12 Language and (Im)mobility as a Struggle: Cape Verdean Trajectories into Luxembourg

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1 Introduction

While the reverse is not necessarily true, multilingualism is, has always been, and probably will always be a function of mobility. Any person in this world is both mobile and multilingual, to a greater or lesser extent. Total monolingualism is a myth (Makalela, 2016) and total immobility a physical impossibility for any human (or animal) form of life. To be alive is to move, and to be in contact with others. However, not everybody is equally mobile or equally multilingual. Some of us are evidently more mobile and more multilingual than others.

This chapter investigates inequalities of movement and mobility from a sociolinguistic perspective. In particular, we are interested in language in the lives of mobile individuals, in how one's mobility or relative immobility shapes one's language and vice versa. Theoretically the chapter intends to engage sociolinguistics with insights from the anthropology of mobility and migration. It adopts a critical and multisited sociolinguistic ethnographic approach to language and mobility and contrasts the life trajectories and specific moments of struggle over mobility of three Cape Verdean middle-aged men with different (im)mobile and multilingual experiences, each linked, albeit differently, to Luxembourg.

The following section introduces the notion of immobility and its relevance for a theory of migration and globalisation. Section 3 then introduces our specific research contexts and the relation between Cape

Verde and Luxembourg, followed in Section 4 by some methodological comments on multisited ethnography. The next three sections present the three cases of Cape Verdean trajectories into Luxembourg, and the final section summarises, compares across the cases and concludes the chapter.

2 Migration, Movement and Immobility

Issues of movement are central to many people's lives nowadays, so central in fact that a paradigm shift is happening across the board of humanities and social sciences, a 'mobile turn' (Sheller & Urry, 2006) and within our own discipline at least, also a 'multilingual turn' (May, 2014). Current globalisation is typically characterised by intensified traffic of people, media (news), technologies, money and ideas (Appadurai, 1996), with unprecedented opportunities for global movement and mobility causing more complex and less expected language and social practices. Everything seems to be on the move now.

While the humanities and social sciences are struggling to come to grips with this theoretically (e.g. Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Vertovec, 2007) and by trial-and-error developing new research techniques and methodologies (e.g. Büscher *et al*., 2011; Marcus, 1995), a growing body of research within this paradigm points at ironies and inequalities involved around our increased global mobility. Hirst and Thompson (1999: 257), for instance, point out that 'people are less mobile than money, goods or ideas, and in a sense they remain nationalized, dependent upon passports, visas, residence and labour qualifications' (cited in Urry, 2007: 10). And 'although various parts of the world are more connected than ever, in many ways the world has become less flat, for instance through rising income inequality between and particularly within countries' maintain Czaika and de Haas (2014: 318). These inequalities are so steep that for Carling (2002) we do not so much live in times of hypermobility but simultaneously in an 'era of involuntary immobility' with unmatched 'mobile aspirations' and 'mobile capacities' for a large number of people. Indeed, a lot of people on earth are somehow 'stuck' before, in or after mobility (Baynham, 2013). These mobile inequalities have an economic basis and point to basic material and social class inequalities operating at local and global scales alike.

Czaika and de Haas (2014: 318) 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 favored (generally skilled and/or wealthy) groups, but at the same time exclude lower skilled migrants from such rights' (Czaika & de Haas, 2014: 319). Inequalities indeed 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 certain jobs and qualifications, to enter or create certain spaces of belonging, but one 'gains' the 'duty' to learn and speak one or more other languages (Horner, 2011).

Becoming a migrant mostly means stepping outside of the comfort zone of one's home, and that home has a cultural, religious, professional linguistic dimension. After mobility all of these often become a problem, an issue, and none of these can be taken for granted any longer. Official discourses normalize mobile inequalities, based on the place of birth, race, ethnicity, language, social status, economic capital and so on. 'Borders are opened only selectively,' Kluitenberg (2011: 11) argues, 'on the basis of specific socioeconomic criteria, but are increasingly closed to a majority of the world's population.' Hyndman (2004: 177) similarly argued 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 in fact the basis for migration policies throughout the globe but especially in the more affluent North. 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. Movement and mobility is not a human right but a privilege to be struggled over.

