteen are active, and some usually have no more than one event per year. I argue that this high number is not only about inequalities or eagerness to reduce them, but it is also a reflection of 'banal' regionalism and *bairismo* (i.e. a romantic way of belonging to a locality), which exist in the Cape Verdean archipelago and are reproduced among Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg. For instance, in an interview with a participant, Henrique Burgo (a journalist of Cape Verdean origin, see Chapter 7.1 above), who was the president of an association and has participated in associations activities since 2009, he pointed out that "*kada algen kre difendi si ilha, si aldeia ou si rubera* [each one wants to defend his/her island, village or even brook]." He asked for a reflection on the numbers of Cape Verdean associations, which he considered to undermine their credibility near the official stakeholders and funding institutions. He stressed that most associations have similar projects and goals, questioning why they did not get together and thereby avoid this fragmentation that could weaken their strength.

Yet, Gerstnerova (2016, p. 418) points out that 'migrant associations are generally presented as platforms for meetings, information exchange and social networking. But they are also cultural identity holders and centres for altruistic help and solidarity.' A typical example of that was a solidarity campaign involving many Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg and in other Cape Verdean 'diasporas' to help people from Fogo Island who were displaced and became homeless by the eruption of the volcano that destroyed and covered most of their homes and agricultural land in *Chã das Caldeiras*, in 2014, as illustrated in Figure 7.7 below:



Figure 7.7 Displaced people with some of their furniture near the volcano in *Chã das Caldeiras*, Fogo Island, Cape Verde (photograph taken by *Contacto*, December 17th, 2014)

Usually, such campaigns are led by Cape Verdean associations whose members are people from the respective island of the person or groups in need. This reflects the political and regional geographic spectrum found in the archipelago, i.e. the ‘*Barlavento* and *Sotavento* devide’ (Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2008).

In Luxembourg, one finds out about these Cape Verdean events mainly through the *Epicerie Cr  ole* (where posters and leaflets are stuck every day to advertise the events), the *Metissage*, Internet platforms such as social media (e.g. Facebook), and other media whose purposes are to reach particular ethnic audiences such as the Lusophone immigrants with transmission and *r  daction* in Portuguese. This includes medias spaces like the newspapers (online and paper versions) *Contacto*, *Bom Dia* and *Jornal do Luxemburgo* (jdLux) as well as *Radio Latina*, a community radio station that transmits the programme *Morabeza*, a word meaning gentleness and hospitality, that is culturally seen as an identity marker of the Cape Verdean people (Nun  z, 1995; de Pina, 2011; Zoetl, 2014; Madeira, 2016). This programme is dedicated to any issue concerning Cape Verde and is conducted in CVC every Sundays. Cape Verdean immigrants individually or collectively, for instance in forms of associations, ‘invest’ in these media spaces to gain visibility.

7.4 Practices of Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg

As shown above, Cape Verdean associations are usually formed according to the island of the members’ origin. The name of the associations indexes the particularity of the activities they are engaged with, but not only those. Some associations are more folkloric, oriented towards conviviality and the cultivation of Cape Verdean culture, others are oriented towards sports and some towards critical and pressing issues of Cape Verdean migration in Luxembourg, including education, language learning and unemployment, and most of them are oriented towards solidarity campaigns.

The associations are diversified in terms of goals. to some extent, they are contested for being more focused on the individual interests of their members than the interest of the community they represent at large. As stated above in the fragment of interviews with Henrique Burgo (see Chapter 7.1), the associations are very competitive in order to gain more credibility and legitimacy from both the Cape Verdean migrants and the official administration and other stakeholders (NGOs like ASTI, CLAE or OLAI) of the host country they are affiliated with.

In this section I focus on (transnational) activities carried out by some of the most active Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg. The activities usually target Cape Verde, Cape

Verdean migrants in Luxembourg and beyond in other Cape Verdean diasporic communities. These Cape Verdean associations promote the mobility of goods, but also of people and ideas (ideologies) between the archipelago and the Grand Duchy. For instance, in the summer of 2015, *Cap-Vert Espoir et Développement A.s.b.l* (a non-profit association) organised a one-week internship stay in Luxembourg for the directors of Santiago Island's high school to exchange experiences with Luxembourgish high schools in terms of education, language teaching and learning. Likewise, as shown in Chapter 5 above, *Veteranos do Norte* organises *Journée Capverdienne* (the 3rd edition was in July, 2015) and in the summer of 2016 organised *Weekend Capverdien*. These events take place annually in Ettelbruck, around each anniversary of Cape Verdean Independence. Some participants come especially from the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago as well as other Cape Verdean diasporic 'communities' to celebrate specific dates concerning Cape Verdean history and culture.

Figure 7.8 below is the screenshot of the Facebook page of another solidarity campaign, in this case to help a Cape Verdean student at the University of Coimbra suffering from leukaemia. This campaign for Lucy, who is originally from Santo Antão, was also launched in November 2016 by *Veteranos do Norte*, referred to above, which is one of the most active and visible Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg. Most of its members are originally from Santo Antão and São Vicente. The screenshot was taken from a post on *Veteranos do Norte*'s Facebook page.



Figure 7.8 A screenshot of a post from *Veteranos do Norte* Facebook page lauching a solidarity campaign for Lucy, a young Cape Verdean suffering from leukaemia in Coimbra

The post is iconographically divided into three layers. First, the upper part features a text in Portuguese. Second, the middle part links two pictures of Lucy; and third, the lower one presents six islands which compose the *Barlavento* group, on which the phrase “*Coeur de Cap Vert* [the heart of Cape Verde]” and a butterfly in the colours of the national flag are superimposed. The sensitiveness and urgency of this case is clearly indexed by the Portuguese word “*Grave* [very serious]” with a capital G. Likewise, the two photos contrast the time before to the time after diagnosis, the latter using a close-up in order to stress the effect of the disease in an effort to create more impact on people to help. Furthermore, the phrase “*Coeur de Cap Vert* [the heart of Cape Verde]” is meant to appeal to people’s hearts and the butterfly should trigger the connotation with fragility and purity.

However, the post is not only about Lucy’s disease. It is also implicitly an entanglement of this urgent case in need with identity and colonial discourses that frame ‘the archipelago’s divide’ (cf. Batalha, 2002; Góis, 2008). Drawing on Billig’s (1995) notion of ‘banal nationalism,’ I argue that the lower part of the post is a declaration of this association identity and identifications reflecting ‘banal’ regionalism by showing the northern islands (*Barlavento* islands) and omitting the southern islands (*Sotavento* islands) of the archipelago even in the stars on the artistic butterfly in the colours of the national flag, showing the divide even in this sensitive case. The phrase “*Coeur de Cap Vert* [the heart of Cape Verde]” can also be read differently. At the same time, it also resonates with the long colonial discourses that depicted people from the northern islands (especially from São Vicente) as more civilized than the ones from southern islands, especially from Santiago (i.e. *badiu*) (see Chapter 2 above). This ‘banal’ regionalism is still fomented by the colonial discourses of superiority engrained in the phenotypic characteristics of individuals and still contributes to this divide and ‘tensions’ within ‘Cape Verdeanness’ that are also reproduced in the diaspora among Cape Verdean migrants, including those in Luxembourg. This is also salient through the competition that exists between Cape Verdean associations. On the other hand, this regionalism, a sub-national conduct rooted in the genesis of the associations, challenges the nationalism among Cape Verdean immigrants. Thus, some of our participants and Cape Verdean political stakeholders, i.e. the embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg, complain about this: As Burgo and Salvador remarked above, the official Ambassador considers this to undermine the credibility of the associations near the official stakeholders, thus hindering the immigrants’ navigation in the Grand Duchy (the Ambassador, personal communication, March 2017).

Another association I would like to highlight here is the *Association Inter-Illhas*, which organises sports events. Annually, it organises the biggest sport event concerning Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg. The event is called *Inter-Illhas* and is a football tournament that usually takes place in the summer. Migrants' teams from each island and teams of Cape Verdeans born in Luxembourg (e.g. CaboLux Team) participate. Football teams from Cape Verde used to travel to Luxembourg on an invitation from this association, but today, given the tightening of migration rules, it has become almost impossible for them to participate, because migration officials fear they might overstay. One of the 'immobile' participants (Alexandrino, see Chapter 6.2 above) I met in Santo Antão, explained his frustrations for being denied a visa several times to accompany his team for this tournament. He told me that fewer and fewer players receive access to visas, making it difficult to travel as a full team.

Concerning education, on July 2nd, 2016, *Associação Amizade Cabo Verde* (one of the oldest Cape Verdean association in Luxembourg) organised an event entitled called “*N ta konsigui* [I will succeed]”, drawing on Obama's slogan “Yes, We Can!” (for his first term campaign for the USA presidential election in 2008) and the title of a famous Cape Verdean song by Elida Almeida. During the event, children of Cape Verdean background (some born in Cape Verde, others in Portugal and Luxembourg), who ended their high school studies in the Grand Duchy that summer, received a diploma, as shown in Figure 7.9 below.



Figure 7.9 Graduation ceremony organised by *Associação Amizade Cabo Verde* at the University of Luxembourg (photograph taken by B. Tavares, July 2nd, 2016)

The event took part at the University of Luxembourg, and its immediate purpose was to motivate students of Cape Verdean background to pursue higher education. One of the main goals of this association concerns a reversal of negative statistics, stereotypes and (societal and

official) discourses associated with Cape Verdean education in Luxembourg. This association seeks to increase parents' awareness of their capacities and voices for supporting their children from the very beginning of schooling as well as for decisions that are crucial at the time of choosing the high school tracks, *Secondaire Classique, Secondaire Technique and Modulaire*, in which children of Cape Verdean background are mostly oriented to the latter track, which is less prestigious and associated with low paid jobs (cf. Horner & Weber, 2008; Weber, 2014).

Wodak (2011, p. 2017) points out that 'words can also be used to legitimate weapons.' Much the same way, discourses can be used to legitimate inequalities. These discourses and statistics position Cape Verdeans at the top of education failure and school drop-out in Luxembourg; showing few successful cases of migrant children helps to legitimise those discourses and discursively give 'full' responsibility to those who failed and their parents (cf. Weber, 2015).

As shown above, events organised by Cape Verdean associations are often constructed transnationally. Their range of activities and actions cut across nation-state borders. Depending on the core goals, key Cape Verdean figures like politicians, writers, academics or musicians and persons from other parts of the Cape Verdean diaspora are invited to come to Luxembourg and participate. For instance, for the event "*N ta konsigui*" with the students '*les baccalauréats*' referred to above, Corsino Tolentino, a writer, linguist and former Cape Verdean minister of education, as well as Jean-Jacques Weber, a professor at the University of Luxembourg, gave lectures concerning the educational system of both countries. The choice of space (University of Luxembourg) was purposeful and symbolic. The use of the first person singular "*N*" [I] in the title of the event indexes and appeals to individual efforts to overcome barriers created by structural constraints in the first place.

Given the fact that Cape Verdeans and their descendants are quite visible in the Grand Duchy, it is important not to overlook why so few of them actually study at the University of Luxembourg. Even before starting higher education, many secondary school students of migrant background are educated in Belgium and France. For instance, they take the train to Arlon every day to attend classes and return to Luxembourg. This is something the Luxembourg school system should be concerned about too (cf. Weber & Horner, 2012; Weber, 2015). The testimonies and narratives from the "*N ta Konsigui*" event were very insightful, revealing the complexity of this issue, which is often simplistically informed by official discourses reproduced especially by mainstream media and societal discourses. Most of the students who participated in the event stressed that they are going to or are already pursuing their studies at universities in France and Belgium; only two of them expressed a wish to pursue their studies at the University of Luxembourg.

This means that those students consider accessing educational spaces in the neighbouring countries rather than in their country of residence, citizenship and/or birth. Of course, there is a tradition of studying abroad in this ‘globalised’ world. This means that ‘autochthonous’ students do the same to a certain extent for several reasons: 1) the geographic centrality of Luxembourg, 2) the need for adventure and to know different realities, 3) questions of prestige, and so forth. These reasons should not be overlooked or taken for granted as the sole reasons behind those students’ mobility mode. Indeed, it can be a case of choices or/and a matter of giving and having accessibility to resources. More research is needed in order to unpack ‘this desire’ of studying abroad and reveal its articulation with employability. It is important to address this discourse of studying abroad and explore, in depth, its positive and negative impact on people’s lives and see how (Cape Verdean) students appropriate and embody it. An ethnographic study on this issue would be particularly insightful.

7.5 Summary

This chapter shows, based on the interactions in the *Epicerie Cr  ole* and its multifunctionality, the *Metissage*’s identity and branding work as well as the composition and practices of Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg that the creation of migrants’ spaces in the host countries comprises several dimensions of inequalities within migration regimes. Those spaces are created to minimize the existing inequalities re-enforced by language policies (e.g. in education) that may offer room for exploitation. As Leeman and Modan (2009) put it, material manifestations of language and ethnicity are important tools in the symbolic economy. Thus, it is important to note that entrepreneurial spaces like the *Epicerie* and *Metissage* are not only for profit. They are also spaces of pride, contestation and socialization between migrants that are often linked historically. Thus, as shown throughout this chapter, it is important to investigate how ‘pride and profit’ (Heller & Duch  ne, 2012) mingle into those spaces and time as well as the consequences for the lives of migrants. I hope I have been able to illuminate the creation and consequences for immigrants of Cape Verdean spaces in Luxembourg through a combination of traditional ethnographic methods and LL approaches, i.e. two spatial approaches that take spaces as relational practices or activities into places.

The *Epicerie* is an entrepreneurial space which, beside its profit-making rationality, which with its open door offers spaces for conviviality, voicing, contesting, mourning and sharing between people whose assumed/imagined collective identity overlaps (like Cape Verdean or the more general term, *Lusophone*, targets people originally from Portuguese-speaking

countries). It is also a space of pride indexed by its linguistic and semiotic landscape through the display of Cape Verdean islands inscribed on national flag colour scheme cards. Through discourses like “*e mas ki embaxada* [it is more than the embassy],” these allow us see its symbolic meaning for Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg as well as how spaces are constructed culturally, socially and economically, as also shown for the *Metissage*. Both entrepreneurial spaces presented here embody the simultaneity of migrants’ belonging and living across transnational spaces (visually, orally and olfactorily). They are turntables between Luxembourg and Cape Verde for immigrants.

