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Experiencing migration, language policy and citizenship ‘from below’: the case of Luxembourg

Joanna Kremer

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Centre for Luxembourg Studies
Department of Germanic Studies

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Abstract

Since the turn of the 21st century, many EU countries have introduced language and/or civics tests in the context of citizenship and migration policy. Recent studies have critically analysed the discursive justifications of these language requirements and/or testing procedures in various EU member-states (Extra et al., 2009, Hogan-Brun et al., 2009). It has also been argued that the scope of language policy should be widened to include research on the experiences of people who are directly affected by formal ‘language policy mechanisms’ (Shohamy, 2009). Moreover, there have been calls for the discursive study of citizenship to broaden its range beyond the aspect of language testing in order to investigate how citizenship is enacted by individuals (Milani, 2015). This thesis responds to these recent trends by focusing on the case study of Luxembourg.

In Luxembourg, a new law on ‘*la nationalité luxembourgeoise*’ (Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’) came into effect in 2009 which stipulates that applicants need to pass a Luxembourgish language test and attend ‘civics’ instruction lessons in order to become citizens. Drawing upon 27 semi-structured interviews conducted with recent applicants for citizenship, this thesis considers three aspects: it first asks how the participants construct their experiences of moving to Luxembourg. Secondly, it investigates how they discuss the language testing procedure and thirdly, it queries how the concept of citizenship is understood.

Through thematic analysis and discourse analysis, this thesis shows that the participants discuss their experiences of moving to the country in a variety of different ways. Some participants for example talk about experiences of discrimination, others mention the attractiveness of Luxembourg. It also illustrates that there is a broad range of

perceptions on the Luxembourgish language testing procedure. In addition to this, the analysis shows that the participants attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship and ‘Luxembourgishness.’ This thesis offers important insights into the complexities of how policy affects people’s lives and demonstrates the importance of combining the areas of migration studies, citizenship studies and language policy.

Key words: citizenship studies, migration studies, language policy, Luxembourg, qualitative research, thematic analysis, discourse analysis.

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List of abbreviations

ADR	The Action Committee for Democracy and Retirement Equality Party
AL	An organisation called ‘Actioun Lëtzebuergesch’
ASTI	The Association for the Support of Immigrant Workers
CEFR	The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CSV	The Christian Social People’s Party
DP	The Liberal Democrats
LSAP	The Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party
MJ	The Ministry of Justice
PD	The Party of the Right
RTL	Radio Television Luxembourg
STATEC	The Luxembourg National Institute for Statistics

Chapter One: Introduction

Global processes, such as increasing human mobility, growing inequalities and rising interconnectedness, are some of the main characteristics of the early 21st century. Moreover, many countries, especially in Europe, are becoming increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse. The central point of contention has, however, become human mobility, which manifests itself in various forms. Some people move voluntarily for leisure and holiday pursuits or for increased opportunities. Others feel constrained to relocate because of conflicts, war and poverty. Certain forms of mobility are seen to represent positive developments, whilst others are constructed as threatening. Hence the term ‘migrants’ exists in parallel with ‘expats.’ Similarly, ‘asylum seekers’ fleeing wars or conflicts are perceived as having a legitimate reason for leaving their original country of residence, while others, the so-called ‘economic migrants’, are often targeted as illegitimate claimants of the benefits of the countries to which they are attempting to move.

The ways in which language is employed play a central role in perpetuating messages about population movement. A public figure may, for instance, comment on what became known as Europe’s 2015 ‘migrant crisis’ claiming that ‘desperate’ and ‘marauding’ ‘migrants’ pose a threat to European countries.¹ Such emotive terminology as well as labels like ‘economic migrants’ are used to perpetuate ideology and power relations. Blommaert (2005, p. 2) argues in this vein that language can be seen as an ‘ingredient of power processes resulting in, and sustained by, forms of inequality.’ Hence

¹ These statements were made by Philip Hammond, Secretary of State for the U.K. in August 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-33842861>.

the ways in which language is used by individuals is a decisive player and determiner in relation to social difference and inequalities.

This interdisciplinary thesis positions itself at the crossroads of migration studies, language policy and citizenship studies. This first chapter provides a brief overview of the context in which this study is situated. Part 1.1. shows how this context is overarched by developments and policy changes at the level of the EU, as well as on the global level. It then moves on to highlight how this study fits in with some of the scholarship in citizenship studies and, in particular, how it responds to the call for further research to be undertaken to analyse the perspectives of those affected by citizenship policies. To achieve this aim, the methodological approach taken is one that combines thematic analysis with discourse analysis. In part 1.2., there is an overview of the rationale for choosing Luxembourg as a case study for this thesis. Part 1.2. also underlines how this study additionally contributes to scholarship in the field of Luxembourg studies. Part 1.3. finally provides the research aims of this study, followed by an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Overview of research on EU and global developments in the fields of citizenship studies, migration studies and language policy

Globalising processes are often considered as putting increasing pressure on the nation-state. The nation-state, which stems from a European tradition, nevertheless continues to be the main form of political organisation in the 21st century. One of the most common ways that this construct is presented is as a linguistically and culturally homogenous political community. The idea of belonging to a group, based on the ability to speak the ‘national’ or ‘official’ language and on adherence to certain cultural values, is prominent in many European countries. The consequence has been that since the turn of the 21st

century, many EU member states have implemented language testing requirements and/or mandatory 'civics' lessons in the context of national citizenship and migration legislation. At the level of the EU, it has been argued that these policy changes were put in place at similar points in time to create transparency and uniformity in migration policies across Europe (van Avermaet, 2009, p. 15). In addition to this, it has been maintained that they should be seen in the context of 'Europeanisation' or 'European integration', both of which are linked to processes of globalisation (Delanty and Rumford, 2005, p. 4). In the context of this study, the Treaty of Maastricht is critical since it introduced, among other things, the idea of EU citizenship. EU citizenship, which is discussed in further detail in part 3.3., is best understood as a multi-layered concept. One of its key characteristics is that it does not supplant national citizenship; it is rather dependent on each EU member state's national policies concerning citizenship, many of which include policies of language and/ or 'civics' testing.

Policies that have recently been implemented by many EU member states correspond with those of other non EU countries which are nevertheless located at the global 'center' (Shohamy, 2006, pp. 66-68). On a broad level, the implementation of testing measures for those wishing to apply for citizenship needs to be seen in the context of developments in which citizenship is constructed as identical to nationality. What this means is that individuals who wish to become citizens of a country need to also become members of the national group. With the official implementation of language testing in the context of citizenship and migration policy, language can be seen as one of the tools used by governments as a means of legitimately including, but also of excluding, people. In this context, Heller (2011, p. 49) argues that 'language and culture typically serve to legitimise the ways in which the construction of social difference is embedded in, or rather

mobilised for, the construction of relations of inequality.’ Echoing this view, Shohamy (2006, p. 23) maintains that in the ‘nation-state, which is as diverse as ever, language is in the middle between those wishing to perpetuate a homogenous and nationalist ideology and those seeking participation.’

Although citizenship can be primarily seen as a legal status it is nevertheless connected to social rights and identities. Recent scholarship has highlighted this link (Isin and Turner, 2007, p. 14). The exact understanding of citizenship depends, of course, upon the individual concerned. Some might perceive rights or duties as key; others might perceive the aspect of identity as more significant (see Williams, 2013).

Considering this potential divergence of opinion, this study demonstrates the understanding of citizenship by focusing on individuals who have recently applied for that status. It investigates how they frame their own citizenship and that of others. In addition, this study explores the ways in which the participants narrate how legal citizenship is accessed. The study argues that these questions need to be raised because it is through citizenship that individuals are able to gain access to other advantages such as national health care, benefits and national voting rights. Acquiring citizenship also often guarantees the right to travel to other areas of the world, to apply for employment, and to access children’s education. By drawing upon individual discourses of those who have been directly affected by recent citizenship policy, this study provides an account of some of the processes through which inclusion and exclusion are created, maintained and contested. This study’s interest is inspired by scholarship which similarly explores questions of social justice and human rights (see for example Shohamy, 2006, Isin and Turner, 2007, Heller, 2011 and Isin and Saward, 2013).

One of the ways in which processes of inclusion and exclusion take place is through discursive practices, the means by which individuals are portrayed as ‘economic migrants’, or alternatively as ‘expats’ or ‘asylum seekers.’ Such terminology plays a significant role in how messages about people’s position in society are perpetuated. It is not just the words that are important, however, but also who employs them and how. In a similar vein to discourses on migration, individuals employ specific vocabulary to construct the notion of citizenship in different ways in relation to the nation-state. This study considers discourse to be an important tool used by individuals to position themselves and others. As such, its findings supplement a small, but growing body of research using analysis of the discourses of individuals who have been directly affected by recent citizenship policy (see for example Williams, 2013, Kahn and Blackledge, 2015). For the purpose of this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with recent applicants for Luxembourg citizenship. These were completed from January to August 2013. The group of interviewees (27 in total) was diverse, ranging from the age of 18 to 65; ten of the participants were male and seventeen were female. The following section provides the rationale for why Luxembourg was chosen as a case study for this project.