The territoriality of one's body's first appearance marks her/his life in terms of struggles and privileges over mobility, power and 'knowledge'. It is astonishing how obtuse our politics and human rights discourse is about this accident of birth. Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is hopelessly nationalistic and conservative in declaring that (13.1) 'Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state' and (13.2) 'Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country'. Thus, strong restrictions are placed on humans' rights to movement – confined to the borders of the state one happens to be born in. Note that

there is very little universality about this right in our globalised world of today and that the right to leave one's country is futile without the right to enter another country of one's choice. These restrictions in mobility render some types of knowledge, practices, and bodies more legitimate, and therefore more visible than others. Between the global North and the global South are constructed different 'orders of visibility', i.e. there are '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: 7). These orders are embodied by the figure of the migrant whose body crossed and bridges the South and North in their daily actions and routines and life projects, but also – or more so – by the figure of the non-migrant who aspires to migration. Gaibazzi (2013: 39) has reminded us of the semantics of the legal term 'ineligibility' that is central in the global visa regime, technically meaning 'disqualified by law, rule, or provision' but more generally also 'unworthy of being chosen; unfit'. As freedom of movement across borders is not a right, not a self-evident truth, it is a site of intense struggle. And ultimately it is a struggle over basic human dignity.

Following various anthropologists of migration with a focus on the global South and West Africa in particular (e.g. Gaibazzi, 2013; Graw & Schielke, 2012; Kresse & Liebau, 2013), we consider that human mobility or migration is best understood when seen also from the perspective of the permanence, stillness, or immobility it seeks to escape from and simultaneously from receiving and sending contexts. We believe that as sociolinguists we are well equipped to study societal discourses and personal narratives of migration at once, approaching multilingualism via mobility and vice versa. A key notion for us, linking mobility and moments of immobility (stills) is that of trajectory (Juffermans & Tavares, 2017). A recurrent theme across the humanities and social sciences, in its most general sense a trajectory can be defined as 'the path that a moving object follows through space as a function of time' (Wikipedia entry: trajectory, December 2014). A trajectory is straightforward to be imagined 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). 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).

3 Our Research Context and Participants

Let us now move to our specific research context of migration between Cape Verde and Luxembourg. Our project, which is funded by the Fonds National de la Recherche, Luxembourg, explores sociolinguistic trajectories and repertories of both aspiring and accomplished migrants from a multisited perspective with fieldwork both in the South (in addition to Cape Verde also in Guinea-Bissau) and in the North (Luxembourg). In this paper we report on our work between Cape Verde and Luxembourg, focusing on both accomplished and failed mobilities, including those mobilities that are invisible in the North or erased by the North but all the more salient in the South. The two countries of fieldwork we are concerned with here, Cape Verde and Luxembourg, are in our project connected in the lives of our participants as 'sending' and 'receiving' country respectively. There are some similarities between the two countries 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. While Luxembourg is land-locked and well-connected to neighbouring countries France, Germany and Belgium and a central and founding member of the EU, Cape Verde as an island nation is isolated in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean with no direct neighbouring countries and linked to countries such as Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Portugal and Brazil only through air (humans) and sea (freight). Despite or perhaps because of its isolation, it is estimated that diasporic Cape Verdeans outnumber those residing in the archipelago. Cape Verde is an emigration country par excellence, but also a prime destination for immigrants from the West African region (cf. Batalha & Carling, 2008). Luxembourg, on the other hand, is the country with the highest proportion of foreign residents and proportional net migration rate in the EU and one of the highest in the world. Regionally, both countries are comparatively wealthy within their region (West Africa/ECOWAS and Europe/EU respectively), but globally Luxembourg is positioned at the very top as a highly developed country with (one of) the highest per capita GDP in the world while Cape Verde is categorised as a medium development country in the UN's Human Development Index.

The two countries are linked historically, economically and politically through their connection to Portugal via colonisation and migration

respectively. Cape Verde was a Portuguese settlement colony since the 15th century until 1975 when it became an independent nation. Many Cape Verdeans migrated to Portugal from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. At this time, there was a huge demand for *main-d'oeuvre* in Luxembourg. Luxembourg was attracting Portuguese contract labourers to come and work in construction mainly as the influx of Italian guest workers began to decline. In Portugal, many Cape Verdeans replaced the unskilled Portuguese workers who left to Luxembourg, but many also followed the Portuguese workers further North, including to Luxembourg (Batalha & Carling, 2008). 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 to Luxembourg. However, later on the Luxembourg government and the Portuguese fascist government signed an agreement to stop Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg (Laplanche & Vanderkam, 1991). Cape Verdean migration to Luxembourg consolidated in the 1970–80s and it is ongoing but under tightened conditions.