Besides the great utility and symbolic meaning of these places for a large number of Cape Verdean immigrants and beyond (e.g. Bissau-Guineans) in coping with their condition of displacement, memories of homeland, managing family ties from Luxembourg into Cape Verde or vice versa, they are relatively ‘at the margins.’ This is to a certain extent a reflection of Cape Verdean social positioning in the Grand Duchy, i.e. at the bottom strata of society, neglected by the official discourses of multilingualism. Discourses on language also have the power of decoration, i.e. the contradictions of society can be neutralized by discourses on language and keep the gate and *status quo* in terms of privileges (cf. Duchêne et al., 2013). Due to intensification and diversification of migration in and across Europe, national languages are seen in most European societies as the medium to promote integration and social inclusion and to give citizenship rights to migrants (cf. Hogan-Brun et al., 2009).

However, this chapter also shows that a great share of Cape Verdeans, whether born in the Grand Duchy or not, have to navigate educational spaces across the border in order to improve their navigation in Luxembourg. The important point here is not to take these as cases of mobility *per se*, but to problematize how and whether they choose or are oriented to those kinds of mobility. And, finally, we must consider the role of the family, i.e. how wider discourses on language and education in Luxembourg foster and impact family positions and decisions. Further ethnographic research is needed on these specific aspects of Cape Verdean education and mobility into and from Luxembourg.

CHAPTER 8

General conclusion

8.1 Recapitulation

Let me by way of conclusion recapitulate what I intended to achieve in this thesis. I presented the sociolinguistic study that I conducted on both aspiring and accomplished Cape Verdean migrants into Luxembourg as part of a larger FNR-funded research project, the STAR Project, which investigated sociolinguistic trajectories and repertoires between Africa and Europe, more specifically between Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Luxembourg. My work here has focussed on past and present Cape Verdean mobilities to Luxembourg through the lens of language, its societal role and consequences. To this end, a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscape perspective was adopted, based on three sustained fieldwork trips to Cape Verde, and more permanent daily fieldwork in Luxembourg between 2014 and 2017. In my reading, I drew on various academic disciplines such as the anthropology of migration, the sociolinguistics of globalisation and human geography to theorise notions of mobility and immobility, trajectories, repertoires, space and place, racism and inequality. This sociolinguistic study of migration investigated emigration and immigration at once and through participant observation and longitudinal engagement with eleven focal participants who, like me, live their lives going back and forth between Luxembourg and Cape Verde, or aspire to such a life.

In the course of this ethnographic study, I had the opportunity to meet with a number of accomplished and aspiring migrants differently connected and positioned to Luxembourg. Within a relatively short period of time, they shared and helped me learn about their mobility projects, stories, frustrations and achievements. Within that time frame, I also encountered discourses, material objects and signs displayed publicly or privately that connected directly or indirectly to my research participants' individual or collective mobile experiences and aspirations. I tried to assemble all of these to develop a comprehensive understanding of those participants' trajectories, doing justice rather than reducing the complexity and differences of their trajectories.

This study has shown how the lives of migrants and non-migrants are scattered across spaces: Cape Verde, Luxembourg and beyond. The study has broadened my horizon to see the complex ways in which the uses and abuses of language and its relation 'with a variety of less easy and comfortable topics, such as class, gender and race' (Flubacher et al., 2018, p. 108)

have impacted Cape Verdean migrants' lives negatively and positively, creating different orders of 'possibility and impossibility' in trilingual Luxembourg.

In the introductory chapter, I contextualised the research interest and aims of this thesis through a linguistically defined object that resulted from a lived Cape Verdean migration trajectory: the Portuguese letter inscribed on a canvas by a retired migrant explaining his moves to Luxembourg. Chapter 1 also presented the main research questions as well as the methods used for data collection and analysis. Chapter 2 established the linguistic, historical and societal background of both Cape Verde and Luxembourg as countries of emigration and immigration, respectively. It showed that transnationalism is not altogether as new as it is assumed to be, as the Cape Verdean history of migration, colonisation and globalisation evidences. The chapter also outlined the history of Cape Verdean migration into Luxembourg, pointing at the double unexpectedness of the origins of the Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg, via Portugal in the 1970s.

Chapter 3 explained the main theoretical concepts that guided this study. It revised and engaged with the dynamic concepts of repertoires, trajectories, mobility and migration, as well as space and place from the perspectives of sociolinguistics of globalisation, the anthropology of migration and human geography, respectively, as complementary to the sociolinguistics of migration that this study identifies with. Chapter 4 critically revised methods used in traditional and recent sociolinguistic studies. It suggested a multisited ethnographic linguistic landscape approach (MELLA) which advocates a triangulation of interviews with other sources of evidence displayed linguistically, discursively and materially in the interaction of human beings and mobile things. The chapter also explained how I met the participants and critically engaged with the issues of research ethics and researcher reflexivity.

The three analytical chapters 5, 6 and 7 described and interpreted the empirical data collected both in Cape Verde and Luxembourg. Chapter 5 examined traces of Luxembourg in Cape Verde's transnational landscape as *the point of departure*. It showed that Cape Verde, as a country, and its society are highly shaped by emigration to the global North, including Luxembourg which is very present in the landscape. Chapter 6 focussed on the trajectories of *the actors in between*, i.e. aspiring and accomplished Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg. Non-migrants and less desirable categories of migrants such as deportees were included in this chapter, to call attention to the exclusiveness and desirability of current South-North mobilities, with Luxembourg as a highly sought-after destination for Cape Verdeans, regardless of mobile and multilingual capacities. The chapter showed how the lives of eleven focal participants – many of whom I consider close friends – were and are constrained or facilitated differently via

the interplay between linguistic competence, their employability and other less comfortable topics such as gender, social class and race. Taken together, these eleven portraits provide insights into the possibilities and impossibilities of migration between Cape Verde and Luxembourg and, because both older and younger or newer migrants were included, also of the life cycle of a migrant and of the changing – generally harshening – conditions of South-North mobilities over time.

Chapter 7 presented and analysed Cape Verdean spaces in Luxembourg and focused on entrepreneurial spaces and migrant associations as *the point of arrival*. It showed how Cape Verdean migrants create spaces of belonging and spaces to survive in the highly ethno-stratified labour market of Luxembourg, where Cape Verdeans are positioned at the bottom stratum. Several cases in the previous chapter already suggested that Luxembourg's trilingualism rather functions as a barrier than a bridge for economic integration, up to the point where 'language racism' should be conjectured. The seventh chapter also demonstrated how those spaces help Cape Verdeans coordinate their transnational life. In short, this thesis is structured following migrants' trajectories from *the point of departure* (Cape Verde) to *the point of arrival* (Luxembourg). The study also followed the trajectories of some virtual and material infrastructures that are undeniably implicated in migration processes and regimes from Cape Verde to Luxembourg as an EU member state.

Overall, this thesis addressed the need to go beyond mono-sited approaches to migration and the simplistic and discursive use of language competence which has been described as a salient gatekeeping device of a 'colour-blind racism'. A society that brands itself as multilingual can be just as exclusive and oppressive as one that is strictly monolingual. In what follows in this concluding chapter, I present some of the limitations of this study that I had to face and overcome. Then, I highlight the main concluding remarks based on the eleven case studies the thesis presented and point to further directions that are important to understand Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg.

8.2 Limitations of the study

As pointed out in Chapter 4 above, there are many positionalities that bind together my research participants and me as a researcher. This has both facilitated and limited my research project. As seen above, sharing the same nationality and country of origin (Cape Verde), sharing CVC as our common first language and so on helped build fast rapport between us and also allowed us to communicate in our first language during formal encounters and deep hanging out

occasions. I have the linguistic and cultural knowledge and ‘skills’ that facilitated access to my research participants. However, this was not straightforward and in some circumstances of my fieldwork it became a limitation for being a Cape Verdean researcher doing research with Cape Verdean research participants.

The data collection was also affected by the participants’ availability due to their employment, family responsibility and the way they perceived me. For example, in Cape Verde and Luxembourg I noticed that being originally from Santiago Island led some social gatekeeping agents informed by stereotypical ideologies of the colonial past to attempt and block me from accessing some conversations and participants. For example, the ‘*badiu* and *sanpadjudu* divide’ (Batalha, 2002) explained in Chapters 2 above affected this study in terms of both my self-censorship and my knowledge that this divide is long-marked by phenotypical distinctions informed by the colonial past. For example, my awareness and observations of this divide made me fail to build rapport with some Cape Verdean migrants originally from São Vicente after several attempts.

Similarly, in Mindelo (in São Vicente) I felt the same sense of failure sometimes. For example, during my second fieldwork stay there, I revisited Aguinaldo, one of our focal participants (see Chapter 6 above). Remember that, like me, Aguinaldo is a *badiu* but has resided in Mindelo since his retirement with his wife originally from Santo Antão. That day, Aguinaldo was about to give me a lift from his house to the place where I was hosted in Mindelo. When we had just left his house, we met another retiree from Luxembourg. Aguinaldo enthusiastically introduced me to the retiree, and I started to tell him about our project to see if he could also participate, but he just ignored me and kept addressing Aguinaldo as if he did not hear anything I was saying, so I stopped and Aguinaldo took me to my place in his car. Similar to Aguinaldo, that man could have become a focal participant for this study since he had lived most of his life in Luxembourg too, as Aguinaldo told me. Unfortunately, my access to his life story was blocked right there at the first moment. Ethnography is highly dependent on research participants. Research participation simply works both ways: my participants self-selected to engage with me as a researcher at least as much as I as I researcher could select who to engage with in this research. Fieldwork-based ethnographic researcher-research participant relationships function more or less the same way as friendship: based on mutual understanding and interest.

As seen in Chapter 4 above and here with these additional examples, race, class and gender among other things had a great impact on this research. That is why, as a result of my fieldwork experiences, I tried ‘to engage critically with the insider-outsider divide in migration research’

(Carling et al., 2014, pp. 36-37). I took differences in class, age, education, gender and race seriously as a ‘methodological duty that should not be veiled by ethno-national status’ (Carling et al., p. 52). However, as noted in Chapter 6, most of the focal participants were men. The interviews with female participants were usually shorter and only a few of them led to follow-ups. This depended on their family responsibilities as well as the fact that I am a man. Gender issues significantly affected this research. For example, while I could have phoned my male research participants at any time with nearly no embarrassment, I had to be more cautious about the time to call, places to meet and so on when it came to women. As Hymes (1996, p. 13) puts it, ‘the particular characteristics of the ethnographer are themselves an instrument of the inquiry ... age, sex, race or talents of the ethnographer may make some knowledge accessible that would be difficult of access to another.’

Furthermore, as Carling et al. (2014, p. 38) remind us, the ‘insider-outsider divides are relationally constructed in the encounter between researcher and [research participants].’ And ‘ethno-national origin is ... one possible element of individual identity ... that should not be uncritically accepted as the primary group boundaries in migration processes’ (Carling et al., p. 38). In some circumstances I felt that my research participants took me for granted as an insider, for being also a Cape Verdean migrant. On several occasions, this meant I had to repeat questions strategically as a way to make them go deeper in their narratives about their migration experiences, which indeed overlapped with my own migration experiences, albeit in different modes. That is why I perceived my participants as co-researchers and, analogously, myself as a co-migrant. In addition, I was aware of some uncomfortable topics, such as race, that they shared with me.

They perhaps would not have shared it with a white researcher or at least they would have been more contained or not shared it in the way they shared it with me as a black researcher and Cape Verdean like them. This created a strong sense of commonality between us, and during these four years I have learned a lot from all of my research participants about language and migration and about life in general. My conversations and conviviality with them made me more aware of inequality, but above all created new alliances and friendships, that will surely continue beyond the time limitations of the funded project. I don't suppose that this dissertation featuring their voices, experiences and struggles is a form of giving back to them, or even to the community as a whole. All I can do is humbly retribute with friendship and gratitude, as I am forever indebted for they have done far more for me than I have done for them. I hope to have done justice to their voices and struggles here, and that the occurrence of their names featuring on these pages makes them more proud than embarrassed.

8.3 Concluding remarks and further directions

The thesis has shown how complex and fragile mobile life options are in our time; a time in which, as Carling (2002, p. 37) puts it, ‘involuntary immobility and globalisation take place together.’ Alexandrino only encountered rejections in his attempts to find mobility to France and Luxembourg; Marku and Carlos were admitted to travel to Europe but expelled when they did not comply with the terms and conditions of their visa. After a decade of clandestinity, Sonia emotionally gave up Europe, while Jorge may be luckier and more successful than those who are in Cape Verde as he managed to remain in Luxembourg. However, he has struggled with ‘language racism’ (Weber, 2015), i.e. with his linguistic subalternity in his professional and educational life in Luxembourg.

All of them struggle in different places, in different ways and for different reasons. They struggle according to their aspirations and expectations, but their achievements and trajectories are affected and determined by a combination of their personality traits and subjectivity, including their educational and multilingual repertoire. All the cases remind us that being in Luxembourg, being in Europe or in the North more generally, is a privilege – something that is apparently worth struggling for. Being rejected time and again as in Alexandrino’s case, or being deported as in Marku’s and Carlos cases, marks that privilege. At the same time, it produces a subclass of immobiles, ineligible for or unworthy of North-bound mobility (cf. Gaibazzi, 2012). It becomes clear that not all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights as far as transnational mobility is concerned. The individual’s right to move around and cross borders is subordinate to the sovereignty of states to grant access to their territory to those it elects, and to deny this to anyone else.

As far as language is concerned, I believe that this thesis has shown how language is both itself a struggle and a means of overcoming struggles for geopolitical and social mobility. In a context where multilingualism is so capitalised on, such as in Luxembourg, multilingualism remains a site of struggle and selection where certain kinds of multilingualism are privileged and others are devalued (Garrido, 2017). It is not a question of having diversified multilingualism, the point is to be associated with the right multilingualism in a particular place (Duchêne et al., 2013, p. 5). But this struggle and this distinction do not begin in the country of reception, they are already part of the sending context. We are reminded of fisherman Alexandrino saying that knowing French would be good.