1.2. Luxembourg: a case study

Luxembourg is located between France, Germany and Belgium, and is one of the smallest EU member states with a surface area of 2586m². It became an independent state in the middle of the 19th century and was one of the founding members of the European Union. Luxembourg has a variety of unique characteristics which make it an excellent case study for analysing issues of migration, citizenship and language policy. One important feature of this country’s demographic make-up is the fact that around 258,000 people are foreign residents (i.e. non-Luxembourgish passport holders). This group makes up 46 percent of

a total population of about 563,000 inhabitants. (STATEC, 2015). The majority of these foreign residents are passport holders of other EU member states.

Since being declared an independent state in the 19th century, attempts have been made to construct the Luxembourgish nation as a separate entity from its larger neighbours. One of the ways in which this has occurred is through language. Two types of national identification strategies have been highlighted within Luxembourg, both linked to specific patterns of language use. On the one hand, there is the monolingual identification with the Luxembourgish language. On the other, there is the identification with a trilingual paradigm which consists of German, French and Luxembourgish (Horner, 2007).

The roots of these forms of linguistic identification can be found in late 19th and early 20th century texts (cf. Spizzo, 1995) and continue to be expressed in present-day discourses. According to Horner (2007, p. 372), ‘the link between the Luxembourgish language and national identity has become highly salient in the Grand Duchy’ with this tendency becoming more pronounced since the late 1970s. The status and function of various languages in Luxembourg has shifted due to the increased use of spoken French, but also due to issues related to EU expansion and globalisation, which has served as a driver for the increased use of English. Horner (2007, p. 372) argues that these processes represented a contributing factor in the promotion of Luxembourgish. The 1984 language law gives official, legal recognition to this trend by signalling Luxembourgish as the ‘national language’ and declaring French and German to be the administrative, judicial and legislative languages of the country. (Mémorial A, N° 16, 1984, art. 1, 2, 3).

In addition to Luxembourg’s language situation, which is described in more detail in part 2.1.3, the country also experiences a significant number of daily cross-border

movements involving people coming into Luxembourg from the neighbouring countries to work. These individuals are often referred to as the ‘frontaliers’ (‘cross-border workers’) and they currently number around 165,000; French being the vast majority. (STATEC, 2015). These various distinctive characteristics contribute to making it a fascinating case study in terms of issues of mobility and language in the 21st century.

In addition to the law relating to language, there have also been some significant recent changes in citizenship policy in Luxembourg. This study specifically focuses on the 2008 legislation, entitled ‘loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise’ (‘law on Luxembourgish nationalité’). Throughout this study, the original wording of the law is retained to show how the concept of ‘nationalité’ is constructed in different ways. This corresponds with the research aims which are highlighted in part 1.3. The French word ‘nationalité’ is retained to refer to the legal Luxembourgish document and the English term ‘citizenship’ is employed when discussing the concept in general terms throughout the thesis.

What contributed to the 2008 law being selected as the focus point for this study is that it marked the introduction of an official language test as well as mandatory ‘civics’ lessons in Luxembourg. The 2008 law states that applicants for citizenship must complete this formal language test, which is the first of its kind in the country, and it is Luxembourgish rather than German or French which is the focus. In addition to this, the 2008 law allows for a broader interpretation of dual ‘nationalité.’ This means that on a legal level, the state permits individuals to hold passports from two different countries.

During the 1990s, the number of naturalisations in Luxembourg rarely crossed the 1000 mark and in 1994, only 664 people became citizens. After this year, the numbers showed a slight increase each year apart from 2001, which saw the numbers drop down

to 474 (MJ, 1994-2008, pp. 1-4). However, since the 2008 law took effect in January 2009, the number of successful applications for Luxembourg citizenship has risen and stabilised at a substantial level. Where in 2008, there were 1,129 applicants, in 2009 this number had increased to 4,022. Since 2009, these numbers have remained relatively stable with 4,311 successful applications in 2010 and 3,405 in 2011. In 2012, there were 4,680, in 2013, 4,411 and in 2014, there were 4,991 applications (MJ, 2009-2014, pp. 1-4). What the most recent figures (2009-2014) show is that the 2008 law is significant in creating an impetus for increasing the overall number of successful applications.

Although these statistics provide insights into naturalisation trends, the numbers alone cannot reveal the whole picture. They are unable to explain the reasons for people applying for citizenship, or to reveal how the individuals who have been directly affected by this policy understand Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' Through a close analysis of the discourses of people who have been directly affected by recent citizenship policy, this study provides a window into the experiences of the applicants qualifying for citizenship under the conditions of the 2008 law. This approach resonates with Williams (2013), who has argued that using statistics on naturalisation only informs us about how many individuals go through the process. It cannot provide deeper insights into their reasons for applying. Williams (2013) furthermore notes that a reliance on naturalisation rates misses an important point, namely that the meaning of citizenship often varies from person to person. This study takes a similar approach to Williams (2013) in that it analyses the different ways in which citizenship is understood by individuals, rather than focusing on bare statistics.

A further distinguishing characteristic of Luxembourg is worth highlighting at this point, namely the aspect of legislative voting rights. As is the case in many other EU

countries, foreign residents do not have the right to vote in national, legislative elections in Luxembourg, even though they are allowed to vote in local and European elections. While it is true that Luxembourg is similar to other EU countries in this respect, the proportion of non-Luxembourgish passport holder residents in the country currently stands at 46 percent, which makes for a distinctive case. If the number of new arrivals from outside the grand Duchy continues to increase at a similar rate as in the past, the total of eligible voters in legislative elections is soon likely to represent a minority of the population.

There is much discussion surrounding this so-called ‘democratic deficit’ in the country. In June 2015, a national referendum was held in which Luxembourgish passport holders were asked three questions, one of which was whether foreign residents should be allowed to vote in legislative elections. The results of the referendum showed that 78.02 percent were against the granting of legislative voting rights (ELECTIONS, 2015). Even though this outcome indicated a negative response to a change in the status quo, the referendum provided the opportunity to open up discussions and increase awareness of this issue amongst eligible and non-eligible voters.

The potential granting of legislative voting rights for foreign nationals nevertheless remains a substantial bone of contention, not only for the political parties, but also the general population. Presently, the only way for individuals to gain access to voting rights in legislative elections is through applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, which, as described beforehand, is dependent upon a number of requirements. This study will also contribute to this debate surrounding legislative voting rights by foregrounding questions about access to legal citizenship, a prerequisite to participation in the democratic process. In Luxembourg, where nearly half of the population has no

legislative voting rights, these questions are integral to how the country is to be governed and how it represents itself to the outside world.

This study also aligns itself with some of the research already undertaken in the field of Luxembourg studies principally in the area of nationhood, national identity, language policy and Luxembourgish ‘nationalité,’ especially how it has been framed historically and constructed in policy documents and print media sources. One exploration from a historical standpoint is that of Spizzo (1995), though Péporté et al. (2010) also provide an important overview of the ways in which Luxembourgish nationhood has been invented from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. More recently, Scuto (2012) has also analysed the historical trajectory of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’

In Luxembourg studies, there has also been some focus on the implementation of the law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ This includes both the 2001 amendments to the law passed in 1968 entitled ‘loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise’ (‘law on Luxembourgish nationalité’) and the ratification of the new law in 2008. These publications consider the process of legislation (see for example Scuto, 2005, Horner, 2009a and 2009b). Horner (2015) has also more recently examined the print media discourses that justify as well as challenge the legitimacy of Luxembourgish language testing in connection with the 2008 law.

Overall the focus of these previous publications has been on historical developments, the analysis of policy documents, political discourse and print media sources. They are referred to again in further detail in chapter two, which provides the contextual background for this study. This study aims to be different, however, as it

provides an analysis of the discourses of individuals who have been directly affected by recent citizenship policy.

1.3. Research aims and structure of thesis

This study is framed by the following research questions:

- How do the participants construct their experiences of moving to and from Luxembourg?
- How do they discuss the Luxembourgish language testing procedure, which is part of the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’?
- How is the concept of citizenship understood by the participants?

The thesis is made up of eight chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two provides the contextual information in relation to Luxembourg. It is divided into two parts. Part 2.1. includes an overview of the country’s history, a description of the school system, the language situation and some of the key facts about migration. Part 2.2. explores the development of legislation concerning Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ based on the work conducted by Scuto (2005). This starts with a historical analysis and culminates with the most recent changes, including the 2001 amendments to the law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ of 1968 and the ratification of the new law in 2008. In part 2.2., there is also an in-depth discussion of the circumstances in which these policies were ratified and a closer look at the specifics for people applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ The aim of chapter two is to outline the key points regarding the case study of Luxembourg and to highlight why this study has chosen to focus on the questions it asks about Luxembourg.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework. Part 3.1. summarises key aspects of the concept of globalisation, including some of the recent writings on the ideas

of movement and mobility. Part 3.1. also situates this study in relation to recent scholarship which engages with the politics of identity and belonging. Part 3.2. then explores scholarship on nationhood, as well as how ethnicity and language often play a significant role in the construction of group membership. Part 3.3. positions the study in the context of recent research in citizenship studies. It points out that there are diverse viewpoints on citizenship as a status guaranteeing legal rights and the construction of citizenship in the context of the nation-state, where it is often conflated with nationality. By discussing recent developments in citizenship studies, it is shown how similar calls have been made for research to be undertaken into analysing the perspectives of those affected by citizenship policies. Part 3.3. argues that this approach may be productively combined with a thematic and discourse analytical approach. Part 3.4. then focuses on how this study is inspired by related research that views discourse as a medium through which ideologies and power relations are articulated.