Today, in Luxembourg, the second largest ethnic group (after native Luxembourgers) are people of Portuguese heritage. 16.4% of population are Portuguese passport holders (Statec, 2017). Although Portuguese is marginal in Luxembourg's official self-imagination as a multilingual country, the Portuguese language has a vital and visible presence in Luxembourg (cf. Weber, 2009). Although reliable numbers are missing, there is also a significant Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg as the largest non-European community. Estimates of their number vary between 2,855 (Statec, 2017) and 8,000 or even 12,000 (in various sources linking to the Embassy of Cape Verde in Luxembourg). In addition to the migrant presence, there is strong development cooperation between Luxembourg and Cape Verde, fostered or inspired by the Cape Verdean presence in Luxembourg. In Cape Verde, one frequently hears Cape Verdean politicians making claims and promises of 'making Cape Verde the Luxembourg of West Africa' (see e.g. Contacto, 2015). Thus, Luxembourg's wealth is taken as inspiration for Cape Verdean officials.

In what follows we explore the language lives and travels and changing social status of three young to middle-aged Cape Verdean men connected, in multiple ways, to Luxembourg. One of them never managed to come to Luxembourg despite a strong motivation and several attempts (Alexandrino); another was deported back to Cape Verde after living in Luxembourg for a short time (Marku); the third currently lives in Luxembourg as a Cape Verdean immigrant (Jorge). While they share the same mobile aspirations, they represent different mobile capabilities in South to North or Cape Verde to Luxembourg migration.

4 Multisited Ethnography

In order to understand Cape Verdean trajectories into Luxembourg, we conducted multisited ethnographic fieldwork both in Cape Verde and in the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg. Since the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago are home to most Cape Verdeans in Luxembourg (Carling, 2003; dos Santos Rocha, 2010), this is where we have concentrated our fieldwork. Bernardino, who carried out the field research for this chapter, is a native of Santiago but spent about half of his six months of fieldwork in Cape Verde on the islands of Santo Antão and São Vicente, across the Sotavento/Barlavento linguistic divide. Within the fieldwork, Bernardino was both a local and a foreigner in all of the research sites: local but a newcomer in the Cape Verdean community in Luxembourg, local in the country of Cape Verde and on the island of Santiago but foreign on the islands of São Vicente and Santo Antão and in the Barlavento varieties of Cape Verdean Creole spoken there.

We relied on face-to-face interactions with our participants during fieldwork and long-distance digital communication (Facebook and telephone) in between fieldwork periods. We have tried to immerse ourselves in the spaces they navigate collecting data by means of observations and field notes, recorded interviews and photographs of the linguistic and semiotic landscapes. The participants' accounts of their language and mobility were analysed not as chronological histories but as narrations of multilingual and mobile/immobile selves in order to make sense of the fractured and discontinuous social worlds in which they are situated. Autobiographic narratives are valuable data as they shift researcher-researchee power relationships and give voice to research subjects (Forsey, 2010; Pavlenko, 2007), thereby designing this research not only as research 'on' and 'for' migrants, but also as research 'with' migrants (Cameron *et al.*, 1992).

Our multisited ethnographic approach was informed by following participants and their achievements, frustrations, objects and desires through multiple locations (Marcus, 1995), and narrative reconstructions of those spaces and times not accessible to us in real time. In order to have a nuanced reading and understanding of transnational lives, we had multiple observations of juxtaposed moments and trajectories 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: 102). This approach is necessary, we submit, when 'the object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated' and

when 'the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations' (Marcus, 1995: 102). Dick and Arnold (2017) pinpoint the advantages of using multisited ethnography in the study of language and migration. According to them, in our neoliberal world, 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: 407). Multisited ethnography is a particularly pertinent research method for our purposes because it allows us to combine a sending with a receiving country perspective in our work. Moreover, Dick and Arnold (2017: 401) stress that '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'. Furthermore, a multisited approach allows us to, or even forces us, to investigate transnationalism not only as accomplished after the fact, but also in terms of aspired and failed projects, or life projects in the making for what Åkesson (2008) has called 'homeland transnationals'. We are reminded that almost all Cape Verdeans, when not physically transnational themselves, are often virtually transnational, in imagination or through interactions with relatives and friends all over the world. These interactions and imaginations, and the successful or failed attempts at migration to Luxembourg are what interest us here.