Furthermore, a point this thesis makes me, as a student of language, keep returning to is that mobility is not all about language. It is just as much (or more) about social class and the real

economy. Professional qualifications determine to a great extent who gains access to transnational mobility and who does not. Today, it is hardly surprising that a fisherman (Alexandrino) with very limited literacy does not succeed in travelling, while a travel agent (Jorge) manages to find his way. Although social class and profession largely determine who gets to travel and who gets to sit still, young and even middle-aged men and women of all social classes and professional qualifications in Cape Verde equally desire and seek opportunities to travel. The aspiration to travel is not socially determined; only the ability to do so is. As Alexandrino's case revealed to us, one of the greatest paradoxes of our time is that those who need migration the most to survive, are most often denied access to migration. On the basis of their passports alone, citizens from the global North possess worldwide 'ease of movement' (Carling 2002) while the ones from the global South are mostly constrained, confined and restricted to South-South mobilities or to stay put.

Concerning employment, it seems that cleaning and construction work are usually the first jobs for Cape Verdean migrants in Luxembourg, independent of their prior qualifications, skills and training. As revealed throughout the cases presented in Chapter 6, Jorge's and Salvador's are telling cases of the central role of language as a gatekeeping device and as a tool of empowerment as it is for example in Orlando's case. This may lead many migrants to concentrate in those areas of work, contributing to the increase of sub-employment in the Grand Duchy. This produces a racial stratification of the labour market, which is more salient in low-paid private work sectors (with less language requirements) than in high-paid public sector work.

Bourdieu (1991, p. 55) points out that 'speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence' (cited in Piller, 2012, p. 9). This resonates with Julio's suggestion of being humble and obedient as a way of surviving in a host country. As Piller puts it, 'on a systemic level, the exclusion of migrants on the basis of their real or perceived lack of proficiency ... creates a pool of people with a lack of employment options at their level and thus forces them into low-paid work' (Piller, 2012, p. 23). For instance, Salvador's narrative points to the pool of workers that is shaped by race and their linguistic devaluation.

Taken together, the cases demonstrate that access to jobs is not free of race and ethnicity and that the interplay between language and citizenship is often used as a proxy to maintain and withhold privileges. It seems that language has become one of the most 'legitimate excuses' of labour denial and, thus, substituting other societal subjectivities and social hierarchies. In the narratives of the older migrants (Julio, Domingos, Aguinaldo), there is a striking absence of

examples of language as an excluding tool. In contrast, the more recent narratives of younger migrants, starting from Jorge, Salvador to Luis and Orlando, show the role of language as a gatekeeper and as one of the main tools of differentiation at work. However, as Jorge showed, even this can be overcome and successfully challenged.

Reading in between the lines of Aguinaldo's, Julio's and Domingo's narratives of their language and migratory life to Luxembourg, and taking into consideration the Language Law of 1984 (which declared Luxembourgish an official language alongside French and German), gives important insight into the evolution of the language situation in Luxembourg and helps to examine 'the relationship between language and the production of nation-states' (Dick, 2011, p. 228). The life trajectories of the three retirees (Julio, Domingos and Aguinaldo) offer a nuanced knowledge of the evolving world order from colonisation to current globalisation, and they help us understand the paradoxes in between (at least concerning crossings between Africa and Europe).

Today, in Luxembourg and elsewhere in Europe, there is a strong emphasis on language learning before work that obfuscates and rarely considers the opposite direction, i.e. learning language through work or in the context of work. This alternative, however, should not be overlooked, as the cases above have shown. There is a need for balancing these 'two sides of the same coin,' instead of instrumentalizing language as always the first requirement, which contributes to growing exclusion, inequality and exploitation. Furthermore, in the Luxembourg context, despite the official focus on learning Luxembourgish, which migrants are well aware of, it is less clear whether migrants have the opportunity to learn this language in practice. For example, as seen above, the participants attribute the importance of this language in their lives predominantly to satisfying local Luxembourgers, i.e. to small-talk conviviality. They have experienced many moments in which addressing even a few Luxembourgish words to ethnic Luxembourgers affected positively at least the way they were being treated, for example, on the workfloor or at public state institutions.

The thesis also showed that migrant success depends largely on the age of migration and the social capital acquired in the host country. In the eyes of most members of the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg, Salvador, Luis and Orlando are examples of successful migration, so they are capitalized on and honoured by Cape Verdean officials on their visits to the Grand Duchy. Note that all three migrated via family reunification; however, Luis faced more difficulties than Orlando and Salvador since he re-migrated from Portugal at a young age, where he left his parents, brothers and sisters. As Orlando and Salvador pointed out, they define their migration to Luxembourg as special, compared to most Cape Verdean migrants, because they

were older and had no close relatives in Luxembourg. Orlando underlined: “*e ka igual ku kel algen ki ben el so, pamo anos nu atxa kaza, N txiga N dadu dokumentu, pamo dja ten algen li ki, ten algen li ki dja pasa un, doz, trez, otu dez anu li sen dokumentu ... ten txeu kuzas* [it is not equal with those who came alone, because we found house, as soon as I arrived I was given the papers, because there are those who, there are those who have spent one, two, three, others ten years here without papers ... there are many things].” Likewise, as shown above, Salvador obtained an ‘expedited citizenship,’ via sports, which changed his life for the better.

Orlando’s and Salvador’s arrival was smoothed (i.e. less compartmentalised), since they joined their parents, who were already established, with minimal means to support them. Furthermore, Orlando, Salvador and Luis benefited from their young age when arriving in Luxembourg (15, 17 and 18 years, respectively), as it allowed them to acquire and accumulate networks as well as economic and social capital faster. In total, there are hardly more than a dozen Cape Verdean entrepreneurs like Salvador, Orlando and Luis, despite the relatively long history of Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg. Some of the reasons for this have been illustrated above through those three cases, but further research on this would be crucial to understanding Cape Verdean trajectories into the Grand Duchy.

Migration has long been studied unidirectionally and particular attention has been given to its economic, political and social impacts on the countries of settlement. As Carling et al. (2014, p. 38) put it, ‘despite the transnational turn in migration studies, most research is focused on immigration and integration – that is, on processes in the destination country.’ The case studies presented in this thesis have shown that migration constitutes a struggle and it is a fundamentally economic indicator and manifestation of power. The different case studies show us that while in the past migrants’ difficulties with weather, housing condition and overt racism were the major problems for the first wave, the last waves have suffered more of a ‘linguistic penalty’ (Roberts, 2013) that makes their lives more difficult in Luxembourg, as Jorge’s and Salvador’s cases saliently demonstrated. There is an ‘avidity’ of linguistic penalty in Luxembourg that negatively affects many kinds of migrants and contributes to disqualify them and push them into an unequal struggle to requalify themselves paradoxically via language as Jorge’s case showed unequivocally.

Neoliberal language discourses posit language more and more as a commensurable product than a talent, and as a means to structure labour markets (Kull, 2007; Duchêne et al., 2013). In the host country, ‘language acquisition is [often] approached from a literacy-based perspective, according to which languages are learned from formal training rather than direct and regular

interactions' (Vigouroux, 2017, p. 321). In the Luxembourg context, for example, this sometimes blurs migrants' decisions in choosing in which language(s) to invest first, since in the labour market it is hardly considered the possibility of improving language competence at work. That is why, in short, I argue for some important further directions to understand Cape Verdean migration into Luxembourg: 1) to embrace the political dimensions of migration in both countries by going beyond the solidarity dimension of the relations between them; 2) to investigate why and how Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg and their children often appear in the lowest strata of employment and on the top of school failure; and in connection with this 3) why many Cape Verdeans (and also Portuguese) living and working in Luxembourg feel obliged to send their children to school in neighbouring countries (France and Belgium), i.e. to what extent this mobility is a voluntary choice or the only choice? All these can be unpacked via deep ethnographic studies seeking to understand the processuality of inequality and the role of language on it. I believe that one of the first steps is to raise consciousness about the linguistic penalty which is not neutral and continues to download costs on migrants, thus, expanding the avenues of inequalities. One way to overcome it, is to recognise it and act to eliminate it instead of re-enforcing it.

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Appendix A

Information and consent form (IC):

IC N# 1- English version


UNIVERSITÉ DU
LUXEMBOURG

ETHICS REVIEW PANEL
RESEARCH PARTICIPANT
INFORMATION & CONSENT FORM

(English version)

***Sociolinguistic trajectories and repertoires:
Luso-Luxo-African identifications, interactions and imaginations (STAR)***

This study is part of a project at the University of Luxembourg on language and migration between Lusophone West Africa (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) and Europe (Luxembourg). The project is a sociolinguistic study, i.e. principally focused on language in society. The study aims to collect experiences of migration in the form of stories, observations, interviews, and other means, both in the South and in the North.

By signing this form, I agree to participate and be interviewed for this study and understand that all information conveyed will be treated with integrity by the researchers. This means either safeguarding my anonymity or giving recognition to my contribution, as specified below.

I want my contribution to this research to remain anonymous (without my real name); we agree on the following pseudonym: _____

I want my contribution to this research to be recognized (with my real name).

The researcher has informed me about the project and I could ask questions to the researcher. For more questions about this research, please visit starprojectlux.blogspot.com or contact the principal investigator, Dr. Kasper Juffermans (kasper.juffermans@uni.lu).

PARTICIPANT

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Place & date: _____

RESEARCHER administering this form:

I have informed the above-mentioned participant orally and in writing on the nature (as well as the potential consequences) of the study, and that I have given the participant the opportunity to ask any questions.

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Place & date: _____



ETHICS REVIEW PANEL

**FORMULÁRIO DE INFORMAÇÃO E CONSENTIMENTO
PARTICIPANTE DA PESQUISA**

(versão em português)

***Trajetórias e repertórios sociolinguísticos:
identificações, interações e imaginações Luso-Luxo-Africanos (STAR)***

Este estudo faz parte de um projeto da Universidade de Luxemburgo, em linguagem e migração entre os países lusófonos da África Ocidental (Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde) e o Luxemburgo, na Europa. O projeto é um estudo sociolinguístico, principalmente focado no papel da língua em sociedade. O estudo visa recolher experiências de migração em forma de histórias, observações, entrevistas e outros meios, no Sul e no Norte.

Ao assinar este formulário eu aceito participar e ser entrevistado para este estudo, e comprehendo que todas as informações veiculadas serão tratadas com integridade pelos pesquisadores. Isso significa a salvaguarda do meu anonimato ou o reconhecimento da minha contribuição, conforme especificado abaixo.

Eu gostaria que a minha contribuição para esta pesquisa permanecesse anónima (sem o meu nome real); estou de acordo com o seguinte pseudónimo: _____.

Eu gostaria que a minha contribuição para esta pesquisa fosse reconhecida com o meu nome real.

O pesquisador informou-me sobre o projeto e eu pude fazer perguntas para o pesquisador. Para mais questões relacionadas com esta pesquisa, por favor visite starprojectlux.blogspot.com ou entre em contato com o investigador principal, Dr. Kasper Juffermans (kasper.juffermans@uni.lu).

PARTICIPANTE

Nome: _____

Assinatura: _____ Local e data: _____

PESQUISADOR administrado esta formulário:

Eu informei o participante mencionado oralmente e por escrito sobre a natureza (bem como as possíveis consequências do estudo) e tenho dado ao participante a oportunidade de fazer qualquer pergunta.

Nome: _____

Assinatura: _____ Local e data: _____

Appendix B

A newspaper article about the *Epicérie Cr  ole* (*Contacto*, April 12th, 2017)

Appendix C

A list of Cape Verdean associations in Luxembourg provided by the Embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg

Associations Capverdiennes au Luxembourg		
Denomination	Adresse	Email/personne de contact
Associação Grupo Amizade Caboverdiana	19, rue Michel Welter L-2730 Luxembourg	amizade.caboverdiana.lux@gmail.com https://www.facebook.com/amizadecaboverdiana
Associação Sabura de Porto Novo		georginadaluz@hotmail.com Mme Georgina
Associação S. Vicente		Neusa.Piraino@ec.europa.eu soncente.lu@hotmail.com info@laimmo.lu
Associação CaboLux		calurumold@hotmail.com caboluxfj@hotmail.fr M Calú/ Neusa Monteiro
APADOC Ass. Parents d'élèves capverdiens	46, rue de Mühlenbach L-2168 Luxembourg	apadoc9@gmail.com /Mme Aleida Lopes barrosdeb25@hotmail.com / Mme Debora sousamarie@hotmail.com / Mme Maria Sousa
Association EducActions CapVert	9, rue Antoine Diederich L-4254 Esch Alzette	gomes-ganeto@hotmail.fr
Associação Notre Dame du Nord / Wiltz		luceteramos@gmail.com
Associação Ami Ku Nhôs	47, rue Vauban L-2663 Luxembourg	ami.kunhos.asbl@hotmail.com M Alfredo/ M Otílio Moreira
Associação Veteranos do Norte	26, rue de la Colline L- Ettelbruck	fonseca_amilton@live.com roberto.lima@live.fr veteranosdonorte@hotmail.com
Associação Estrela do Norte		M Antão Freitas
Associação Inter Ilhas		Valery/Mateus Pires
Organisation Capverdienne au Luxembourg	16, rue Henri Vannerus L-2662 Luxembourg	oclfed@hotmail.com
A.S.B.L. Comité Spencer	10, rue du Centre L-8282 Kehlen	susymonteiro@msn.com
Association Groupe 40+	64, rue de Feulen L-9043 Ettelbruk	monteiro-maria@hotmail.fr

CVED CapVert Espoir et Développement	17, rue du moulin L-4933 Bascharage	info@cvedsite.org
Associação Luso-Cabo-Verdiana	1, rue de Houffalize L-1737 Luxembourg	
Associação Amigos de Santo Antão	Impasse 2-rue de l'Arcade L-9014 Ettelbruck	Manuel Piloto Benjamin M Albertino Neves-Président
Federação Associações Cabo-Verdianas		salette.rocha@sgggroup.com Pedro Lima-sécret. João da Luz – Président
Amitié des veterans Capverdiens du Lux.	48, rue August Letellier L-1932 Luxembourg	Joana Lopes dos Santos
Association d'amitié avec Peuple Cap-verd.	9, rue Bertholet L-1233 Luxembourg	M Carlo BACK
Associação ARCA-CV	27, rue de la Fontaine L-4122 Esch-sur Alzette	Mme Rosy Rodrigues
Associação Ettelbruck	8, op der Schlaed L-9136 Schieren	Manuel MONTEIRO
Associação Caboverdiana do Sul	157, rue Chemin Rouge L-4480 Soleuvre	npirass@gmail.com M Carlos Rocha Delgado
Association Étoile du Cap Vert	67, rue de la Croix L-9216 Diekirch	Maria Rodrigues / Maria Santos
Association Malta Lux	50, rue Louis XIV L-1948 Luxembourg	Elizabete Lopes
Association Développement Ribeira d Torre	47, rue de Gasperich L-1617 Luxembourg	Francisco Nascimento Mota
C.O. Miss CV	6, rue Tony Bourg L-1278 Luxembourg	salette.rocha@sgg.lu sarocha@hotmail.fr rochasalette@gmail.com
C.O. Miss CV	66, rue de Pontpierre L-3940 Luxembourg	
Culture Cap-verdienne au Luxembourg	16, rue St. Pierre L-4646 Niederkorn	cultura.cabolux@live.fr M Nelson Neves nevesnel@hotmail.com
F.C. Amílcar Cabral	1, rue de Houffalize L-2146 Luxembourg	djony.djony@hotmail.fr
F.c. Criolas do Norte	4, rue de la Gare L-9420 Vianden	José Orlando Rodrigues
Associação Nos Vale		nosvale@hotmail.com
F.C. Estrela Amadora do Norte	45, rue de Bastogne L-9011 Ettelbruck	fcestrelaamadora@hotmail.fr zimdyaya@hotmail.com