Chapter four illustrates the main methodological issues related to this study. This chapter is divided up into four parts: part 4.1. begins with an overview of qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry. There is a brief historical overview of both approaches along with a synopsis of the main challenges of qualitative research. Part 4.2. provides a description of the interview material and how it was collected. The interchanges took place between January and August 2013 with participants being recruited through word-of-mouth and through the support of an organisation supporting newcomers to Luxembourg. The head of this organisation, as well as other colleagues, were central in helping the researcher recruit participants. Part 4.3. examines the basic social features of the participants such as gender, age, countries of origin, occupation and duration of residence. This is then summarised in a table at the end of part 4.3. Part 4.4. discusses the

different approaches which have inspired this study, namely grounded theory, thematic analysis and discourse analysis.

The central part of the thesis focuses on the analysis of the interviews. Chapter five argues that these extracts reflect the everyday complexities of people's lives and different layers of agency that influence how individuals are able to access certain resources over others. The analysis highlights how people narrate the processes of adaptation to a new environment and their expectations when they move. This chapter also underlines how background and education levels affect people's method of adaptation. The analysis in part 5.2. highlights two aspects: firstly, how participants construct other individuals as 'foreign' and secondly, how they narrate experiences in which they themselves have been positioned as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders' in Luxembourg. Part 5.3. then illustrates how some participants portray their experiences of moving to and living in Luxembourg as challenging for various reasons.

Chapter six focuses on what happens when newcomers decide to stay in the country and apply for citizenship. The analysis in part 6.1. highlights recurring tendencies amongst some of the participants who refer to Luxembourgish as an 'endangered' language in need of 'preserving' and 'cultivating.' The analysis shows how these discursive constructions of Luxembourgish are employed by the participants as ways of justifying the implementation of current language policy, in particular the testing of Luxembourgish as part of the process of applying for citizenship. The extracts discussed in chapter six emphasise a variety of issues concerning the Luxembourgish language testing procedure. The analysis in parts 6.2 and 6.3. demonstrates on the one hand how some participants discursively justify, and on the other hand, how some contest this testing procedure.

Chapter seven focuses on the aspect of citizenship. The analysis reveals that the participants attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship and ‘Luxembourgishness.’ Part 7.1. illustrates that citizenship is understood as linked to the individual’s rights, responsibilities and duties. The analysis in part 7.2. shows that ethnicity plays a significant role in how the participants express their belonging, but also in how they narrate experiences of exclusion. Part 7.3. highlights how some of the participants describe current citizenship legislation as a way of excluding certain people. Part 7.3. also discusses the ways in which some of the participants call for the ethnic sense of nationality to be separated from citizenship.

Chapter eight revisits the research aims in the light of the research findings. Part 8.1. emphasises what the findings mean in the specific context of Luxembourg. Then, the focus shifts to explore how these findings can be related to a wider EU framework in part 8.2. In addition to underlining the importance of the findings for the Luxembourgish and EU contexts, broader links to related scholarship are highlighted in part 8.3. The concluding section of chapter eight emphasises how this study bridges the areas of migration studies, language policy and citizenship studies and summarises what can be learnt from taking a thematic and discursive analytical approach.

Chapter Two: Research Context

Chapter two provides the research context for this study and is divided into two sections. Part 2.1. focuses on the broader contextual information related to Luxembourg. This includes a historical overview, a description of the school system, the language situation and the key facts about migration. Part 2.2. describes the development of citizenship legislation from past to present. This begins with a historical analysis in part 2.2.1. and culminates with a description of the most recent changes in part 2.2.2. These recent changes include the 2001 amendments to the law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ and the passing of the new 2008 law. The 2008 law is the first to include a formal language test, which is notably in Luxembourgish, and the compulsory attendance of ‘civics’ lessons for applicants.

2.1. Background information on Luxembourg

2.1.1. Historical overview

Nestled between France, Germany and Belgium, Luxembourg is one of the smallest EU-member states with an area of 2586m². The precise origin of Luxembourg has been a subject of debate among historians. The date most commonly referred to is 963 A.D., when Siegfried, Count of the Ardennes, was supposed to have acquired the lookout tower which was part of a cliff dominating the river Alzette. According to Spizzo (1995, pp. 17-22), the development of Luxembourgish nationhood can be seen as following two narratives, which he describes as ‘particularism’ and ‘mixed culture.’ ‘Particularism’ is the belief that Luxembourg has gone down its unique path whilst being a victim of foreign domination. The concept of ‘mixed culture’ implies that Luxembourg lies at the

crossroads of France and Germany, as a mediator between these two countries. These descriptions are often drawn upon in present-day constructions of the history of the country.

In 1815, the Congress of Vienna officially declared Luxembourg a Grand-Duchy. The Treaty of London on 19th April 1839 further affirmed Luxembourg's status as an independent state. At this point in time, the country was still lacking in basic infrastructure. Its transport system was also underdeveloped. This changed upon Grand-Duke William I's death in 1841, when his son William II succeeded. He has been described as a 'monarch devoted to the Luxembourgish cause': his concern for the state of the economy and the country's isolation resulted in the decision to enter into the German customs union the 'Zollverein' in 1842 (Spizzo, 1995, p. 143). In May 1867, the Treaty of London affirmed Luxembourg's neutrality and consequently saw the removal of the Prussian garrison from the city's fortress. Luxembourg's new-found political independence and economic membership in the 'Zollverein' spurred its industrialisation, and the south of the country quickly became the main site for its developing steel industry.

In 1902, the Democratic-Socialist party was founded. This was followed by the establishment of the Liberals in 1904. In 1914, a group of Catholics established the PD ('Parti de la Droite' 'the Party of the Right'), which would later become the CSV ('Chrëschelech-Sozial Vollekspartei', the 'Christian Social People's Party'). Their main objective was to serve 'the common people in accordance with the main principles of the Christian moral law' ('dem allgemeinen Volkswohl im Einklang mit den Grundsätzen des christlichen Sittengesetzes') (Spizzo, 1995, p. 45, author's own translation and p. 263). Another important development took place in August 1914, when the German army occupied Luxembourgish territory. It should, nevertheless, be mentioned that the German

authorities did not take over the political institutions during the war. The immediate post-war years were characterised by an uncertain economic future and the country was also frequently affected by strikes (Scuto, 1990, p. 323 and p. 344). The young Grand-Duchess Marie-Adelaide received much public criticism for her alleged support of Germany during the war, which resulted in her abdication in favour of her sister Charlotte.

It has been argued that it was during this period that the state solidified its ties to the population. Spizzo (1995, p. 263) notes how the PD ('the Party of the Right') deliberately employed Catholic ideology including symbols, myths and rituals to bring the population and state institutions closer. In addition to Catholic principles, this political party also relied on the public's identification with the monarchy and the universal suffrage principle, while engaging with the population (Spizzo, 1995, p. 263). It has been suggested that the early 1930s was also a period characterised by an escalation of xenophobia. This is often associated with the Nazi ideology but needs to be seen as a separate entity, since the ideas focused mainly on defining and protecting the national identity of Luxembourg. In this context, Blau (1991, p. 28, author's own translation) cites an article published in the 'Luxemburger Volksblatt' in the early 1930s, which calls for Luxembourg to 'remain ours or we will become honourless and homeless in a torn world' ('Luxemburg aber soll unser bleiben oder wir werden ehrlos und heimatlos sein in einer zerrissenen Welt').

On 10th May 1940, Luxembourg was occupied by the German army and Gustav Simon was appointed 'Gauleiter.' His remit was twofold: the destruction of the Luxembourgish state institutions and the 'Germanification' of the population. Luxembourg's annexation into the Third Reich also temporarily changed the language situation. French street names were altered into German ones as was the case for people's

names (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 75). This enforced language policy plays an important role in how this period in Luxembourgish history is constructed. For example, it is the idea of this ‘occupation’ that is often projected onto present-day language debates. This idea is often employed in current language debates as a way of constructing current demographic and social changes in a similar way (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 113). In addition to this, it should be emphasised that the Nazi occupation is frequently portrayed as the central historical moment which is perceived to have solidified the symbolic function of Luxembourgish as the ‘national language’ (Horner and Wagner, 2012, p. 448). Luxembourg’s incorporation into the Third Reich had many life-changing consequences for people. For one, all men born between 1920 and 1924 were obliged to fulfil their military service in the ‘Wehrmacht’ in 1942. Numerous strikes took place following the announcement of these requirements. Furthermore, many young women were forced into joining the female labour service of the Reich, which included working on farms and in munitions factories in Germany. Punishments for non-cooperation comprised executions and deportation to concentration camps.