5 Alexandrino's Involuntary Immobility

The first of our three focal participants, Alexandrino is in his early forties and is a fisherman in Ponta do Sol, the administrative centre of Ribeira Grande on Santo Antão island and can often be found playing cards at the port. Bernardino was introduced to him in March 2015 as he 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 presented the information 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 outwardly struggled to sign the form. Alexandrino began explaining that he could speak Creole and 'get by with' Portuguese. The word he used in Creole, *dizenraska*, 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 gosta d prende 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 speakers of French, of which 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 pidi un data di vez, dtxa-n dizebu seis vez, dja-n ba pidi vistu propi na Praia … un volta N pedi pa Praia es txoma-n so ki ne tinha dinher pa bai te la … pur isu agor N fika asin mas kuatu vez N bai propi la mas nunka es po-n 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 26 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. Living in a peripheral place like Ponta do Sol makes it hard to seek transnational mobility. There is no embassy or consulate on Santo Antão and so people from that island have to board a boat and/or plane to Mindelo on São Vicente island and then to the capital Praia on Santiago island to apply for a visa. 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 him, 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 an 'involuntary immobile' and stuck with no chance to 'make' his life as follows:

mi, nha problema e nbarka, pa N pode faze nha vida e kela, ya bu podi trabalha pa bo, pa bo ten un koza tanbe, un kaza kuandu bu for ja di idadi bu ten onde mete 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 possesses family networking (a daughter and brothers in Europe), but that is not enough to be allowed by migration regimes to circulate the road of mobility. Being a simple fisherman, with low level of literacy and a 'restricted' linguistic repertoire, he is structurally denied access to the privileged North. He is, time and again, declared 'ineligible' for transnational mobility by the authorities. Schengen's migration regimes effectively immobilize Alexandrino, keeping him away from his kin and from building a house. He is declared to belong to/in the South and not to/in the North. His desire for mobility challenges this but his actual immobility confirms this. Ironically, there is an interesting tension between his desire to migrate and his desire to be rooted in his home community by having a house: in Alexandrino's imagination, socio-economic stability is something that comes with transnational mobility. He remains immobile against his wish, left only with the technologies of communication that, as Urry (2007: 7) puts it, constitute 'physical prostheses that enable the "disabled immobile" to acquire some means of movement.'

6 Marku's 'Lost' Mobility

The encounter with our second participant, Marku, was also arranged by a common friend, a childhood friend of Bernardino from Santiago, who was in Santo Antão for a family visit. We arranged to go to Paúl, a picturesque town by the sea, in search of more people connected to Luxembourg. When we got there, we were introduced to Marku. He took us to his backyard where we could see the waves bumping on the walls of the house. Marku 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. Like Alexandrino, he speaks Santo Antão Creole, but his Portuguese is more developed and he 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 both moved to Portugal. Marku's first and only overseas travel was on a 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, and go back to Cape Verde and prepare to come again as he had fallen in love with a Cape Verdean woman here. 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 by the police. Since his visa was no longer valid, they took him to prison:

N ʄka nov dia ma es dipus agora es enviam te Kab Verd. ... Mi foi nen trafikante nen nen nada, es manda-m moda N ka tava ku dokumentu. ... mi moda N dzé mi né trafikant, mi né drogad nen nada es panha-m atraves de moda N dzeb.	I spent nine days there before they send 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.

Marku's story of deportation is a typical example of how Cape Verdeans get deported from Luxembourg. Even if a migrant has never committed any harm to anyone, the 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 friend and tourists again, waiting and hoping to come to Luxembourg again. He said that among all European countries he visited, Luxembourg is his favourite because it is calm and everything is well organized. He 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 changed. Apart from Creole 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 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 not advancing in life. And he criticized the inequalities of treatment in Cape Verdean society, between migrants and those who are not. On the other hand, several interview moments reflect 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.

Marku's repeated mentioning of hope during the interview reflects that he is not very confident and 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.

7 Jorge's Ongoing Struggle After Mobility

Unlike Alexandrino and Marku, our third focal participant here, Jorge, was an actual migrant in Luxembourg when we first met him in the Epicerie Créole in Bonnevoie, one of our main fieldwork sites in Luxembourg. He became one of Bernardino's closest friends in Luxembourg. Jorge is in his mid-forties and, like Bernardino, originally from Santiago. 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 mobile option, but after two visa denials to the USA 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. Jorge got a Schengen visa and travelled to Luxembourg where he got married and ended up staying. Now he goes to Cape Verde regularly for holidays and family visits.

In Luxembourg he first started to work as a security guard at discos and shops, and moved to construction after three years. After an operation he left the construction work and gained the right for one-year *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 in learning languages and for Luxembourgish he was allowed to skip some levels. However, when he got to level six, the institution that paid for his Luxembourgish courses dropped the funding and he was told that he should pay for

the courses himself if he wanted to continue. He refused and decided to find his own means to improve his Luxembourgish, informally. By quitting the Luxembourgish course, Jorge was reclaiming his value and making a statement that the state should match his time investment and 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). It also indicates that he did not need the highest possible certification of Luxembourgish for his life in Luxembourg. And today he regrets not having invested more in German than Luxembourgish. He explained that German has been the most challenging for him as it was used in several instances as an obstacle to gain access to jobs or studies. In Cape Verde he already had had some contact with the German language as he liked to learn languages and had several opportunities to learn foreign languages in his high school and through his work. In Luxembourg he has been working for a major multinational security company, but explained how difficult it was to get this job in the first place. German was used as the very last motive to exclude him. The employment 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 bokadinhu di Spanhol … Luxenburges 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 Luxenburges di li un anu N atxa ma bu ta bira bon, mas enpreza ki sta rikruta ... 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 enterprise which is recruiting … German is principal, you haven't had yet a German that allows you to work there.