		M Antão/ M Orlando Santos
F.C. Sporting de Santo Antão	53, rue du Kiem L-1857 Luxembourg	
Grupo Femme Capverdienne	28, rue de Bonnevoie L- 1260 Luxembourg	Isabel Flor Brito
Grupo Motivação Feminina	125, rue de Beggen L-1221 Luxembourg	catydagraça@hotmail.com
Ney Évora e seu grupo	29, rue de l'Égalité L-1456 Luxembourg	
PILON	3, rue des Trevires L-2628 Luxembourg	Ambrósio Gomes
OCL Org. Des associations CV	Place de la Libération L- 9070 Ettelbruck	josemauricio632@hotmail.com
Associação Velha Guarda do Luxemburgo	16, rue du Parc L-2313 Luxembourg	António Lima
Cultura Cabo Verde- Luxemburgo asbl		ccl.asbl@facebook.com
Câmara de Comércio Luxemburgo Cabo- Verde (CCLCV)		www.cclcv.lu
Lux Maio		Helena-Santos56@hotmail.com
Associação Monte Sossego		montesossegolux@hotmail.com
Associação Santo Antão		Josémauricio632@hotmail.com assantilux@gmail.com José Maurício
Black Boys		christianrodrig17@gmail.com

Appendix D

Interview grids (IG):

IG N# 1



Date:

Your experience in (country)

GENERAL

Name	
When?	
Programme	
With whom?	
Itinerary	

BEFORE

How did you hear about/apply for it?	
Why were you selected?	

DURING

Where did you go? (cities, provinces)	
What did you see/do? What impressed you?	
Was it your first trip abroad?	

How did you experience being out of CV?	
---	--

AFTER

Did it change the way you see things? (views)	
Did it change the way people see you? (status)	
Are you keeping contact with people you met? From where? How?	
Do you have any Luxembourgish/French etc. friends here in CV?	
Will this trip help you travel in the future?	

CONCLUSION

What do you consider the main rewards of this trip?	
Do you think you will go back to (country)?	
Anything else do you want to add?	

About the trip to(country)

--

About the trip to (country)

Which of these trips/countries did you like the most? Why?
--

IG N# 2



Your language and
migration trajectory

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

GENERAL

Name	
Age	
Since when? -out of CV -in Lux	
With whom?	

LIFE BEFORE MIGRATION

What were you doing back home?	
Why did you decide to leave? What were your expectations?	
What difficulties did you experience preparing for migration? (visa...)	
Did you take language classes?	
Did you have relatives abroad? Did they help you migrate? How?	

TRAJECTORIES

What places did you transit? What did you do? Why did you leave again?	
Did your language knowledge influence your choices?	
Do you go back and forth? How often? Why?	
Does migration change the way you look at your country?	
Does migration change the way people see you? (status)	

LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE

What languages do you speak?	
Where and when did you learn them? -Creole -Portuguese -French -English -Luxembourgish -others?	
When and with whom do you use these languages? -friends -children -at work -phone -family in CV	

What's the importance of learning languages for a migrant?	
--	--

LUXEMBOURG

Why Luxembourg?	
What did you know about Luxembourg?	
Are you happy here?	
Are you planning to move again? Where?	

CONCLUSION

Did you make a good decision moving? No regrets?	
Would you do things differently now?	
Anything else you want to add?	

Appendix E

First interview with Aguinaldo - transcription

(1) **Bernardino (B):** pa N odja, nton ten doz, ten doz parti, mas ou menus, ten un parti ki e mas sobri lingua y ten kelotu parti ki e mas sobri sperensia fora.

(2) **Aguinaldo (A):** uhunn

(3) **B:** podi ser na Luxamburgu ou na otus paizis ahh otus paizis stranjerus sin, Purtugal, Holanda, ou Fransa

(4) **A:** uhunn

(5) **B:** tudu kes la. Nton nu podi komesa nton, no nomi di nho e modi?

(6) **A:** Aguinaldo, Aguinaldo Lopes Correia

(7) **B:** Aguinaldo Lopes Correia, ok. Oji e dia dizoitu ne?

(8) **A:** oxi e dia dizoitu

(9) **B:** sin dizoitu di doz di 2015. Ahh nton sobri sobri lingua mas ou menus, dja nu falaba na kela kelotu bes sobri mas ou menus kantu lingua nhu ta nhu ta persebi ou nhu ta fala...?

(10) **A:** nau *em termos de lingua* mi e grandi, ihh grandi *muito amador de aprendizagem sobre línguas*

(11) **B:** ya

(12) **A:** *apartir da língua portuguesa* ki foi nha lingua prontu studadu dimeu

(13) **B:** ya

(14) **A:** ma prontu N komesa fransez ja logo na kaminhu *a destino* pa Luxamburgu

(15) **B:** sin

(16) **A:** porque como djes flaba mi ma Luxamburgu era un pais *bilingue*

(17) **B:** sin

(18) **A:** entao N komesa ta studa Fransez afin di N dizaraska logu na prumeru dia

(19) **B:** ya

(20) **A:** *entao* N txiga na Luxamburgu N tivi menus problemas ki algun *dos outros* ki txiga sen ideia nunhun

(21) **B:** sin

(22) **A:** porke N kunpra un livru na Purtugal Fransez ki era –“*Francês tal e qual se fala*”

(23) **B:** sin

(24) **A:** nton ku kel livrinhu N txiga na Luxamburgu dja N sabeba pediba taxi, N sabia pediba kumida, N sabia pediba agua, N sabia pediba adresu purke djan tinha nha adresu di patron

(25) **B:** ya

(26) **A:** N sabia informa, purgunta nomi di patron ki N tinha, modi ki N ta pediba, nton *aquilo* da-n grandi apoiu

(27) **B:** sin sin

(28) **A:** y apartir di la, prontu dipoz ki N integra na Luxamburgu N fazi *um pequeno curso de Alemão*,

(29) **B:** ya

(30) **A:** N ta fala Alemon malmenti, poku

(31) **B:** sin e sempri bon

(32) **A:** mas prontu N ta konprendi *alguma coisa* ki ora ki N ba na Alemanha N ka ta mori di fomi

(33) **B:** ya

(34) **A:** y dipos N ben fazi purke na tenpu kuandu N fazi alemon nha interesi era fazeba Luxamburges mas ainda Luxamburges era *dialecte*, era *patois*, ka ka tinha kursu, ma dipos uns tenpus ben, Luxamburges ben ofisializa

(35) **B:** ya

(36) **A:** *então* dja nu ben ten kursu di Luxamburges mesmu, N fazi kursu di Luxamburges, N ta papia Luxamburges tanbe poku ma prontu N ta ta si N atxa otu algen ki ka sabi otu lingua nu ta fala

(37) **B:** sin sin

(38) **A:** pois e de la, *perante contacto*, N ta fala Italianu ate midjor di ki, N ta fala Italianu kuazi igual ku Franses ki N ta fala,

(39) **B:** ya

(40) **A:** N ta fala Spanhol igual kuuu Italianu ou Purtuges tanben,

(41) **B:** sin

(42) **A:** y N ta rinka un pokinho di Holandes ihhh *voila* e si [laughs]

(43) **B:** sin

(44) **A:** so pa kontaktu kuuu ku amigus

(45) **B:** sin kela kela e mutu interesanti,

(46) **A:** pois

(47) **B:** mas o menus kes kes otu linguas la Italianu, Spanhol, Holandes nhu prendii ku kolegas ou?

(48) **A:** so ku kolegas na, so ku relason na trabadju

(49) **B:** sin

(50) **A:** purke N ta trabadjaba na “*Dupont de Nemours*” ki era un fabrica Amerikanu tenha
txeu Italianus

(51) **B:** sin

(52) **A:** y tinha txeu *espanhois* tanbe

(53) **B:** sin

(54) **A:** *então* ben ki prendi lingua ka ta dexaba nos falta purke nu ta trabadjaba igual un
kualker di nos kuandu nu presizaba kualker kuza na superior era ku lingua Fransez mas
pronto na ora di kume ku ambienti ku divertimentu nu ta kuza prontu N prendi fala
Italianu y Spanhol la na, na kel trabadju.

(55) **B:** ya, sin kela e importanti ya ... ah keli e modi ki, undi, modi ki nhu konsigi prendi
kes lingua la mas kela di un forma jeral dja dja nhu respondi, ki e sobri ku kolegas na
trabadju

(56) **A:** sobri kontaktus, *voila*

(57) **B:** sin kolega di trabadju, ya

(58) **A:** uhun

(59) **B:** ah ihh dun forma jeral, ke kal ke ke importansia pur izemplu di di prendi di
prendi linguas mas ou mens?

(60) **A:** nau importansia di prendi lingua, *isso quase se designa individualmente, cada quem
tem cada coisa à sua maneira*

(61) **B:** sin

(62) **A:** ami nha importansia di fala lingua N ta gosta txeu di di satisfazi stranjeru li di si
purguntan un kuza pan sabi risponde-l

(63) **B:** yea

(64) **A:** *como nas alturas*, pur izemplu dia di onti nu ta pasaba na karnaval na etcnernarch

(65) **B:** sin

(66) **A:** *era muita influencia alemã*

(67) **B:** sin yea

(68) **A:** tinha txeu alemon nton sta na kel festa bu ka sabi fala bu ka tinha komu kontakta ku
amigo bu ka ta adikiri amizadi

(69) **B:** sin

(70) **A:** *então esse foi* nha motivason di prokura sabi kuze ki bu ta fala pa N flau ti undi N ta bai ou sinon pa N prendi ku bo pa nu bai un bokadinhu, e ski nha interesi di kontaktu ku povu stranjeru pa un kualker lingua

(71) **B:** sin

(72) **A:** *a não seja* Fransez ki dja protje-n na trabadju, proteje-n dja na dizenvolvimentu *de dias futura*,

(73) **B:** sin kel bes era Fransez ki era lingua ofisial?

(74) **A:** era Fransez ki era lingua ofisial na, te inda te inda

(75) **B:** uhun ti inda

(76) **A:** lingua na Luxamburgu juridikamenti e Fransez y Alemon. Ma prontu Luxamburges dipos ki ben ofisializa dja kriansas na skola pre-primariu dja komesa ta daduu

(77) **B:** Luxamburges

(78) **A:** Luxamburges

(79) **B:** yea

(80) **A:** *então* dja gosi es sata dal mesmuu ma prontu dja te inda e ka ta sai di Luxamburgu, e so pa la

(81) **B:** sin sin

(82) **A:** pois, ma prontu e muitu interesanti prendi Luxamburges tanbe purke ten txeu velhus ki ora ki bu risponde-l un palavra na Luxamburges ta fika kontenti ta ta

(83) **B:** yea

(84) **A:** ta adikiri amizadi

(85) **B:** amizadi ahun

(86) **A:** anton mi N ta fla pa mi prendia Luxamburges e so pa adikiri amizadi ku ken ki ka ta falaa Fransez purke te inda gosi talves nau purke dja kel dja ka mo... ma dja na nha tenpu tinhia txeu Luxamburges ki ka sabia falaba Fransez

(87) **B:** yea

(88) **A:** ta falaba unikamenti Luxamburges

(89) **B:** sin sin

(90) **A:** *então* pa bu ser amigu k'os pa bu kuza bu tinhia ki prokuraba konprende-s un bokadinhu

(91) **B:** yea

(92) **A:** es ki foi nha interesi di prendi *algumas línguas*

(93) **B:** ya

(94) **A:** [coughing]

(95) **B:** mutu importanti, ya sin nhu baba pa Luxamburgu na na ki anu? Dja nhu flaba mi ma

(96) **A:** na 1970

(97) **B:** 1970, y nhu fika la ti?

(98) **A:** teee *voila* dois mil y, nau ja na anu doz mil

(99) **B:** ahun

(100) **A:** N raforma na 98

(101) **B:** sin sin

(102) **A:** na anu dos mil N komesa ta ben dja na doz N konstrui kaza na Kabu Verdi
foi já na 96

(103) **B:** ahun

(104) **A:** N tivi di konstrui, nton na anu 2000 2002 N trazi karu, mobiliarus tudu di la
 dja radika na Kabu Verdi

(105) **B:** yea

(106) **A:** ma prontu fika ku relason dja N ta ben N ta bai

(107) **B:** yea

(108) **A:** apartir di anu 2000 dja N fika na Kabu Verdi

(109) **B:** ya, ihh kuandu nhu ta baba pa purmeru bes pa Luxamburgu nhu baba, nhu
 baba ku otus ku otus amigus ou nhu bai nho so ou?