Luxembourg was liberated by the U.S. and Allied forces on 10th September 1944. The immediate post-war period was marked by the country playing a key role in the development of the European Community of Coal and Steel (E.C.C.S) in 1952 as one of its founding members. Luxembourg’s steel industry benefitted greatly from this union. It has been claimed that from an early period, Luxembourg recognises its dependence on other countries and this can be seen as one of the contributing factors to the country’s understanding of the importance of being part of a European framework (Spizzo, 1995, p. 54).

For the last decades, Luxembourg's political landscape has been characterised by a dominance of the conservative party CSV. The CSV has primarily formed coalitions with the LSAP (the 'Luxembourg Socialist Workers Party') and the DP (the 'Liberal Democrats') over the last decades. There was only one period during the 1970s (1974-1979) where a LSAP and DP coalition formed a majority government, with the CSV on the opposition benches. At the end of the 1990s, Jean-Claude Juncker, the current president of the European Commission, became the party's leading figure and Luxembourg's prime minister before being forced to resign in 2013 due to a number of scandals. His resignation resulted in the national elections being brought forward from the scheduled June 2014 to October 2013.

These changes to the political landscape of Luxembourg are significant on many levels. Moreover, they took place directly between the time when the interviews for this study were conducted and the period when the analysis and writing was completed. Before the 2013 elections, there was a two-party coalition between the CSV and the LSAP. The 2013 elections changed this constellation in that three parties decided to form a coalition and ruling government: the DP, 'déi Gréng' (the 'Green Party') and the LSAP whereas the CSV, the Left and Communist Parties, and the ADR ('Alternative Democratic Reform Party') currently sit on the opposition benches.

In addition to changes in the political landscape of Luxembourg since the start of this study, the country's media landscape warrants discussion. A significant feature of Luxembourg is the fact that newspapers tend to be directly affiliated with political parties. The 'Luxemburger Wort' is one of the most popular newspapers. Founded in 1848, it is openly linked to the CSV and the Catholic Church. The 'Tageblatt', however, supports the LSAP and the 'Lëtzebuerger Journal' the DP (Horner and Weber, 2008, pp. 101-102).

The Luxembourgish media has three distinct characteristics. First, it should be pointed out that the print media constitutes an important form of mediated communication. Secondly, Luxembourgish media is also frequently bi- or multilingual (Horner and Weber, 2008, pp. 99-104). The ‘Luxembourger Wort’ is mainly written in German with some articles published in French. Private announcements such as births, marriages, obituaries tend to be in Luxembourgish and occasionally in French. The French-language daily newspaper called ‘Républicain lorrain’, published in the nearby French city of Metz since 1961, underwent changes in 2001 when the Luxembourgish edition was taken over by ‘Éditpress.’ It was re-launched under the new name of ‘Le Quotidien’ (Weber and Horner, 2008, pp. 100-103). Thirdly, it needs highlighting that in recent years, the new media and social media platforms such as RTL.lu have grown to become significant features in the media landscape.

2.1.2. The education system

The current school system is primarily made up of state funded primary and secondary schools. In addition to this, there are some private, fee-based schools that offer a different curriculum to the state school system. Some examples include the International School of Luxembourg or the European School. The secondary state funded schools are mainly divided into two different ‘types’ of schools. These are called ‘lycée classique’ and ‘lycée technique’, and students attend either one or the other from around the age of twelve. The ‘lycée classique’ offers a traditional academic education based on arts, languages, science, and economics. Basically, it prepares students for university. The ‘lycée technique’, on the other hand, offers a more vocational training syllabus. The present-day system is best understood by looking at its historical development.

In the early 19th century, illiteracy rates were at around 85 percent and the education system was primitive (Newton, 1996a, p. 27). Many villages had no schools;

others had schools which functioned only during the winter months because children were expected to help on farms during spring and summer. Most village teachers were paid by parents and the curriculum was mostly based on Bible studies (Tausch, 1986, p. 158). The only secondary school in the country was the Jesuit College in Luxembourg City, founded in 1603, which only had a limited number of students. Between 1825 and 1830, two new secondary schools were established in the abbey town of Echternach in the East, and Diekirch in the North. For tertiary education, students had to go to foreign universities such as the Catholic university in Louvain. Tertiary education was usually completed in law and theology (Tausch, 1986, p. 159).

Two events shaped the contemporary school system. The first event is the 1843 Education Act which made instruction in French and German mandatory at primary school level (Mémorial A, N° 39, 1843, chap. 1, art. 1). Calmes and Bossaert (1996, p. 223) maintain that the ‘sanctioned use of French in primary schools served to generate cultural and political distance from Prussia.’ However, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons for the decision to include both languages in the school curriculum. In 1881, primary school education was made compulsory from the age of six for both boys and girls and most children received six years of education in village schools (Mémorial A, N° 32, 1881, chap. 1, art. 5). Yet, children affected by ‘infirmités intellectuelles et/ou physiques’ (‘physical and/or intellectual disabilities’) were barred from schooling. There is no further information on how disabilities were proven or examined, which makes it difficult to determine how children were affected by this decision. Schooling was partly subsidised by the local council and partly paid for by the parents of the respective pupils. There was, however, a clause providing free education for those pupils whose parents were unable to pay their share of the costs (Mémorial A, N° 32, 1881, chap. 5, art. 48).

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many new secondary schools were opened including the Industrial and Commercial Schools of Luxembourg in 1892 and Esch in 1901 and the School of Artisans in 1896, all of which maintained this bilingual language policy (Davis, 1994, p. 44).

The second event is the 1912 School Reform Act, which not only introduced Luxembourgish as a taught subject in primary school but also broadened the curriculum to include subjects such as history. Nationalised education and a separation of academic and religious instruction were important components of this reform as well (Davis, 1994, p. 45). Furthermore, separate classes for girls included sewing and housekeeping (Mémorial A, N° 61, 1912, art. 23). In both primary and secondary schools, the necessity for developing ‘the language, literacy and scientific skills demanded by an increasingly industrialised society’ was growing (Davis, 1994, p. 46). Although the school system was being opened up to every member of society, there remained many controversial issues regarding access to education and the success rate of pupils. If girls were attending separate lessons, they were most likely missing out on other lessons, which would have limited their choices later on. There were some secondary schools for girls such as the *École ménagère* (the ‘domestic science school’) but access to it would have been reserved for more well-off girls. As secondary schools were mainly located in Luxembourg City and smaller towns such as Echternach and Diekirch access to these schools would also have been difficult and/or impossible for many poorer students.

A significant aspect that needs pointing out is that even though the state school system has been subjected to some reforms over the years, the model set up by the 1843 Education Act and the 1912 School Reform Act still strongly shapes its contemporary constellation. Under the current system, students still learn basic literacy skills through

German during their first year of primary school. French is added as a foreign language during the second year whereas Luxembourgish is used throughout some of the lessons at primary school. Luxembourgish orthography is taught for one hour a week during the first year of secondary education. It should be underlined that the current state school system is based on the assumption that students speak Luxembourgish in the home. As Luxembourgish is a Germanic language, it is perceived as more closely linked to German, which often acts as a rationale for teaching children basic literacy skills through this language.

Even though the school system is based on the notion that students form a linguistically homogenous entity, the student population of Luxembourg is highly heterogeneous. With Luxembourg's number of foreign residents reaching levels of 46 percent of the total population, children entering the state school system come from a variety of backgrounds. Portuguese residents make up the largest foreign-resident numbers with around 92, 000 in 2015 (STATEC, 2015). Many children, therefore, use non-Germanic languages in the home including French, Italian, Portuguese and so on. The current state school system is often a challenging environment for students with romano- and lusophone backgrounds, as basic literacy skills are taught solely through German in primary school. In this context, there have been calls for reforms to take place. Some have suggested that French should be introduced to teach basic literacy skills in addition to German. It has been argued that a change in policy could contribute to making the state school system less discriminatory for those with a non-Germanic background (see for example Weber, 2009). However, the current system is still reliant on this core model of trilingualism (German, French and the supposed use of spoken Luxembourgish as a 'home' language), with the addition of English during secondary school.

Some scholars claim that since the establishment of Luxembourg as an independent state in the 19th century, there have been two strategies of identification. Horner (2007, pp. 365-366) notes that, on the one hand, there is the trilingual paradigm, which is connected to the state school system. On the other hand, the monolingual identification with Luxembourgish is very pronounced. Part 2.1.3. explores both identification strategies, as they are important for highlighting how the construction of Luxembourgish nationhood has evolved.