Note that the agent praises his multilingual competence but erases Portuguese and Creole from her assessment and faults him for not having sufficient skills in German. He did not accept this rejection and argued with her, calling attention to his knowledge of the company and 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 N flal: dxan fla-u un kuza, N fla-l: odja, li sin nu sta nos trez, N fla N ta fala ku bo di forma abertu sen diskriminason, N fla: enpreza … N konsi ben, pamodi djan ten anus n ta sonda, dja N ten anus ta konvivi ku pesoas ki ta trab-adja la, N fla-l: inkluzivel N ten un namorada … ki e franseza, e sta la na enpreza 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 … Alemon nen A, N fla: Luxenburges inda pior, N fla: un otu kuza, bu konxi efetivu di enpresa? … e fla: 'mas o menus', N fla 70% di efetivu di e Franses, N fla entri nos doz, N fla ami e Afrikanu abo e Europeu, bo e Luxenburges mas bu konxi Franses … kuandu ki Franse foi belingi ou multilingi?

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 enterprise … 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 girl-friend … [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 enterprise? 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?

After long arguments, the agent finally gave him the chance to sit the company's entrance examination in French. Among 40 applicants, he was among the first 10 applicants selected for the job and has been with the company for over 11 years now.

Jorge's trajectories into Luxembourg illuminates how racism is grad-ually invisibilised through language (cf. Kerfoot & Tatah, 2017; Weber, 2015). Language is used as a constant tool in defining his 'otherness', i.e. the migrant who has not achieved the competence to enter a certain job or educational space and the social mobility that goes with that. It appears that Jorge's skin complexion and ethnic heritage define who has to be proficient in German. Immigrants and *transfrontaliers* (cross-border commuters) 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 Jorge's case shows, making this explicit, as Jorge assertively did, is a potential way to counter this racist language ideology.

8 Summary, Comparison and Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented the mobile struggles of three Cape Verdean men in their thirties and forties with different mobile experiences and capabilities. The three cases show how complex and fragile mobile life options are in our time in which, as Carling (2002: 37) puts it, 'although it may seem contradictory, involuntary immobility and globalisation take place together'. Alexandrino only encountered rejections in his attempts to find mobility to France and Luxembourg; Marku was admitted to travel to Europe but sent out when he did not comply with the terms and conditions of his visa, even if he had personally compelling (medical and romantic) reasons for doing so; and while Jorge may be the more successful and lucky of the three, he also struggled with his linguistic subalternity in his professional and educational life in Luxembourg. All three men 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.

First of all, their cases remind us that being in Luxembourg, or being in Europe or the North more generally, is a privilege – something that is apparently worth struggling over. Being rejected time and again as in Alexandrino's case or being deported as in Marku's case marks that privilege. At the same, it produces a subclass of immobiles, ineligible or unworthy for northward mobility. It is 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 its territory to those it elects to grant entry, and to deny this to anyone else. Secondly, it has been found that language is both itself a struggle and a means of overcoming struggles for geopolitical and social mobility. In a context where multilingualism is as capitalized on as it is in Luxembourg, multilingualism remains a site of struggle and selection where certain kinds of it are privileged and others are devalued. 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: 5). But this

struggle and this distinction does not begin in the country of reception, it is already part of the sending context. We are reminded of fisherman Alexandrino saying that knowing French would be good. Thirdly, a point that we keep returning to as students of language and migration: 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 gets access to transnational mobility and who does not. It is hardly surprising that a fisherman with very limited literacy does not succeed in travelling while a travel agent 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 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 is.

In conclusion, let us return to our starting point: multilingualism as a function of mobility – shaped by and shaping each other. Alexandrino, Marku and Jorge are all mobile and multilingual, albeit to varying extents; Jorge is evidently more mobile and more multilingual than Alexandrino, but all three, Marku included, are struggling (economically, socially, linguistically, professionally, romantically) to move forward in life. Focusing on language and (im)mobility as a struggle from a multisited perspective can help to shed light on and redress growing mobile inequalities between the South and the North.

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