(110) **A:** nau Nnn bai mi so

(111) **B:** ya

(112) **A:** Luxamburgu e ka era konhesidu nas alturas

(113) **B:** sin

(114) **A:** nomi di Luxamburgu ka txigaba Kabu Verdi inda

(115) **B:** sin sin

(116) **A:** N bai na Purtugal, nha aspirason era Fransa ou Holanda

(117) **B:** ya

(118) **A:** ki era konhesidu ki dja tinha imigrantis di rigresu na Kabu Verdi... *então* N
 bai na Purtugal mas komu mi nha aspirason e ka era so skodjeba pais, nha aspirason era
 tra nha dia di tarabadju

(119) **B:** sin ya

(120) **A:** atxaba trabadju, nton na penson undi ki N staba kel senhor sempri nu ta falaba
 di ves enkuandu, N fle-l nha interesi di ben pa stranjeru, kel dia e txoma-n e fla-n odja-
 manhan ten ten un amigo ki ta ben di Luxamburgu ki e Kriolu

(121) **B:** yea

(122) **A:** purke es omi li pur izemplu dje duraba na Purtugal, dje tinhia txeu anu na Purtugal

(123) **B:** sin sin

(124) **A:** e fla-n ten un amigu *do que* ta ben y si bu kre bu ta ba pa Luxamburgu djuntu kol, N fla N ta bai, ihh e fla Luxamburgu N atxa nomi fedi, Luxamburgu ka sabi

(125) **B:** sin kes tenpu

(126) **A:** ma bon mi N fla nha boka ka sta la, N ta bai

(127) **B:** yea

(128) **A:** nton N kumpanha kel omi *de facto*, alias e da-nu adresu, nos era trez, kuatu, nos era kuatu da-nu nos inderesu

(129) **B:** sin

(130) **A:** purke el e tinhia un menina ki e kreba trazeba mas ka tinhia dukumentu es sata binha kol ku pasador

(131) **B:** sin sin ya

(132) **A:** nton el e ben pa un kaminhu nos nu ben pa otu, nos nu tinhia dukumentu nu panha komboiu diretu pa Luxamburgu, nu txiga prumeru ki el ate

(133) **B:** ya

(134) **A:** ma prontu nu ben ku kel inderesu nu txiga nu bai pa kel lugar, ihhh es patron li, dj'es tinhia tanbe faladu pa patron purke kel bes trabadju era sinplis, kel patron flel pe ranjel algun trabadjadoris *então* patron fika kontenti pamodi e manda-l kuartu, nu bai ku inderesu txiga nu aprizenta patron aderesu ki nu dadu, e ingaja di nos kelora e fla si nu ta komesa kel otu dia, kes otus komesa otu dia mas mi komu N mas malandru N fla N ka ata trabadja manhan [laughs]

(135) **B:** [laughs]

(136) **A:** N txiga oxi manhan N ka ta trabaia era

(137) **B:** [laughs] sin ta arma diskansa un bokadinho

(138) **A:** era un kinta fera *parece-me*, kinta fera si nu ta trabadja sesta fera

(139) **B:** uhun

(140) **A:** N fla na mi trabadja e so segunda fera N ka ata trabadja manhan

(141) **B:** sin sin

(142) **A:** *então* dispos segunda fera N komesa trabadju, N txiga kes patrons es era kuatu irmons tudu es era xefi di, es tudu es tinhia ses sekson di trabadju y nos nu bai ku un ki ta trabadja na Beljika, nu bai pa Beljika ki nos na prinsipi nu fika sen konxi Luxamburgu. Nu txiga nu ba pa Beljika nu ba trabadja na

(143) **B:** sin

(144) **A:** na Beljika. Es da-nu tudu ki era presizu, sapatu, ropa, ropas di di ropas di friu nau, ker dizer ropa inpermiavel ki ka ta moia

(145) **B:** sin sin

(146) **A:** tudu, panela, tudu kuza ki era nesesariu,

(147) **B:** sin sin

(148) **A:** nos so pa nu fazi konpra, nu txiga nu instala, es ranja-nu kaza nu txiga nu kanba dentu kaza nu kuzinha nu kumi nu komesa trabadja

(149) **B:** yea

(150) **A:** nton foi otimu purke nu nu trabadja la, nu sai *não foi muito tempo*, nu ba la na maiu, junhu, juliu, agostu setenbru otubru, na mes d otubru nu ben pa Luxemburgo otra bes

(151) **B:** yea

(152) **A:** ses mes pa la, na mes d'otubru nu ben pa Luxemburgo purke es es trabadja la so na veron

(153) **B:** ya

(154) **A:** nu ben pa Luxemburgo, nu trabadja na Luxemburgo inda uns mezis asin mas dja di la dja N larga-s N ben ba mora na Sidadi di Luxemburgo, N ben ba pa un fabrika Amerikanu

(155) **B:** ya... sin nton kel kel mas kuatu kompanheru ki nhos bai, es e tudu Kabuverdianu tanbe?

(156) **A:** es e tudu Kabuverdianu, tudu Kabuverdianu

(157) **B:** sin ya ya, nton nhu ihh itinerariu, trajetu di nho pur izemplu di li pa pa pa Europa foi Praia o

(158) **A:** N sai di Praia ma

(159) **B:** primeru bes ki nhu sai di Kabu Verdi

(160) **A:** N sai di Praia mas, primeru bes, kes bes tinha barku- “Manuel Alfredo”

(161) **B:** barku “Manuel Alfredo”

(162) **A:** na “Manuel Alfredo”, nton nu fazi un viaji era un *trajeto de uma semana*, *voila foi sete dias de viagem*,

(163) **B:** yea

(164) **A:** *foi uma semana*. Nu bai ihhh nu txiga na Purtugal y di Purtugal pa pa Luxemburgo, nu ba di konboiu

(165) **B:** ya Purtugal, Lisboa ne?

(166) **A:** sin Lisboa

(167) **B:** sin Lisboa Luxamburgu. Ya y kantu tenpu mas ou menus nhos ten na Purtugal?

(168) **A:** na Purtugal? na Purtugal N para poku, N para poku purke konformi N fla na inisiu

(169) **B:** uhun

(170) **A:** sempri nha intenson era saiba mas pa fora

(171) **B:** sin sin

(172) **A:** mesmu na Purtugal tambem N tivi N tivi *não sei*, dipos di tres dia na portugal N ranja trabadju N ranja trabadju N ta trabadja na doka di Moskavide

(173) **B:** uhun

(174) **A:** na riparason di barkus bedjus

(175) **B:** sin sin

(176) **A:** nton la N trabadja dez dia, ma nen N ka termina un mes, N trabadja dez dia parsen es viajen y N ba fala ku patron es fla paga nu ka podi pago-u gosi mas si bu kre bu ta dexa un amigu ou un amigu ta da-bu dinheru e ta ben resebi na bu nomi

(177) **B:** sin

(178) **A:** *então* nu fazi *o seguinte*, N toma dinheru na un amigu amigu ba resebi na nha nomi na fin di mes *quando* es ta pagaba mas so dez dia di trabadju ki N fazi

(179) **B:** ya ...

(180) **A:** uhun

(181) **B:** yea sin ihh ih kel, kuze ki nhu ta konsidera mas ou menus ma foi di kes, un di kes maiori motivu pur izemplu ki leba nho a sai fora di Kabu Verdi?

(182) **A:** midjor, ah motivos de emigrason

(183) **B:** ya

(184) **A:** *e uma coisa* ki pur izemplu ki ta pasaba sempri na na

(185) **B:** sin

(186) **A:** na individualmenti na orizontis di kada un. Mas prontu mi nha motivu ki sain di fora ki sai ki obriga-n a skolhi emigrason ihhh era *o seguinte*, N ta odjaba imigrantis ta ben mas nha interesi era ter un mota ou ter un karu

(187) **B:** sin yea

(188) **A:** ki N sabia era mutu difisil pa N ter el na Kabu Verdi

(189) **B:** yea

(190) **A:** *então esse que* era nha motivu. N staba lonji di pensa na kunpra terenus, ou ben adikiri predius ou kela ninhun N Ka N ka tinhia el na ideia purk N saia Nstaba joven

(191) **B:** staba joven

(192) **A:** 24 anus

(193) **B:** ya

(194) **A:** N fazi 25 anu nas altura y nton N ka tinhia interesi keli, interesi N tinhia interesi dentu di luxuria

(195) **B:** sin sin

(196) **A:** pan pan viveba sima N kre

(197) **B:** na momentu sin kela

(198) **A:** pois

(199) **B:** uhun

(200) **A:** *então esse que foi* nha motivu di di di bai pa fora

(201) **B:** ya

(202) **A:** purke dja dja N tinhia nha vida profisional N ta, mi era alfaiti N ta kozeba N ta ganhaba alguns tustoes di nha un juventude N ka kre fla midjor di ki *alguns outros* ma prontu midjor ki alguns ki ka tinhia profison ki ka tinhia kel tistonsinhu ta kai na mo

(203) **B:** sin sin

(204) **A:** *então* mi N ta kozeba, ja na Asomada N tinhia ofisina na la na ladu merkadu na somada *entao* N ta trabadjaba la dja N ta ganhaba la nha tistonzinhus apezar ke N tinhia alguns *contribuições* purke N tinhia renda di kaza, N tinhia ahh lisensa na na finansas *tudo isso* ma prontu N trabadja N tinhia N ta solusaba nha juventudi na Kabu Verdi kuza mas konformi N fla ihh ter *qualquer coisa* sin pa si N ka tenha intenson pa kunpra algun mota ou un karu

(205) **B:** sin sin

(206) **A:** sin kela N ka tenba intenson ki N ta gostaba txeu

(207) **B:** ya

(208) **A:** *então* es li foi nha motivu ki N sai pa fora

(209) **B:** yea yea

(210) **A:** pois kuju ki deus risponde-n, prontu N bai N trabadja mesmu ku juiz N ka N ka pensa na gasta tudu kel ki N trabadja

(211) **B:** sin

(212) **A:** N trabadja ku kabesa prontu N konsigi nha objetivu

(213) **B:** yea, nton la na Luxamburgu mais ou menus na ki ladu la ki nhu, sidadis, lugaris ki nhu para na Luxamburgu?

(214) **A:** prumeru N mora na Diekirch, purke *digamos* konformi N ba na Beljika N trabadja na Beljika na na un vila di frontera di Luxamburgu di nomi di Speller

(215) **B:** yea

(216) **A:** N trabadj duranti 6 mes na Speller na *Belgique* y dipos N ben pa Dikierch, na Diekirch N mora un mes,

(217) **B:** yea

(218) **A:** *então* N ben pa Sidadi de Luxamburgu. Pa Sidadi di Luxamburgu kiii N tivi diii mora na uns kantus la pur izemplu na tres kuatu lugar, lugaris asin

(219) **B:** ya

(220) **A:** ma prontu desdi satentii un, satenta satenti un dja ki N ben pa Sidadi di Luxamburgu parke konformi N fla na outubru N ben pa Sidadi di Ettelbruck

(221) **B:** yea

(222) **A:** na otubru dja N pasa Anu Novu na dja N ben pasa Anu Novu na na sidadi Luxamburgu. Di la te *agora*, di stenti un ate ultimus anus ki N kuza N pasa tudu na Sidadi di Luxamburgu.

(223) **B:** ya sin ihhh kantu ki nhu bai pa Luxamburg ou mesmu pa Purtugal pur izemplu, kes kuzas ki imprisiona nho mas kantu nhu txiga?

(224) **A:** nau kela e tudu [laughs]

(225) **B:** ya [laughs]

(226) **A:** e tudu, e tudu, e tudu purke *digamos* ih mi na nha tenpu, na nha tenpu na Somada nu ta labanta, autokaru tinha autokaru ki ta panhaba algen ta leba pa Praia di palmanhan di seti ora ta volta li di noti

(227) **B:** yea

(228) **A:** podi deta na meiu di rua ka tinha nun karu

(229) **B:** sin sin

(230) **A:** mas viaji ki jenti ta fazeba era di kamion, tinha alguns karus, *alguns automóveis* mas kiii era poku ta pasa na strada uhun

(231) **B:** yea

(232) **A:** kuandu N txiga na Purtugal dja ki N odja movimentu dentu di karu, pur isu ki as vezis na brinkadera N ta fla kriolu mori txeu na Purtugal,

(233) **B:** sin

(234) **A:** purke dislexu, as vez ka ta ruspetu strada ben purke ben di pais undi ki ka ten
karu

(235) **B:** klaru

(236) **A:** Purtuges ka ta kuza *aquilo porque r'estia a parte do negro*

(237) **B:** sin sin

(238) **A:** ta kuza ta da nel pan ta da ta mata

(239) **B:** sin ya

(240) **A:** mori txeu mori txeu na kel altura

(241) **B:** na inisiu

(242) **A:** mori txeu txeu kriolu na Purtugal

(243) **B:** yea

(244) **A:** ta ki ta mori

(245) **B:** ya ki karu ta da ne-1

(246) **A:** *aquilo foi* tudu nha admirason, ou alias nos tudu nu ta odjaba *aquilo*, kantu
N ben ta konxi *o que* es ta fla ihh karinhu di feru konboi ta kuza, metru ta trabesa pa li
ta trabesa pra la tudu *aquilo* sistema di transporti na Purtugal kantu nu txiga era ahh banal

(247) **B:** ya sin sin

(248) **A:** *então aquilo* ki foi mas admirason, *a não seja* un algen ki ben di Kabu Verdi
kuandu txiga na Purtugal ta admirira tudu

(249) **B:** sin sin

(250) **A:** ta dimira tudu, sistema purke mi N sai di Kabu Verdi nu ka tinha un otel, isu
as ves N ka ta kre kuza purke pa ka difama

(251) **B:** sin na na e verdadi

(252) **A:** ka tinha un otel, tinha un pensonzinho ma propi na Somada ka tinha nada

(253) **B:** ka tina nou

(254) **A:** ka tinha un otel, ka tinha nada, ka tinha restoranti, si bu teni fomi bu ten ki
bai ti bu txiga bu kasa ou sinon bu para na kasa di amigu bu pidi un padas di mandioka

(255) **B:** sin sin

(256) **A:** ou un padas di kuza pa bu kumi. *Tudo aquilo* na Purtugal *quando* N txiga dja
bu ta bai na restoranti txiga bu xinta bu ta fla da-n tal kuza da-n tal kusa ou bu da-du
carte bu skodji kuze ki bu kre

(257) **B:** sin sin

(258) **A:** *tudo aquilo* pa un *olhos* di pesoas ki prumera bes ki ta sai

(259) **B:** ki txiga... ya

(260) **A:** e un admirason ma *isso* ta dipendi pa kenza ki ta apresia

(261) **B:** sin sin

(262) **A:** ma ami N presia tudu, *a não seja* pratus pur izemplu parke un Kabuverdianu na nha tenpu *quando* ki N sai di Kabu Verdi bu ta konxi alguns pratus di Kabu Verdi karni ku mandioka, ku masa, pexi kaldu pexi ku kuza sin bu ka ta konxi alguns pratus si pur izemplu ki...