2.1.3. The language situation

Since the declaration of Luxembourg's independence in the 19th century, it has been considered necessary to construct the Luxembourgish nation as a separate entity from its neighbouring countries. One of the ways in which this has taken place is through language (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 85). As described during part 2.1.2., a variety of languages have played a key role in the development of the state school system. With the 1843 Education Act, French and German were made mandatory subjects at primary school level and the 1912 School Reform Act introduced Luxembourgish as a language to the curriculum. Language has been a way for the country to distance itself from Prussia/Germany, France and Belgium and also as a way of representing the Luxembourgish nation and its population as a linguistically homogenous entity. This idea of linguistic homogeneity is often used as a way of justifying certain government policies such as those linked to state education. As previously mentioned in the introduction, Horner (2007, p. 366) notes that there are two forms of linguistic identification, which are linked to specific patterns of language use. On the one hand, there is the monolingual identification with the Luxembourgish language and on the other, the trilingual identification with German, French and Luxembourgish. Moreover, there is the ratification of the 1984 language law, which officially recognises French, German and

Luxembourgish. The law specifies differences between these languages by declaring French and German as administrative, judicial and legislative languages, while Luxembourgish is defined as the ‘national language’ (Mémorial A, N° 16, 1984, art. 1, 2, 3).

In order to understand how Luxembourgish is currently used, a distinction needs to be made between its oral and written functions. Luxembourgish has Germanic origins and is a Moselle Franconian language variety. It has been claimed that one of the first examples of spoken Luxembourgish in a formal context was in a speech by Karl-Matthias André in 1848. Furthermore, there is popular literature in the form of poems and plays dating from the first part of the 19th century. On 4th October 1859, ‘De Feierwon’, a song written by Michel Lentz, was first performed and then circulated in pamphlet form (Newton 1996b, pp. 181-182). Another example is the first Luxembourgish dictionary published by Jean Feltes in 1906 which included a core of about 6,000-7,000 words.

Luxembourgish is currently still predominantly used as an oral means of communication. As discussed in part 2.1.2., German is the language employed to teach basic literacy skills at primary school and Luxembourgish only plays a minor role. As the teaching of Luxembourgish orthography is limited to a minimum of one hour a week during the first year of secondary school system, many people do not extensively learn how to read and write in this language and prefer to read in other languages. French functions as a lingua franca for many people living and working in the country and spoken English is common in many areas including, for example, the international bank sector (Horner and Weber 2008, p. 71 and p. 20). Portuguese is also spoken by a significant part of the population, but is not taught in Luxembourgish state schools.

The use of written Luxembourgish has recently become more popular. Through the rise of social media, written Luxembourgish can be found in a variety of different locations. Popular news sites often use Luxembourgish in online articles and many people tend to use this language on social media sites. More than ever, there has been a significant rise in recent years in the number of Luxembourgish courses offered outside of the school system and in the availability of pedagogical materials (e.g. dictionaries). However, these courses are often at beginner's/intermediate level. Advanced courses and materials are much more limited.

As previously noted, of the three officially recognised languages of the 1984 language law, French functions as a lingua franca for many people currently living and working in the country. Recent changes to the Luxembourgish population and the increase in the number of cross-border workers (who are often referred to as the 'frontaliers') have contributed to a sharp increase in the use of French as a spoken language. Although many of the French-speaking 'frontaliers' and people living in Luxembourg also speak Luxembourgish, many others do not. French thus often functions as a lingua franca for both Luxembourgish and non-Luxembourgish speakers (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 71).

Despite French being a widely used language, there are clear variations in the 'type' of French that people speak and the value associated with them. For example, many people who have learnt French through the Luxembourgish state school system often feel awkward or embarrassed about speaking it (Davis, 1994, p. 86). Those people who have grown up speaking Luxembourgish at home and learning basic literacy skills in German at primary school sometimes find it challenging to speak French. The strong focus on grammar, and accuracy in general, is often quoted as the cause of this 'malaise.' Although

this statement cannot be generalised, there are some distinguishable tendencies in that parts of the population are not comfortable speaking French. Additionally, it should be noted that those who use a more vernacular variety of French in their day to day activities are also often aware of the fact that ‘their’ language use is perceived in a less prestigious way (Davis, 1994, p. 86).

A central aspect concerning Luxembourgish is that there is a great deal of popular discourse ‘calling attention to the possibility of this language *becoming* a minority or endangered language’ (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 83). The findings of this study similarly indicate that some participants express concern about the fact that Luxembourgish might become an ‘endangered’ language. This is explored in the analysis in part 6.1., which highlights how participants discuss the implications of this development and also what should be done to prevent it from happening. According to Heller and Duchêne (2007, p. 4), discourses of language endangerment are ‘fundamentally discourses about other kinds of threats which take place, for specific reasons, on the terrain of language.’ They suggest that the ‘linguistic order is a space which is partly constitutive of the social order, and the moral order which regulates it.’ In Luxembourg, the discourse of ‘endangerment’ is often intermeshed with so-called purist discourse. Purist discourse can be described as an aesthetic notion of language and in Luxembourg it tends to target German lexical items. Challenging the use of German words is a way of strengthening the idea that Luxembourgish is its own language and not ‘just’ a German dialect. Horner (2005, p. 169) suggests that the purpose of this is to create a clear boundary between German and Luxembourgish. Also, she argues that constructing Luxembourgish as a language as opposed to ‘just’ a German dialect, functions as a way of increasing the position of this language as a valid competitor to French.

Drawing upon these aforementioned debates, it is worth emphasising that issues surrounding migration and changes to the demographics of Luxembourg are often mapped onto debates about language. This is explored in more detail in part 6.1., which highlights how participants construct the Luxembourgish language as an ‘endangered’ language from ‘foreign’ influences. Part 6.1. shows how these changes are linked to local developments such as the increase in the number of cross-border workers, but also on the global level such as international investment in Luxembourg from countries such as the United States or the Middle East.

2.1.4. Migration

Like in most countries around the world, migration is a contested topic in Luxembourg. Most of the debates focus on recent immigration to the country, what the implications of this movement of people are, and what measures are to be taken. At this point it is, however, important to underline that Luxembourg should be seen as a country of both immigration and emigration. As a reminder, Luxembourg has only been an independent state since the mid-19th century. The movement of people to and from the territory currently referred to as Luxembourg should, therefore, instead be seen in relation to certain cities and towns rather than a country.

During the period from the mid-1850s to the beginning of the 20th century, many left Luxembourg for other parts of the world with many settling in the U.S. There is little agreement on the exact numbers of those people leaving, but it is estimated at around 72,000. In Enschede et al., Gonner (1987, p. 29) argues that poor living conditions and food shortages in Luxembourg were contributing factors for emigration. Other incentives took the form of tempting letters from friends or family members already settled in the U.S. Horner (2011b, p. 377) suggests that U.S. politicians and entrepreneurs wanted to populate newly acquired territories and promote their interests by, on the one hand,

encouraging European migrants to settle while, on the other, displacing the indigenous populations. Different organisations were set up to help people settle by introducing them to social networks and maintaining Luxembourgish cultural practices.

Migration to Luxembourg has taken on many forms. One of the towns mentioned in the writings on immigration is the abbey town of Echternach, situated to the east of the capital Luxembourg City. Echternach's abbey and monastery were founded by Anglo-Saxon evangelists, more specifically by an English monk called St. Willibrod in 698. These evangelists have been described as early immigrants to the region. Further, Luxembourg City was an important place for trading in the 17th century. Many people travelled through the city on the way to and from Austria and France (Pauly, 2010, p. 63). After the declaration of Luxembourg as an independent state in 1839, many improvements took place in order to change the country's infrastructure. The development of the steel industry meant that there was an increase in migration to the south of the country. This industry was in need of highly skilled engineers as well as unskilled workers in its mills. Highly-skilled workers were recruited from the neighbouring regions of Germany whilst the lesser skilled workers came from Italy to settle in the southern towns such as Dudelange or Esch-sur-Alzette (Pauly 2010, pp. 66-67 and Spizzo, 1995, p. 44). By 1908, the number of foreign workers in the iron and steel industry is recorded as follows: 4,543 Italians, 2,130 Germans, 822 Belgians, and 327 French making up around 60 percent of the total workforce in this industry (Hoffmann 1996, p. 98).

After the Second World War, the government renewed an appeal to Italian workers to come to Luxembourg and, on the insistence of the Italian government, entered into an official agreement. This took effect in 1948 and was renewed regularly until 1957

(Pauly, 2010, p. 67). The creation of the European Community for Coal and Steel cemented Luxembourgish and Italian relations. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, many Portuguese settled in Luxembourg to work primarily in the manual job sector such as the construction industry. An official agreement between Luxembourg and Portugal was signed in 1970, including a clause allowing workers to bring their families as well (Pauly, 2010, p. 68). According to Davis (1994, p. 10), the government strategically backed schemes that targeted people with a Catholic background. She, furthermore, argues that they were thought to be welcomed more easily, because it avoided religious clashes in the predominantly Catholic country. At the same time, the mid-1970s was a time of economic and social crisis. Anxieties surrounding the future of the nation-state were wide-spread (Péporté et al., 2010, p. 7). An example of these growing concerns about the future of Luxembourg's 'national identity' can be found in an article published in a monthly journal called 'Forum' ('Forum für Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur in Luxemburg'). In 1982, the director of the Luxembourg Institute for National Statistics (STATEC) George Als (1982, pp. 2-4) portrays the increase in immigration as a 'menace' to Luxembourg's national identity. In addition to this, he points to the declining birth rate of Luxembourg's 'ethnic core' and to the failure of many 'immigrant' children in the state school system.