(263) **B:** sin sin

(264) **A:** oras ki bu ben na un pais pur izemplu bu taa kumi un pratu y sib o e kuriozu bu ta prokura sabi imenta di kel pratu kuse ki e ta leba kuse ki e ta kuza

(265) **B:** sin

(266) **A:** *tudo aquilo* e ta sirbi pa admirason purke la na nha tenpu, oji nu ten tudu ma na nha tenpu ka tinha ninhun di kela

(267) **B:** sin kel la ta fazi parti di aprendizajen...

(268) **A:** pois, ami tudu ki N tinha pasadu

(269) **B:** uhun

(270) **A:** nha pasadu N ta ruspete-l txeu N gosta di nha pasadu, desdi ki N labanta rapasinhu, desdi ki N ta da riba N ta da baxu

(271) **B:** uhun

(272) **A:** ki N ta, kalsa ta fra na na *joelho* N ka ta gostaba del mesmu kalsa fradu

(273) **B:** uhun

(274) **A:** inda *a dias* li N sata lembra na nha pasadu li N ten un djini li ki ratxa li mas N ta bist-i-l N ta sai ko-l pamodi gosi tudu algen e kela ki sata sai ko-l

(275) **B:** sin

(276) **A:** kalsa ratxadu ki sta na moda

(277) **B:** klaru

(278) **A:** mi na nha tenpu kalsa ratxadu nen pa ramedi, ka oras ki tinha braku pa traz parke ta da doz braku [laughs]

(279) **B:** sin sin [laughs]

(280) **A:** riba polpa, N ka ta bistiba, N ka ta bistiba, ma prontu tenpu ta muda

(281) **B:** muda sin

(282) **A:** pur agora mi nha pasadu N ta pfr, N ta lembra del sempri nha storia, storia di nha vida ke ke mutu importanti pa mi ki e banal ki N ka ta konta ninguen, ki N ka ta skrebi

(283) **B:** ya

(284) **A:** ki ninguen ka kuza, ma e pa mi, pa mi

(285) **B:** sin

(286) **A:** konvensi familiaris, *tudo aquilo* ki pasa ku mi, tudu kel jornadas tudu kel topada ki N ta da na sai pa bai un festa,

(287) **B:** sin

(288) **A:** na ba un badju, tudu prokura tudu keli keli e mutu importanti na nha juventudi

(289) **B:** sin nau importanti ate na partilha ki nhu ta partilha ku algen e importanti pa kel algen ki sata ki sata obi-l

(290) **A:** pois pois

(291) **B:** e sempri un partilha sperensias

(292) **A:** oji dja kes kuzas ka ten, oji festa ora ki ta ten, festa popular ki tudu algen dja kuza

(293) **B:** sin sin

(294) **A:** si kadjar di transporti di karu bu bai bu dixi na porta

(295) **B:** sin

(296) **A:** ami ora k tinha un baiu funana, N ta moraba na Pingu Xuva,

(297) **B:** sin

(298) **A:** ah tinha un lugar ki txomaba Len Mendi, era un bokadinho afastadu

(299) **B:** sin sin

(300) **A:** ihh N ta sai di noti purke *respeito aos pais* si bu bai di dia bu ta sotadu

(301) **B:** sin sin

(302) **A:** e pa ba di noti

(303) **B:** [laughs]

(304) **A:** ta ba di noti mi era kobardu tanbe N tinha medu di sukuru [laughs]

(305) **B:** [laughs] sukuru

(306) **A:** era otu prublema

(307) **B:** yea

(308) **A:** mas as ves ton imosionadu, ton prison dentu mi ki N tinha ki bai

(309) **B:** klaru

(310) **A:** N ta bai N ta kori na sukuru ti

(311) **B:** [laughs]

(312) **A:** ti N konsigi, ti N bai si N ka atxa kunpanheru

(313) **B:** yea

(314) **A:** tudu akilu la N ta odja N ta fla ki pasajen ki N pasa, agora pe na txon

(315) **B:** yea

(316) **A:** sen sapatu, sen tilifoni, sen dinheru, sen transporti, sen ninhun kuza, sen iluminason, sen nun laiti, sen nun kuza

(317) **B:** uhun

(318) **A:** bu odja modi ki N tivi un pasadu ... importanti,

(319) **B:** sin klaru bon trajitoria

(320) **A:** importanti di sofrimentu ma

(321) **B:** trajitoria, sufrimentu ma prontu

(322) **A:** sufrimentu ma oxi N odja mudansa di tudu

(323) **B:** uhun

(324) **A:** oji un joven ta sai kuza, tilifoni na bolsu, txoma, ben buska-n,

(325) **B:** sin yea

(326) **A:** tilifoni na bolsu, dinheru na bolsu, sapatu na pe tudu konvinensia sta ok

(327) **B:** yea yea

(328) **A:** gosi li joven ka ta sufri ku nada. Ma mi nan ha tenpu nau, mi N tivi un mosidadi muitu sofridu, muitu kuza, ma N gosta N gosta txeu di nha mosindadi di

(329) **B:** yea

(330) **A:** di manera ki N pasa-l

(331) **B:** sin tanbe nhu prendi txeu ku

(332) **A:** ... nha pasadu

(333) **B:** trajetoria

(334) **A:** pois,

(335) **B:** yea

(336) **A:** asin ki bu ta odja diferenса, ki bu ta da valor *a* mudansa di tenpu

(337) **B:** klau

(338) **A:** purke N odja tenpu muda txeu purke e ka so na mi ki muda automatikamenti

(339) **B:** yea

(340) **A:** pois e

(341) **B:** nton kela foi prumeru foi prumeru viaji di nho fora di Kabu Verdi?

(342) **A:** prumeru viaji for a di Kabu Verdi foi la na kel altura

(343) **B:** ihh ih la na Luxamburgu mas oh mens kantu nhu txiga kuze ki nhu fika mas impresionadu, algun kuza si ki nhu ta lembra ki txoma nho mas atenson?

(344) **A:** nau dja na Luxamburgu komu komu ta fladu dja djan fazeba stajiu na Portugal

(345) **B:** sin sin

(346) **A:** dja dja-n odjaba tudu na Purtugal [laughs]

(347) **B:** [laughs] sin klaru

(348) **A:** dja N tinha kel un mes na Purtugal, N fazi stajiu na Purtugal dja kantu N txiga Luxamburgu tudu ki N odja la djan odjaba na na koza, purke dadu tanbe kuandu N txiga si ben ki Portugal dizenvolvi poku, Luxamburgu oji dizenvolvi monitariamenti e sta pais kuazi mas riku di mundu

(349) **B:** sin sin

(350) **A:** ma mi N txiga Luxamburgu na *pays tiers monde*,

(351) **B:** yea

(352) **A:** y tud Luxamburges sabia, es staba na pobreza inda

(353) **B:** yea

(354) **A:** y ate ki N ta moraba na kaza na Beljika ka tinha *toilette*

(355) **B:** yea

(356) **A:** tinha otu, ka tinha *toilette interna*

(357) **B:** sin sin

(358) **A:** tinha un barakinha

(359) **B:** uhun

(360) **A:** for a di kaza

(361) **B:** kumun?

(362) **A:** ku un baldi nu ta ba dispija sirvisu la

(363) **B:** sin

(364) **A:** y dipos N ka sabi si tinha kamion ki ta rimasa akilu, N ka sabi pamodi N ka ta da konta pamodi di dia N ta saia

(365) **B:** sin

(366) **A:** N ka ta da konta, mas prontu Luxamburgu staba konpletu na terseru mundu

(367) **B:** ya

(368) **A:** *então* dja kantu N txiga na Purtugal N fazi stajiu di *aquilo*, N odja manera ki algen ta vivi dja kantu N txiga na Luxamburgu ka da-n grandis, N ka tivi otus mudansas purke

(369) **B:** sin

(370) **A:** Luxamburgu staba igual ku Purtugal

(371) **B:** sin

(372) **A:** ka tenha nada differenti di Purtugal

(373) **B:** yea

(374) **A:** uhun

(375) **B:** modi ki nhu speriensia kel, kel stadia fora di Kabu Verdi pa purmeru bez?
Spirensias sin modi nhu vive-l?

(376) **A:** nau spirensia, spirensia ah stadia fora di Kabu Verdi *tudo aquilo* staba na kel na *dia que vem, no futuro*. N ben pa trabadja pamo mi konformi N ben ku intenson pan paraba sais mes ou un anu pan volta, N dexaba pikenas txeu ki N ta fala sais mes

(377) **B:** sin

(378) **A:** ihh ihh entao akilu, tudu stadia ki N pasa na Luxemburgu, tudu prublema di li sais mes N ta ba Kabu Verdi N ta bai N ta torna ben

(379) **B:** sin sin

(380) **A:** ma N komesa ta ganha purke, salariu ku un kontratu foi prumeru na Luxemburgu ki na na

(381) **B:** na Luxemburgu

(382) **A:** na Luxemburgu ki N ganha-l, konformi N fla nho mi era alfaiati ma N ka tinhka tinhka kontratu, mi era nha patron, N tinhka kuatru rapazis ki ta trabadja ku mi

(383) **B:** sin sin

(384) **A:** ma nu ka tinhka kel, riseita e ka era asinadu

(385) **B:** sin

(386) **A:** ta txiga oxi dez, manhan vinti, otramanhan sinkuenta, oxi nada

(387) **B:** sin

(388) **A:** asin ki N bai, dja kantu N txiga na Luxemburgu ki ki N tivi un salariu pur izemplu dja asinadu fixu, *então* ta da pa N faze-a projetu regresaba pa Kabu Verdi pa N torna bai, es ki foi nha grandii imoson prontu di trabadja na Luxemburgu pa N volta pa feria *mas contudo* N markaa pa sais mes ma N ben bai di kuatu anu [laughs]

(389) **B:** [laughs]

(390) **A:** [laughs] ba ta konxi

(391) **B:** [laughs] sin normalmenti nos tudu nu ta fla ma nu ta bai nu ta ben rapidu mas alves ta pasa kantu anu

(392) **A:** purk kuzas as ves, konformi es ta fla dizeju

(393) **B:** sin

(394) **A:** ta marka, agora konsigi

(395) **B:** sin

(396) **A:** realiza dizeju e sima ora ki bu fazi un projetu ba ta fla anu proximu si deus kizer N ta fazi tal kuza

(397) **B:** yea

(398) **A:** ma kontantu dja bu poi si deus kizer, eh bu ben faze-l bu podi inisia-l ou talves nen bu ka ta inisia-l

(399) **B:** sin ah

(400) **A:** ou na proximu ta pasa doz trez anu pa inisia-l

(401) **B:** yea

(402) **A:** *então que* projetu bu ta fazi mas realiza projetu e mas difisel ki pensa projetu

(403) **B:** yea yea sin pratika e un bokadinho mas difisil

(404) **A:** pois pois

(405) **B:** yea, y dipos ki nhu ki nhu sta la ih kel stadia la, kel sperensia fora di Kabu Verdi ih fazi *com que muda forma* modi ki nhu ta odja kuzas gosi nhu ta odja?

(406) **A:** sin, N ta odja bastante diferenca di kel bes ku oji, purk prontu dja nu kaba di fla li, kel diferenca ki tivi ku mi pur izemplu na Kabu Verdi di kel bes k Kabu Verdi di gosi pur izemplu na Luxemburgo di kel bes ku Luxemburgo atual

(407) **B:** yea

(408) **A:** purke konformi N fla Luxemburgo staba na terceiru mundu, *bem que já* Luxamburgezis dja tinha capitalistas dja tinha meius di koza, dja tinha transporti sufisienti dentu di kuza mas ami N komesa na Luxemburgo *voila* baixu na zeru

(409) **B:** yea

(410) **A:** ma prontu N ta odja oxi dja kantu N sai di, *isso* un pratika ki N ta ki N ta lembra sempri, dentu di brevimenti N ta ganhaba sinkuenti y tal franku pa ora

(411) **B:** yea

(412) **A:** nas prumerus tenps, kantu ki N sai di Beljika dentu di un anu N sai di Beljika N ben pa Luxemburgo, na Beljika N ta ganhaba seti kontu pa mes, seti mil franku pa mes

(413) **B:** franku

(414) **A:** seti mil franku nas alturas era kuazi katorzi kontu na Kabu Verdi

(415) **B:** sin sin

(416) **A:** purke e Kabu Verdi, ... nau nau nau kn kn eskudu di Kabu Verdi era mutu mas forti ki franku

(417) **B:** yea

(418) **A:** ih nas altura N ta ganhaba seti mil franku la kuza ta daba tres kuatu kontu na Kabu Verdi, kuatu kontu

(419) **B:** yea

(420) **A:** *então* kuza baba ta ba pa frenti, franku subi subi subi bira ta ki dja kantu ben ta kuza, *ja* mil franku ta da doz y tal na Kabu Verdi

(421) **B:** sin sin

(422) **A:** dja e subi e pasa eskudu

(423) **B:** yea

(424) **A:** *então* kela foi grandi ehh, purke N ta ganhaba seti kontu dja N bai na sai di Beljika N ben trabadja na Luxamburgu, kuandu N ben trabadja na Sidadi Luxamburgu na un fabrika Americanu –“*Dupont de Nemour*”

(425) **B:** yea

(426) **A:** purmeru mes N resebi kinzi kontu, dja sen pursentu mas txeu

(427) **B:** yea

(428) **A:** *aquilo foi* un admirason, ou un satisfason kinzi kontu y na poku tenpu dja N pasa di kel kinzi kontu ba ta subi ba ta subi to ki txiga na sinkuenta mil franku

(429) **B:** yea

(430) **A:** ba sinkuenta mil franku nu bai nu bai to ki N ben N ben kantu N ta ben sai di trabadju dja N ben sasenti y tal mil franku

(431) **B:** ya mudansa sin grandi

(432) **A:** purke mi N trabadja N ganha sempri na franku, euru ben entra dipos di dja N ka sta trabadja

(433) **B:** sin sin

(434) **A:** y sempri N ta fla, ma prontu na ultimus dja kantu N ta ben sai dja N ta ganha sentu y tal mil franku

(435) **B:** yea

(436) **A:** *tudo aquilo* dja ta da-n, faze-n un poku di nha storias di nha inisiu y nha partida

(437) **B:** sin sin

(438) **A:** N ka fika stabelesidu

(439) **B:** klaru

(440) **A:** fika sempri ta ta muda

(441) **B:** sempri ta muda

(442) **A:** *tudo aquilo*

(443) **B:** ya kel evoluson

(444) **A:** uhun

(445) **B:** ih dipos ki nhu, pur izemplu dipos ki nhu volta, kel speriensia for a fazi com que pesoas fika ta odja nho di forma differenti ou?

(446) **A:** klaru, klaru purk kela mi N ta odjal sima mi N ta odjaba

(447) **B:** yea

(448) **A:** kuandu kes otus ta binha si ki N ta odja sin ki povu ta odjan

(449) **B:** sin

(450) **A:** mas prontu, ami na mi foi ... foi muitu differenti *porque já N ta, dja N staba priparadu ku kela. N ben purk li na Kabu Verdi há uma coisa é certa*, oras ki migrant ben, povu amigus ta para di lonji ta djobe-u

(451) **B:** yea

(452) **A:** si bu ka flal ka ko-l ka ta fala ku bo,

(453) **B:** ya

(454) **A:** e ben finu

(455) **B:** sin sin

(456) **A:** e ka ta papia ku mi y mi N ta lembra purmeru bes ki N ben feria, N ba pilorinho un dia ihii era na mes d agostu, txuba dja djobeba dja

(457) **B:** sin era na ki anu?

(458) **A:** na satenti y kuatu, prumeru anu

(459) **B:** ya

(460) **A:** na stenta y kuatu ki N fazi purmeru feria, *então txeu algen ta sai di monda N ta kronta ko-l na kaminhu, ta sakedu ta djobe-n ta fika di lonji, al ves kel ke femia ta fika ta djobe-n si, kel ke matxu ta*

(461) **B:** sin sin

(462) **A:** ta fika ta kuza si, N ta txiga na tudu N ta fla si flanu abo bu ka ta bu ta konxen?

(463) **B:** yea

(464) **A:** N konprimenta tudu tudu ta barsa-n ku kosta suju so lama ma ka ta importa-n

(465) **B:** yea

(466) **A:** purke e prontu, kel kuatu anu ki dja N staba lonji

(467) **B:** kel sodadi, kel amizadi

(468) **A:** pois da-n txeu sodadi pa N odja nha povu kantu N volta

(469) **B:** yea

(470) **A:** *então aquilo txeu ta fla-n kel ora di kara, nau bo bu ka ben ku manias di kes otu*

(471) **B:** sin

(472) **A:** bo bu ben, bo bu ben sima bu bai normal

(473) **B:** trankuilu

(474) **A:** bu ben ah nton N ta odja ma ma *aquilo* foi grandi koza y inkluzivel menti N
ten un pikenu storia, un bes kela go e mas pra ca

(475) **B:** sin

(476) **A:** na stenti oitu sin na stenti oitu, nben di feria tinha un minina ki ta moraba la
Rivada ki nos era muito amigo, konhesidu. N ben pilorinho, N bai tardi dentu di trez
kuatru ora ki N ba pa kasa tardi, sapati dja bira ta duen na pe, kansadu, kusa, tanbe era
ku fatu kes bes ora ki migranti ta ben ku fotu

(477) **B:** sin sin

(478) **A:** kalor ku tudu kuza,

(479) **B:** kalor sin

(480) **A:** N ben N atxas tudu xintadu na rua si N ben N txiga N xinta na meiu d'es si,
N xinta nu fla mantenha, minina komu nu ta konxea nu ta brinka txeu e fla-n eh moz abo
abo bus ta kansadu, N fla-l N sta kansadu sin, e fla-n bu kre kumida? N fle-l ih si bu da-
n kumida N ta kumi, e ba po-n nha fixon N kume fixon ku aroz N kume kaba nu ka kumi
e da-n nha agu N bebe nu sai nu torna xinta riba porta si

(481) **B:** uhun

(482) **A:** e fla-n moz odja li bo li bu ben na bika [laughs]

(483) **B:** [laughs]

(484) **A:** [laughs] N fla bo e fla imigranti ki ta ben ki ta xinta na meiu di algen

(485) **B:** sin

(486) **A:** ki ta kumi e fla bo bu ka ben ku nun tiston

(487) **B:** [laughs]

(488) **A:** N fle-l ami ki intresa-n N ben N ben odja nhos

(489) **B:** sin mas importanti [laughs]

(490) **A:** dja N ben nha tera dja N ben vizita, bon nu fika si

(491) **B:** yea

(492) **A:** N bai otu anu N torna ben

(493) **B:** yea

(494) **A:** N torna ben N pasa purmeru dia na si porta

(495) **B:** aian

(496) **A:** a pe, N fle-l dja N ben ma N teni presa N ka ta para, nau li si bu a ta pasa

(497) **B:** [laughs]

(498) **A:** N fle-l nau N ka ta para, N sta na dispaxa karu, logu kantu N ben ku karu N
para dentu si porta N pita-l pip, e sai e djobi e fla xeee na

(499) **B:** [laughs]

(500) **A:** na des bes dja bu ben propi

(501) **B:** [laughs]

(502) **A:** N fle-l kontrariu, kelotu ves N tinha mas dinheru purke

(503) **B:** yea

(504) **A:** N fle-l bu sabi kantu ki N paga na dispaxu di karu?

(505) **B:** [laughs]

(506) **A:** dispaxu di karu pergunta-n kantu go, trinta kontu

(507) **B:** yea

(508) **A:** gosi tres mil kontu [laughs]

(509) **B:** sin gosi dja

(510) **A:** N paga trinta kontu dispaxu di karu, N fla-l odja li kel bes

(511) **B:** uhun

(512) **A:** N tinha mas dinheru ki gosi purke gosi dja N paga dispaxu, dinheru dja kaba

(513) **B:** sin

(514) **A:** mas bo dja bu odja karo djo bu k.. e fla nau nau des bes li dja bu ben ku
dinheru propi

(515) **B:** [laughs]

(516) **A:** nton e si satisfason di povu ora ki odja-bu

(517) **B:** sin

(518) **A:** si bu ka dimostra ka kusa,

(519) **B:** sin

(520) **A:** ka sabi nada ka kusa ta imajina

(521) **B:** sin

(522) **A:** povu ta odjo-u ta imajina

(523) **B:** sin

(524) **A:** ahh

(525) **B:** alves es ta imajina kuza go ki ke kuza ka certu

(526) **A:** nau ka ta imajina sima e, ta imajina tudu differenti purke kel anu ki N ben ki
N sata anda na sol ki N ka ben ku karo e fla N ben na bika

(527) **B:** sin

(528) **A:** N binha go ku aljun tistonsinhu me

(529) **B:** [laughs]

(530) **A:** y kantu N ben ku karu ki dja N dispaxa karu ki dja N kaa kusa tudu

(531) **B:** sin

(532) **A:** dinheru kebra me

(533) **B:** sin ta kebra

(534) **A:** e fla-n na des bes li bu ben, des bes li bu ben N fle-l pois des li ki N sta na
bika go propi

(535) **B:** ya

(536) **A:** ee ueh

(537) **B:** ya sin nton keli dja nu tivi ta fala, nton nhu ta manti kontaktu sempri ku kes
algen ki nhu konxi?

(538) **A:** tudu

(539) **B:** la fora?

(540) **A:** tudu

(541) **B:** Kabuverdianus ou stranjerus?

(542) **A:** nou tudu Kabuverdianus ki nu, mi N ten amigus txeu,

(543) **B:** uhun

(544) **A:** tudu kes amigus ki N ten la tudu nu fika ku relason, gosi komu nu teni meius
di kumunikason muitu mas avansadu

(545) **B:** yea

(546) **A:** alguns nu ta kronta na na skype, na facebook na

(547) **B:** yea

(548) **A:** kosa sin nu ta kontakta sempri, N ten txeu kontaktu ku stranjeru

(549) **B:** uhun

(550) **A:** stranjer nu ka ten grands kontaktus pamodi e ka tradison mesmu di tera

(551) **B:** sin sin

(552) **A:** ehh as vezes, klaru nu ten kustumi ta manda email ten kustumi ta kuza ma na
Luxamburgu e ka mutu tradisional un amigo dja dura kantu tenpu bu ka odje-l pa bu
telefone-l pa fle-l mos dja dura N ka odjo-u N teni gas gana di odjo-u

(553) **B:** sin sin diferenti

(554) **A:** e ka mutu

(555) **B:** e ka sima nos y a

(556) **A:** N konxe pai ku fidju, pur izemplu pais ta mora li fidju muda di kaza pa ba prontu apartir di maior idadi muda, ta pasa dez kinzi anu ka ta odja si mai ku si pai

(557) **B:** yea

(558) **A:** ten txeu, ten txeu ki ta pasa un munti di tenpu ka ta odja si mai ku si pai, e ka e ka kultura di Kau di di Luxamburgu bira si kela ti gosi pur izemplu bira si konku na porta di algen ora ke abri-u porta

(559) **B:** sin

(560) **A:** *qu'est ce que vous voulez?*

(561) **B:** yea

(562) **A:** ahh

(563) **B:** [laughs]

(564) **A:** ih [laughs] si bu ka teni un asuntu ki kusa

(565) **B:** [laughs] sin e differenti

(566) **A:** asuntu po fla-l N ben buska keli ou N traze-u keli ou pa kusa, *et alors? C'est quoi?*

(567) **B:** sin

(568) **A:** prontu

(569) **B:** sin [laughs] nos e differenti

(570) **A:** so nos nu txiga na algun kou so ora ki bu txiga dja bu ta fla mantenha sabi purke djo sabi mi djan sabi ma mi ku bo N ta txiga na bo nu ta fla mantenha sabi, ah k djo-u ben djan bai ke li kela

(571) **B:** entra nu nu ta fala

(572) **A:** prontu nu ta fala

(573) **B:** e verdadi

(574) **A:** ma e ka sta na kultura Luxamburgu

(575) **B:** sin e ka, e differenti

(576) **A:** taba na kasa di algen si e na ora di kume ehh *maintenant je mange*

(577) **B:** sin

(578) **A:** *j'ai pas le temps*

(579) **B:** yea

(580) **A:** ka ten ka ten niunnn

(581) **B:** sin e ses kultura ki e differenti

(582) **A:** pois e ses kultura ke si

(583) **B:** uhun

(584) **A:** N tinha un padri na Luxamburgu ki nos e *muito amigo, muito amigo, muito amigo*, ta staba sempri nu ta odjaba kunpanheru sempri

(585) **B:** sin sin

(586) **A:** ma prontu un dia N tilifona-l, nou N bai si kaza propi, N bai sikaza un bes e fla-n kuze dja nu ka fla mantenha y dipos e fla-n ih Aguinaldo *qu'est-ce que vous voulez?*
J'ai de visite

(587) **B:** yea

(588) **A:** N fla-l oui, N ben pa bu ranja-n sertifikadu di *naissance* di nha fidja

(589) **B:** sin sin

(590) **A:** e kusa e fla bon bai N ta bai N ta manda-u el

(591) **B:** yea

(592) **A:** nu dispidi nu ben, ki nu tinha, nos e mutu amigu dja nu tinha kantu tenpu N ka odje-l

(593) **B:** sin kantu tenpu ya

(594) **A:** ma prontu N ta aseita

(595) **B:** klaru kultura e si

(596) **A:** kultura di Luxamburgu ka ten kel fala djan dura N ka odjo-u pa N flo-u mantenha

(597) **B:** sin

(598) **A:** spera un kusa bu ta toma un kuza? Spera almosu ou keli kela, so Kabu Verdi

(599) **B:** sin Kabuverdianu nos e differenti

(600) **A:** la na Luxamburgu si bu ka sta konvidadu almosu pa tal dia, bu bai na porta bu konko nau

(601) **B:** no

(602) **A:** *je je t'attend pas* [laughs]

(603) **B:** [laughs] e un bokadinho differenti sin

(604) **A:** ma prontu *o importante* e pa bu konxi kultura di kada pais ki bu ka ta ofendi purke

(605) **B:** sin e kela e mutu importanti

(606) **A:** si bu ka konxi, ahh nos e amigo bu ta ... es es ta ofendi un kuzinha

(607) **B:** sin

(608) **A:** ma basta dj'o konxi dj'o sabi ma kultua di la e si bu ka ta ofendi prontu, e si ki fetu N ka ten problema

(609) **B:** klaru ahun ya,

(610) **A:** au e

(611) **B:** nton li na Kabu Verdi nhu ten alguns amigus di Luxamburgu ki ta ki ta vivi na Kabu Verdi?

(612) **A:** sin sin na Luxamburgu N ten amigus dja si ki ben sima mi

(613) **B:** ahun

(614) **A:** ten alguns ki ta ben feria nu ta kronta sempri

(615) **B:** sin

(616) **A:** ih ten txeu amigus li ten txeu amigus

(617) **B:** ya mesmu Luxamburges ki ta ben feria ou?

(618) **A:** mesmu Luxamburges, dja tivi di ben algun Luxamburges pur izemplu ma e poku, Luxamburges ora di feria Luxamburges na Kabu Verdi e mutu poku

(619) **B:** yea

(620) **A:** dja tivi di ben alguns ma dja e ligadu nan ha, kel asosiasion ki nu tivi la

(621) **B:** yea

(622) **A:** es ta binha sempri komu kumitiva, komu un delegason

(623) **B:** sin

(624) **A:** di kuatu sinku, dja tevi un bes ki ben dja te novi pesoas

(625) **B:** ya

(626) **A:** *então, aquilo* ta kuza ma a nao seja pa bira si pa bu kronta ku un algen si Luxamburgu alves feria sin e selesionadu alves e mutu poku

(627) **B:** sin sin

(628) **A:** ten txeu Luxamburges ki ten feria go mas

(629) **B:** yea

(630) **A:** ki N konxi e poku

(631) **B:** ya ya

(632) **A:** uhun

(633) **B:** nton keli e un purgunta ma keli dja di un forma jeral dja nhu rispondi ki e si kel spirensia for a la ta djuda nho a futurus viajen? Pur izemplu pa otus pais ou?