In recent years, the number of foreign residents has continued to grow and the most recent statistics indicate that Luxembourg's population stands at approximately 563,000. Around 258,000 are foreign residents, which makes up 46 percent of the total population. The largest number of foreign residents is the Portuguese: 92,100. This is followed by the French at 39,400. The number of Italian residents is 19,500. A significant feature of the government statistics consulted for this study is that they indicate that

‘newer’ EU countries, i.e. those that joined the EU through the 2004 and 2007 enlargements, are grouped together. The numbers reveal that 29,600 people living in Luxembourg originate from other EU countries, but do not give further information about their countries of origin. Moreover, the statistics indicate that around 36,500 people living in Luxembourg are from other non-EU countries but again do not specify which countries (STATEC, 2015).

These numbers are noteworthy because they influence many different debates including those about language, the education system, citizenship, etc. One of the main points of contention emphasised in this study is foreign residents not having access to national voting rights. With the number of foreign residents nearing the 50 percent mark, there have been many debates concerning the country’s ‘democratic deficit.’ Debates surrounding citizenship are therefore influenced by the high number of foreign residents currently living in the country. In order to understand how citizenship is constructed in dominant discourse and how the participants of this study describe citizenship, it is therefore necessary to briefly outline the historical development of citizenship legislation.

2.2. Citizenship legislation in Luxembourg

2.2.1. Chronological overview

In Luxembourg, citizenship has been framed in a variety of ways. There are, nevertheless, some observable tendencies which have contributed to how it is predominantly defined. An important point to emphasise is that legal texts are published in French, which is due to the Luxembourgish legal system being based on Code Napoléon and dates back to the period when Luxembourg was occupied by France (1795-1815). The description of these laws is therefore reliant on French vocabulary. Further, the laws discussed in part 2.2. and in subsequent parts of this study retain their French titles, but are also translated into

English in brackets. The French word ‘nationalité’ is used to refer to the legal document and the English word ‘citizenship’ is employed when discussing this concept in general terms. The decision to keep the original wording is taken in order to show how this concept is understood in different ways, which corresponds with the aims of this study discussed in part 1.3.

A historical overview of the development of legislation concerning Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ starts in the 19th century. During this period, it was mainly characterised by the idea that it was passed through the blood line of the father. Married women were required to take on their husband’s ‘nationalité.’ After Luxembourg’s independence in 1839, article 9 of the civil code stated that a child born to a Luxembourgish father was also Luxembourgish. The 1848 law concerning the naturalisation of foreign residents regulated that all civil and political rights attached to the status of a Luxembourger were transferable to the foreigner (Mémorial A, N° 97, 1848, art. 1).

This law was amended in January 1878, leading to a period (from 1878 to 1934) in which the ‘double droit du sol’ (the ‘double right of soil’) principle entitled children born in Luxembourg to non-Luxembourgish parents to apply for naturalisation. In 1878, this right was accorded to people born to non-Luxembourgish fathers and in 1890, to Luxembourgish mothers having taken on a non-Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ through marriage (Mémorial A, N° 31, 1878, dispositions additionnelles, art. 2, and Mémorial A, N° 7, 1890, article unique). The right of soil was an important concept that the Luxembourg government encouraged. Paul Eyschen, who was the state minister from 1888 to 1915, argued that those people who had grown up in Luxembourg needed easier access to the naturalisation process. According to Scuto (2005), up until the mid-1930s,

the government aimed to facilitate access to Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ because it wanted to limit an increase in foreign nationals. At the time, it was maintained that an increase in the non-Luxembourgish population might influence the formation of national minorities, which was something the government wanted to avoid.

In the 1930s, Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ took on an ethno-cultural definition of ‘Luxembourgishness.’ Scuto (2005) claims that the link between knowledge of Luxembourgish and access to ‘nationalité’ first took place in 1939. It should be stated that no official language test took place nor were language requirements explicitly stipulated in the law. At the time, every naturalisation application was dealt with individually by the Ministry for Justice. In 1938, a questionnaire was published, which was to be used for interviewing by the police officer first, then sent off to the court. The legislators of the 1940 law debated the importance of Luxembourgish language knowledge and many agreed that Luxembourgish could be part of the ‘assimilation process’ but other elements, such as good conduct and moral principle, were deemed to be relevant. At the end, it was concluded that no explicit language requirements were to be introduced with the 1940 law (Scuto, 2005, p. 42). When the ‘loi sur l’indigénat luxembourgeois’ (‘law on the Luxembourgish indiginate’) was introduced in 1940, some changes were made.² Upon marriage, women were forced to take on their husband’s ‘nationalité’ (Mémorial A, N° 18, 1940, III, art. 25, no. 2). The legislators also added a clause stating that it could be refused to a foreign applicant if they lacked ‘assimilation’, as exemplified in the following extract:

La naturalisation sera refusée à l'étranger lorsqu'il ne justifie pas d'une assimilation suffisante.

² Note: The 1940 law is a new law introduced in March 1940, but should not be mistaken for the 1934 law with the same name.

[Naturalisation will be refused to the foreigner if he cannot prove sufficient assimilation.] (Mémorial A, N° 18, 1940, art. 7, no. 3, author's own translation)

This term implied that a person who wished to apply needed to fulfil certain criteria; exactly what these were meant to entail remains vague. The 'double droit du sol' ('double right of soil') principle was also abolished in the same legislative reform.

Further significant changes in the context of Luxembourgish 'nationalité' include the reforms that took place during the 1980s. In 1986, the 'loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise' ('law on Luxembourgish nationalité'), originally passed on 28th February 1968 and amended in 1975 and 1977, was eventually changed to provide Luxembourgish women and their children with the same rights as men. Before 1986, children born to a Luxembourgish mother and a non-Luxembourgish father were not automatically entitled to Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' This new legislation was influenced by actions at the level of the United Nations, which intended to give women and children more rights (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 115).³

2.2.2. Recent legislative changes

Current debates on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' often revolve around the function and status of Luxembourgish and are reinforced by the one nation, one language ideology, the belief that the ideal nation-state is home to a homogeneous linguistic community. Before the 2008 law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' was passed, there were further amendments to the 1968 law in 2001. The 2001 amendments, which have been discussed in much detail by Scuto (2005) and Horner (2009a, 2009b) were the first to stipulate language requirements. The applicant was required to have proficiency in one of the three officially recognised languages as well as demonstrate 'basic knowledge' of Luxembourgish. Scuto

³ For a more comprehensive overview of the development of Luxembourgish 'nationalité' from the 19th to the 21st centuries see Scuto (2012).

(2005, p. 44) claims that the right-wing party ADR decided to make the language clause one of its main foci. Horner (2009b, p. 156 and p. 159) argues that the responsibility should not only be put onto this right-wing party. In fact, she notes that it was in fact also the CSV, as well as other social and political actors, who constructed Luxembourgish as central to the process of 'integration' and to full participation in social and political life. In the end, a majority of members of parliament, consisting of the CSV, the DP and the ADR, voted for the inclusion of the language clause. Those who challenged the proposed language requirements in the 2001 amendments based their arguments on the fact that naturalisation should be made more accessible to a larger number of people, especially since Luxembourg has such a large proportion of foreign residents. The 2001 amendments were ratified during a time when a variety of debates surrounding language, belonging and social change were taking place. In particular, it was the concern over the predicted increase of Luxembourg's population to 700,000 that contributed to anxiety and the concern for the Luxembourgish language.

The debates prior to the passing of the 2008 law entitled 'loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise' ('law on Luxembourgish nationalité') focused on various issues. As in many other EU countries, there was much debate on how to incorporate a language test in the context of citizenship legislation. One of the main discussion points focused on the required level of achievement in the language test (Horner and Weber 2010, p. 188). There was tension between responding to the 'democratic deficit' (i.e. the increase in foreign residents who do not possess national voting rights) versus protecting the socioeconomic interests and privileges of the 'ethnic core' (Horner 2009b, p. 124). However, the latter issue cannot be framed openly in political discourses if Luxembourg wants to continue its international reputation as an open and multilingual country, an

image stemming from its official recognition of three languages as well as how they are taught and used in the education system (Horner 2011a, p. 492). As a way around this, political discourses on language testing tend to portray Luxembourgish as an ‘acultural’ instrument or resource, facilitating the process of ‘integration’ and, in theory, available to everyone (Horner 2009b, p. 124). With the sole focus on Luxembourgish, any person having learnt French tends to be portrayed as not having taken the necessary step(s) towards ‘integration.’ Discourses focusing on this role of Luxembourgish therefore helped establish this language as the only possible one to test in the context of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’

This law marks the first time that applicants are required to pass an official language test in Luxembourgish. The agreed target level of the test is based on B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) for oral comprehension, and A2 for oral expression. The residency period which applicants have to complete before they are able to apply, is seven consecutive years. In addition to this, the law stipulates that applicants must attend ‘civics’ lessons, one of which must focus on Luxembourg’s institutions and fundamental rights. It was agreed for the language test to take place at the National Institute for Languages, which was also put in charge of the test’s development. The fee is currently set at €75, which is only paid back if the applicant successfully passes the test. The test is an oral language test and is divided into two parts. First, there is a multiple choice exercise with a listening and comprehension element. Applicants complete this in an examination hall with evenly spaced individual tables. The second part consists of an individual interview (a description of a picture and discussion) with an examiner and a note taker in a smaller room. Exemptions from the language test and the ‘civics’ lessons are granted if a person has completed Luxembourgish state

education for at least seven years, has been legally living in Luxembourg since before 31st December 1984, or can prove they have ancestors who had Luxembourgish 'nationalité' on the 1st January 1900.

As noted in the introduction, since the passing of the 2008 law, the number of successful applications has risen. In 2009, the total number was 4,022, in 2010, 4,311 and by 2014 the number had reached 4,991 (MJ, 2009-2014, pp. 1-4). The increase in these naturalisation numbers is linked to provisions for dual 'nationalité', which were previously highly restricted. There was an initial increase in successful applications, which could be explained by the exemptions from the language test such as a completion of the Luxembourgish state schooling for at least seven years. These statistics do not take into account the number of unsuccessful applications linked to factors such as criminal records, failed language tests, etc. In fact, in January 2009 the pass rate for the language test was 83.09 percent, whereas in September 2009 the number had fallen to 68.48 percent (Kunsch, 2009, pp. 1-6). The largest number of applications so far has come from Portuguese nationals resident in the country: in 2014 there were 1,211 successful applications.

The most recent statistics for overall applications contrast with a much more limited number of successful applications before the 2008 law. In 1994 for example, only 664 people successfully completed their application (MJ, 1994-2008, pp. 1-4). After this, the numbers show a slight rise each year apart from 2001, which saw the numbers drop down to 474 (MJ, 1994-2008, pp. 1-4). An important clause extends Luxembourgish 'nationalité' to anyone who is able to prove direct paternal or maternal ancestry on 1st January 1900. This enables those with Luxembourgish ancestry, but residing in other countries, to submit an application (Mémorial A, N° 158, 2008, recouvrement, article 29,

section XI dispositions transitoires particulières). Over the past years, the number of people applying for this procedure has increased from 22 in 2009 to 1,846 in 2014 (MJ, 2009-2014, pp. 1-4). In 2014, the largest group of applicants originated from Belgium (1,143), France (579) and in third place the United States (61) (MJ, 2009-2014, pp. 1-4).

Even though these statistics provide important insight into naturalisation trends, the quantitative approach cannot disclose the whole picture as, for one, it is unable to fully expose the reasons for people applying. Furthermore, statistics cannot reveal how the individuals who have been directly affected by this policy understand Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Through analysing individual discourses from people who have been directly affected by citizenship policy, the study intends to provide a window into the experiences of those people who have applied through the 2008 law.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Grounding

Chapter two described the research context for this study. It also provided a synopsis of the development of citizenship legislation in Luxembourg, highlighting the recent implementation of language testing and mandatory ‘civic instruction’ lessons for applicants. Chapter three begins by providing an overview of the main aspects of globalisation. In addition to this, there is an outline of some of the recent scholarship which deals with the terms ‘mobility’ and ‘immobility.’ Part 3.1. also discusses recent studies that engage with the politics of identity and belonging. Part 3.2. describes scholarship on nationhood and argues that ethnicity and language play a significant role in the construction of group membership. This part also includes an overview of recent developments in nationalism studies. Part 3.3. positions this study in relation to research in citizenship studies and shows that there has been a shift towards analysing how citizenship is experienced by individuals. It is noted that this approach may be productively combined with discourse analysis. Part 3.4. then focuses on how this study draws on related research that views discourse as a medium through which ideologies and power relations are expressed.

3.1. Globalisation, im-mobility, identity and belonging

Globalisation has become one of the most defining, but contested, keywords in the 21st century. There is a wide range of scholarship on this topic which concentrates on many different aspects such as cultural, political and economic ones. Due to differing interpretations, it is difficult to pinpoint an exact definition of globalisation. Even though it is often employed to describe the period ranging from the 1970s to the current one, or

what is commonly referred to as post-industrialism, scholars tend not to agree on its origins. Some argue that it can be linked to processes of industrialisation, others see globalisation as originating during the colonial period. Another point of contention is that there is much disagreement on the scope and causes of what are referred to as globalising processes. However, despite this difficulty in reaching a scholarly consensus, it is, nevertheless, necessary to briefly outline some general themes which will help situate the subject matter of this study.

One of the observable trends is that scholars tend to focus on only one domain instead of treating globalisation as an amalgamation of various phenomena including the economic, social and ecological. On this note, Steger (2003, pp.13-15) suggests that rather than emphasising one aspect, a broad definition of globalisation involves ‘both the creation of new social networks and the multiplication of existing connections’ cutting across traditional political, economic, cultural and geographic boundaries. Globalisation can also be seen as linked to the expansion and stretching of social relations, activities and connections. Moreover, he argues that it involves the intensification and acceleration of social exchanges and activities. One of the central areas of interest for researchers is the increase of social inequalities linked to the processes of globalisation. Inequalities exist not only between countries, but regions, towns and cities. Luxembourg is no different from other countries in that there has been a significant increase in inequalities between different members of society. This is why this study considers the analysis of processes of exclusion and inclusion as vital points of interest.

Related to globalisation and inequalities lies what is often referred to as the ‘mobilities turn’ in the social sciences. Since the 1990s, there has been a trend towards developing theoretical concepts such as ‘mobility’ and ‘immobility’ to describe people’s

lives. In Bauman's (1998, pp. 1-2) writings, it is argued that the current globalised world is one where 'we are all on the move.' According to him, some people are 'fully and truly global', whilst others remain fixed 'in their locality.' Being local in a globalised world is thus labelled as a 'sign of social deprivation and degradation.' Furthermore, he describes mobility as one of the most 'coveted values and the freedom to move, perpetually a scarce and unequally distributed commodity', as becoming the main stratifying factor of our times.

In addition to Bauman (1998), Urry's (2000) work on the mobilities paradigm aims to change the way in which the social sciences analyse and interpret the world we live in. Urry (2000, pp. 5-6) proposes that the 'concept of society has been central to sociological discourse.' However, he then claims that contemporary mobilities question the existence of the nation-state society. In an increasingly borderless world, he therefore calls for the focus of sociological research to shift onto mobilities, away from its previous focus on society (Urry, 2000, p. 33). Drawing upon this scholarship, Cresswell (2006, pp. 1-2) similarly states that mobility should be seen as central in our everyday lives.

Various scholars have critically approached the aforementioned theoretical writings by Bauman (1998), Urry (2000) and Cresswell (2006). One of the central concerns of this critical scholarship is that these theoretical approaches, especially those of Bauman (1998) and Cresswell (2006), are not compatible with some of the empirical findings of other studies. The conflicts illustrated in the following paragraphs can therefore be described as taking place between more theoretically orientated scholars and those who are more interested in conducting empirical research. One such struggle is described in Franquesa's (2011, p. 1016) work, which emphasises that some of the scholars who discuss mobility on a theoretical level construct their argument on the

assumption that it is the main driving force of the 21st century. Immobility is often seen as a passive status, a passivity that might be understood in terms of absence or ‘otherness.’ In order to unpack preconceived ideas on mobility and immobility, Franquesa (2011, p. 1020) suggests that researchers should consider both as ‘contradictory albeit mutually constituted forces of every process structuring social reality.’

In a similar vein, Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013) criticise some scholars for focusing exclusively on freely moving (also often referred to as ‘cosmopolitan’) people as subjects of enquiry. They argue that mobility is often readily equated with freedom of movement, diversity and liberty on a theoretical level. Instead, they propose a different model which they refer to as ‘regimes of mobility’, which claims to move beyond the ‘ready equation of mobility with freedom by examining not only movement as connection but also as an aspect of new confinements and modes of exploitation’ (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013, p. 190). Faist (2013, p. 1644) similarly questions how the term ‘mobility’ is being theorised and what boundary work scholars are contributing to by defining some people as ‘mobile’ (or ‘cosmopolitan’), whilst others are described as ‘immobile’ (or ‘local’). Further, he claims that as mobility is often considered the norm, immobility is being perceived not only in academic circles, but also in public debates as a ‘hallmark of disadvantage and exclusion.’ This is why he argues that more reflexivity is needed to understand how words such as mobility and immobility are being employed in both academic and non-academic circles. Faist’s (2013) argument resonates in particular in relation to this study as it warns that the use of certain vocabulary to describe people can perpetuate negative views of them and/or discriminate against them. It is worth highlighting that this study considers reflexivity as significant for describing the movement of people. The purpose of this study is, therefore, not to define some

participants as ‘mobile’ (and others as ‘immobile’), but to analyse how the participants talk about this concept themselves. This is illustrated in particular in chapter five where issues of ‘mobility’ and ‘immobility’ are explored.