(634) **A:** nau kon serteza kon serteza

(635) **B:** yea

(636) **A:** spirensia ki ki N toma na Luxamburgu *isso* N ta odja purke si N fikaa so na Kabu Verdi N ka tinha sperensi, N ka tinha konhesimentu konformi mi gosi li pur izemplu N ta fla kultura di Luxamburgu al ves dentu di kel konhesimentu kultura di Luxamburgu ta abranji txeu pais di di

(637) **B:** di Europa

(638) **A:** di la

(639) **B:** uhun

(640) **A:** *aquilo* la al ves si bu bai otu pais, kel sperensia la bu ta ba pluma

(641) **B:** sin sin

(642) **A:** pisikolojikamenti pa bu odja si e igual ku kela ou si e differenti

(643) **B:** yea

(644) **A:** ma bu ta odja pa *fim ao cabo* ta kai-u igual na *o* ki dja bu konxi bu ka ta insisti
 bai mas lonji purke e mesma koiza

(645) **B:** ya, sin e verdadi

(646) **A:** pois pois

(647) **B:** yea, ah ih kuze ki kes kuzas ki nhu ta konsidera ma foi pur izemplu di kes
 maioris ganhus ku kel sperensia fora di Kabu Verdi?

(648) **A:** nau, maioris?

(649) **B:** maioris ganhus, maioris benefisius?

(650) **A:** maiori benefisiuuu kela N podi fla e di sen pursentu, di tu di kel ki, o I N
 staba ta spera N konsigi,

(651) **B:** yea

(652) **A:** N ka tivi N ka tivi surpreza N ka tivi surpreza ninhun N ka tivi prejuizus pur
 izemplu na vida pur izemplu pan fla kuza, pu isu mi nha benefisiu di nha vida e di sen
 pursentu. N tivi un mudansa radikalmenti sen pursentu

(653) **B:** yea

(654) **A:** tudu ki N dezejaba N ta fla N pode fla ma djan konsigi purke dja gosi kom
 serteza fika-n menus do ki ki dja N vivi. *Então até agora*, N ka tivi prublema ku nada,
 nha salariu da-n pa governa ti gosi,

(655) **B:** sin sin

(656) **A:** *até até agora*, dja di gosi pa dianti *do que* pur izemplu dja dja N trabadja alias
 ki dja N ten trabadjadu, ki N ki N ta governa *até agora* dja ta da-n pa nha restu di vida.

(657) **B:** yea

(658) **A:** pur isu, N ta fla ih o que N staba ta spera N konsigi na sen pursentu sen
 pursentu

(659) **B:** sin sin foi foi nton un opson di di di susesu yea

(660) **A:** pois

(661) **B:** klaru, klaru

(662) **A:** foi un susesu a sen pursentu

(663) **B:** ahun

(664) **A:** N tivi, nha vida foi tudu di manera ki N sata speraba

(665) **B:** yea

(666) **A:** uhun

(667) **B:** ah keli e mas un purgunta si nhu ta pensa na volta pa Luxamburgu otu bes?
 Ah e klaru ki nhu ta pensa na volta sima nhu flaba mi klaru

(668) **A:** sin sin N ta volta

(669) **B:** [laughs]

(670) **A:** ma ker dizer ten alguns voltas as vezis ki as ves nen bo bu ka ta pensa-l ainda

(671) **B:** sin sin yea

(672) **A:** bu ka sabi pur izemplu, bu ka ta ou alias nen ken ki dja kuza

(673) **B:** sin

(674) **A:** ma bu ka ta pensa ma asves podi kontisi un surpreza

(675) **B:** sin sin

(676) **A:** imajina pur izemplu, dja N viveba na Kabu Verde, N bai Luxamburgu
 trabadja, N vive la, N regresa pa nha tera dja N vive li, mas sempri ta kontise bu ta
 komesa un bu ta termina un

(677) **B:** yea

(678) **A:** pur izemplu N konxi nha mudjer dja nu vive juntu te agora

(679) **B:** sin sin

(680) **A:** mas N sta priparadu, realizadu li ta txiga altura ou el e ta fika el so ou mi N
 ta fika miso

(681) **B:** sin yea

(682) **A:** purke doz ka ta mori tudu doz djuntu as ves e raru akontisi

(683) **B:** si e raru

(684) **A:** *a não seja* na un asidenti, ma prontu e ta fika un mi N ta fika un y as vezis
 dja N konxi txeu li ki ta kai na un paralizia

(685) **B:** yea

(686) **A:** na un doensa, koiza ki e fidju ta manda busko-u purke mi nha mai N manda
 buska-l ahhh nha mai vivi vinti anu na Luxamburgu

(687) **B:** sin yea

(688) **A:** *então ha coisas* ki bu ka ta po na projetu ma ki bu ta fika ko'l ki nen bu ka ta
 divulga tudu algen

(689) **B:** sin sin klaru

(690) **A:** ma bo nu sta na konversa go N ta flo-u

(691) **B:** sin sin klaru

(692) **A:** *quem sabe lá* si manhan N ka ta ba fika na Luxemburgu kun has fidjus, purke desdi gosi es ta flan sempri, ben fasilitadi di medikamentu keli kela

(693) **B:** sin tudu kuza

(694) **A:** ma si N txiga na altura ki N ka podi gia, N ka podi koza, ki N ta txoma un algen pa ben tra-n un ora di trabadju ta ben, li na Kabu Verdi ta kontisi es ta ben es ta roba-bu tudu kuza ki bu teni li

(695) **B:** sin al ves kela e un bokadinho ...

(696) **A:** dipos es ka ta trato-u dretu, ta ba pa kaza di gentis bedju, ka ta da jetu pamodi dja bu larga bu kaza ki kuza

(697) **B:** uhun

(698) **A:** nton N ta ba kaza nha fidju

(699) **B:** sin klaru e midjor

(700) **A:** *e isso que são coisas* ki bu ka ta prununsia, bu ka ta prometi ma *quem sabe lá?*

(701) **B:** sin e posivel

(702) **A:** si N ka ta volta pa Luxemburgu un dia, komu nha fidjus pur izemplu ka ten planus di rigresa inda jovens pur enkuantu es sata trabadja, es ka ten planu di rigresa

(703) **B:** sin

(704) **A:** *então* ih si for mi ki ta bai

(705) **B:** yea

(706) **A:** ma inda per enkuantu N sata podi luta sata podi toma un ar di sol N ta fika li

(707) **B:** na Dios ta da forsa ta ahun, nton fidju nho nasi tudu na Luxemburgu?

(708) **A:** tudu tudu nase la

(709) **B:** ya

(710) **A:** uhun

(711) **B:** na ta ta bon, ah nton nhu kre akrisenta algun kuza pamodi N ka teni mas purgunta si nhu kre akrisenta algun kuza pur izemplu sobri imigrason lingua, algun kuza ki nhu kre fala sobri?

(712) **A:** nau do ki dja nu fala prontu

(713) **B:** sin

(714) **A:** sobri imigrason y lingua e sobri tudu dja nu fala purke, prontu ehh imigrason e importanti ki N ta spera pur izemplu pa na ideia di tudu jovens si ben ki Europa kaba

(715) **B:** sin sin

(716) **A:** Europa ka ten mas, purke emigrason mas importanti e pa Europa N ta dimira txeu eh oxi nu ten es afrikanus ki ta ben li di tudus paizis vizinhos li ki ta, paizis vizinhos nau prontu Afrika so

(717) **B:** yea Afrika Osidental sin

(718) **A:** ta ben sin N ta imajina ku ses kuzas di luneta prindadu na mo di sedu pa noti, N ta imajina-l sempri, sera ki es ta ganha pa renda pa pa vive *o dia* kes volta pa ses tera es ta tevi mesmu susesu kuandu mi N volta pa Kabu Verdi pa fladu e dje ben ku keli e migranti dje ben ku kela es ora kes volta pa la ta fladu ah migranti dja ben?

(719) **B:** yea yea

(720) **A:** e *isso* purgunta ki N ta Ki N ta fazi, bon isu N ta fala agora tudu jovens tudu ken ki sta ma prontu enkara imigrason kon obijetivu di futuru

(721) **B:** yea

(722) **A:** purke nu ten txeu joven ki ta bai di li ta bai la ta vivi so juventudi

(723) **B:** yea

(724) **A:** as ves ta pasa trinta ta ba txiga korenta anu ma tudu na kel juventudi, tudu na vive prizenti

(725) **B:** sin

(726) **A:** ma vida ora ki bu ta vive pensa ben sima biblia ta fla, pensa ben di undi bu ben, undi bu sta, pa undi bu ta bai

(727) **B:** ya

(728) **A:** sempri ora ki un jovi sata pensa na emigra li k'o pensa na ba goza juventudi, N konxi txeu ki sta na Luxemburgo, o femia o matxu ki ta bistu ki ta ronka

(729) **B:** sin

(730) **A:** ki ta po oru, ki ta po keli ki ta po kela matxu ta tra kabelu sima koza ki manhan dja ora kki bu ben odja bu fotografia dja bu sta bedju bu ta fla xii kela e si ki N staba

(731) **B:** yea

(732) **A:** algen debi ten, keli e un kuza pur izemplu, keli e nhas pontus de ver

(733) **B:** sin sin

(734) **A:** kuza ki N ka ta fla ningen e nhas pontus di ver

(735) **B:** yea

(736) **A:** ma algen bu debi prosedi di manera ki manhan bu ta tevi grandis mudansas purke

(737) **B:** si bu ta pensa sempri na futuru tanbe

(738) **A:** es ke ken ki ta po es kabelu rasta ki ta dixi ti riba kosta,

(739) **B:** sin sin

(740) **A:** mal trasadu mas lavadu ti ti riba kosta li

(741) **B:** yea

(742) **A:** dia ki bu ten sasenta satenta anu si kalha ki bus ta na bengala bu ta anda bu ta tene-l?

(743) **B:** yea e konplikadu

(744) **A:** bu ta ben tra-l

(745) **B:** sin

(746) **A:** nton pur isu mi N ta gosta di vive na kel limiti ki N ta leba-l ti N mori

(747) **B:** yea

(748) **A:** kel la ki desdi rapasinhu N labantaba rapazinhu, N foi mutu sporti, N ta bistiba ben N ta

(749) **B:** ya

(750) **A:** muito sporti N tinha fama

(751) **B:** sin

(752) **A:** ta fladu keli ta bistti ben munti kuza, ma sempri *si noble*, sempri rispeitozu, sin kuza

(753) **B:** sin e kela fundamental yea

(754) **A:** pur isu ki N ta atxa ki kualker joven ta sai disi tera pensa na manhan, sib u torna volta, purke ten txeu ki dja volta go ki mandadu,

(755) **B:** sin sin ten txeu sin

(756) **A:** ki mandadu kontra si vontadi ki ka ki ka tevi kel sorti pur izemplu di di di volta pa algen odje-l

(757) **B:** ya

(758) **A:** oras ki bu mandadu, a ki bu ben ki bu ka bistti dretu ki bu ka fazi nad, ku kuza, algen N ta djobe-u ta fla uhn e staba la pa kusa e bai e fasi so keli kela

(759) **B:** sin algen algen ka ta ruspeta-l propi

(760) **A:** oxi alel li, pur isu ki mi N ta fla mi N deus juda-n mas N pensa sempri pa deus ka dexa-n txiga na kel area la pa N difendi sempri, pa N vive **sempri** ki di manera ki dia ki N parsi ta fladu ah dj-o ben keli kela ta mostro-u sodadis.

(761) **B:** yea

(762) **A:** pois ehhh

(763) **B:** sin e sempri bon pensa na futuru ka pensa so na oxi

(764) **A:** pois pois pois

(765) **B:** pensa na manhan tanbe

(766) **A:** ami sempri N ta gosta di di pensa manhan dia ki N ka podi mas ki N ka podi
vive na kel stadu li pa N ka tivi un mudansa muitu lonji, muituuu pois

(767) **B:** sin sin

(768) **A:** N ta vive sempri ki N ta vivi na kel un stadu sima N sta li N ta vive si tii N
mori

(769) **B:** ya

(770) **A:** ma si kalha pur izemplu bu ta viveba muito pintadu, si e femia *muito* makiadu
muito keli kela mutu pustisu muiti keli, dia ki bu ka podi poi kuze ki bu ta vive?

(771) **B:** ya eh

(772) **A:** e modi ki bu ta vive ah?

(773) **B:** e konplikadu sin

(774) **A:** nton pur isu algen debi respeita prizenti, respeita kuze ki bu ta faze desdi
mosidadi

(775) **B:** yea sin kela

(776) **A:** pois sin

(777) **B:** yea, sin nton mui muitu obrigadu pa kel konversa muito importanti li ya

(778) **A:** sin ehh un prazer

(779) **B:** sin

(780) **A:** e un prazer purke ora ki kiii nu fala pur izemplu di tenpu pasadu mesmu mi
ora ki ki N lembra nha pasadu ta faze-n prazer di vive ehhh e sima oras ki N toma un
gran di konprimidu, e un ramedi ki N toma N ta xinti mas mas staisfeitu

(781) **B:** sin sin

(782) **A:** N ta xinti mas alegri

(783) **B:** na e sempri bon partilha ku algen

(784) **A:** purke purke pois, *voila* desdi ki N sai di Kabu Verdi N ba ta N ba ta vive, N
ba ta djobi sempri kuzas ki N gosta N ta po li kozas ki N ka gosta N ta po la purke un dia
storia ta trazebu tudu kela

(785) **B:** sin

(786) **A:** tudu na bu pasadu, as ves si bu ten pasudu disgsotozu disgradadu bu ka ta splika algen, bu ka ta fla algen

(787) **B:** sin

(788) **A:** e ka mutu kuza tanbe

(789) **B:** ya

(790) **A:** mi N ta gosta di algen po ten un un pasajen sempri purke storia tudu algen ten

(791) **B:** si ten

(792) **A:** si kre bu ka fasi nada

(793) **B:** sin

(794) **A:** si kre bu maxi dentu kaza bu djongu, storia ta fika

(795) **B:** sin

(796) **A:** ah nou el e maxi e djongu ti gosi

(797) **B:** sin sin

(798) **A:** ah di un manera kualker pur isu ora ki bu sai na rua p'o fazi un kuza ma sin un stori linpu adikuadu

(799) **B:** ya

(800) **A:** un storia ki ta proteje-bu kel prizensia inda ki bu teni

(801) **B:** sin sin

(802) **A:** ahun

(803) **B:** nhu tevi un trajitoria mutu mutu interensanti sin ya desdi ya

(804) **A:** eha pois e

(805) **B:** tenpu di juventudi ti ti gosi yea

(806) **A:** pois ehh

(807) **B:** ya

(808) **A:** vivi txeu tenpu ah

(810) **B:** na ta ta bon, mas un bes mutu obrigadu, nu ta kontinua ta ta fala inda.