Another scholar who has influenced this study’s approach is Mata-Codesal’s (2015), who uses individual narratives of people moving from Ecuador to the US for her research. She contends that as ‘immobility’ is often used as a label for people in heterogeneous situations, it ‘obscures the many ways in which people “stay put.”’ She explains that far from it being a passive decision which is forced upon individuals, immobility is sometimes even actively and deliberately chosen by individuals (Mata-Codesal, 2015, p. 2279). Saliently, she makes a distinction between different ‘types’ of immobile individuals ranging from those who have not chosen to be immobile but are forced to because of legal reasons, and those who actively seek out to stay where they are. In this context, she refers to Carling’s (2002) work in which it is suggested that the age of migration is not just a period of fluidity and movements but can also be considered as an age of restrictive immigration policies and associated barriers to migration, which is described as ‘involuntary immobility.’ This leads Mata-Codesal (2015) to conclude that immobility should be viewed as a potential achievement for some, whilst for others, it simply means a burden. On this note, it is important to stress that movement should not only be regarded as chosen by some, and not by others (for a wide range of reasons), but that for some, moving to another place is not chosen, but forced. Just as Carling (2002) pinpoints that many people are ‘involuntarily’ immobile, it can be suggested that many people are ‘forced’ to be mobile, or to be mobile in ‘undesirable ways’ (Mata-Codesal, 2015, p. 2281).

In another thought-provoking case study, Hjälms (2014, p. 577) reveals that both mobility and immobility need to be considered as a mutual part of the complexity of human experiences. In her study, in which she interviews elderly residents of a Swedish town, she finds that many of them express positive emotions in relation to ‘staying’ in the town. This is described as something rewarding that they have chosen and therefore not as a negative situation; her participants do not perceive themselves as ‘locals’ left behind (see for example Bauman, 1998). By identifying the complexity of experiences on a personal level, Hjälms addresses Cresswell’s (2006) theory in which it is argued that globalisation creates unequal power relations where some are able to enjoy the privilege of being ‘mobile’, whilst others are forced to be ‘immobile.’ Hjälms (2014, p. 570) findings interestingly show that her participants do not express any stigmatisation due to them choosing to ‘stay’ in their town, which leads her to argue that Cresswell’s theory might be relevant on a theoretical level, but that on an individual level, the situation is far more complex and dynamic. Interestingly, this study shows how some individuals express similar ideas about choosing to ‘stay’ in Luxembourg, thus underlining the need to take a fine-grained approach. Part 5.1. provides an analysis of certain extracts in which the participants discuss their reasons for settling in Luxembourg and actively choosing to remain in one place.

Overall, the studies based on the analysis of interviews (e.g. Mata-Codesal, 2015 and Hjälms, 2014) illustrate the necessity of approaching mobility and immobility as multidimensional and complex terms. This scholarship also encourages researchers to pay close attention to the specific social context in which research takes place as this allows for a more nuanced analysis of mobility and immobility. This is an equally relevant argument for this study, which is why it follows this approach in relation to the analysis

of its interview material. Rather than labelling people's movements in certain ways, this study investigates how they reflect the different obstacles and/or enablers of their movements. This study does not aim to theoretically contribute to the discussion on mobility and immobility. Instead, it situates itself mainly within the aforementioned empirically orientated research which focuses on analysing how people discuss their own experiences. By taking this approach, the study adds to a growing body of scholarship which calls for an empirical analysis of issues of mobility and immobility. As a means of framing the ensuing analysis, the following parts discuss further keywords of the 21st century often linked to issues of globalisation and migration, namely identity and belonging.

In an ever-changing world, issues of belonging, exclusion and inclusion are at the heart of discussions concerning the nation-state and globalisation. The concepts of identity and belonging have received much attention and continue to be analysed in depth by scholars in a wide range of disciplines. In relation to identity, most scholars follow a constructivist approach, which means that they reject the idea of identity as a stable, essentialist concept. Instead, they see it as a complex, multidimensional and ever-changing process. There is also a recent trend in scholarship to investigate how identity is associated with interaction, and to focus on how identities are negotiated and contested in this process. This focus originates from scholarship which is interested in human agency and instances in which individuals 'resist, negotiate, change and transform themselves and others' (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2004, p. 20). Some researchers have adopted positioning theory to explain how identities are shaped and negotiated. Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004), for example, rely on Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory to make this process of negotiation observable. According to Davies

and Harré (1990, p. 48), positioning is the ‘process by which selves are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines, informed by particular discourses.’ Interactive positioning means that one person positions the other, while reflective positioning is when a person positions themselves. Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004, pp. 20-21) argue that Davies and Harré (1990) focus solely on positioning as linked to conversation, whereas they aim to expand this model to incorporate all ‘discursive processes which may position individuals in particular ways or allow individuals to position themselves.’ Moreover, they note that many individuals find themselves in conflict between self-chosen identities and the ones which others have attempted to give them.

Blackledge and Pavlenko’s (2004, pp. 20-21) theoretical approach to studying identities is relevant to this study as it includes the essential concepts of negotiation and positioning, as well as extending the latter to include all discursive forms. This study draws upon their framework in its analysis of the interview material to investigate how the participants negotiate identities through positioning. It follows Blackledge and Pavlenko’s definition of identity which suggests that there are three different ‘types’ of identities: the first category is what they call ‘imposed’ ones (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), ‘assumed’ ones (which are accepted and not negotiated) and ‘negotiable’ identities (which are contested by groups and individuals). In parts 5.1. and 5.2. of chapter five especially, it is shown how individuals use different discursive strategies to contest ways in which they have been positioned by others or to position other individuals in a certain way.

Belonging and identity are vital for this study as both notions are central to how people define themselves in the 21st century. Belonging is described by Yuval-Davis

(2006, p. 205) as involving ‘not only the maintenance and reproduction of the boundaries of the community of belonging by the hegemonic political powers, but also their contestation and challenge by other political agents.’ Influenced by Yuval-Davis (2006), Antonsich (2010) argues that belonging is a multi-dimensional, complex but under-theorised notion. His contribution is helpful for this study as it comprises two analytical dimensions. Antonsich (2010, p. 645) states that belonging should, on the one hand, be seen as a ‘personal, intimate feeling of being “at home” in a place’, on the other, it should also be considered a ‘discursive resource which constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.’ On a similar note to the aforementioned literature on identity (see Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2004), Antonsich (2010, p. 652) calls for researchers to see belonging as a process (of negotiation) rather than a status.

He, furthermore, posits that although belonging is to be investigated as negotiated by individuals, there are, however, constraints on how people are able to express these belonging(s). Antonsich (2010, p. 650) explains that any ‘dominant ethnic group tends to fill the notion of belonging with a rhetoric of sameness, which clearly prevents any recognition of difference.’ Inspired by Yuval-Davis (2006, p. 209), he notes that this sometimes means that the required elements that an individual needs to fulfill in order to ‘belong’ means they ‘have to assimilate to the language, culture, values, behavior and religion of the dominant group.’ Comparable to the previous discussion on identity, Antonsich (2010, p. 650) suggests that there are always some characteristics which individuals are unable to ‘negotiate’ such as birth place or skin colour, which ultimately ‘prevents full sameness’ and exposes that person to exclusion. This is why he calls for researchers to investigate the ‘plurality of scales at which belonging is articulated’ by

individuals while keeping in mind that the negotiation of belonging(s) is dependent on a variety of aspects (Antonsich, 2010, p. 653).

In this study, it should be underlined that belonging and identity are thus considered similarly as suggested by the aforementioned literature. Moreover, it has to be mentioned that belonging and identity are often linked to the construction of nationhood and national identity. This is explored in detail in relation to the aspects of language, ethnicity and nationalism in part 3.2.

3.2. Nationhood, language, ethnicity and nationalism

With its origins in the 19th century, the nation-state remains the central form of political organisation in the 21st century. Whilst the state can be seen as a ‘human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory’, a nation can be considered a ‘human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture’ (Guibernau, 2001, p. 243). May (2001, pp. 55-56) describes the current nation-state formation as the conflation of the ‘historical-cultural and the legal political dimensions of nationhood’, creating a homogenous national culture to which its members can be committed. It must be emphasised that the nation-state is faced with many challenges in relation to processes of globalisation and human movement. Social change and an increase in the diversity of migration are just some of the many factors contributing to the perceived heterogeneity of contemporary European nation-states. This reality is juxtaposed with how nation-states are predominantly understood in a European context, namely as linguistically and culturally homogenous entities. According to this construct, citizens are expected to adhere to normative values: being a citizen one should be able to speak the ‘national’ language and to participate in a ‘common culture.’ It is

important to underline the fact that these ideas are specific to a European context. They are influenced by how nationhood and national belonging have been historically framed and theorised.

However, there is much disagreement over how nationhood is theorised. Although there are a variety of approaches, there are two predominant tendencies labelled as the modernist and primordialist approaches. Primordialists are usually considered to be inspired by the ideas of 18th century German Romantics such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Johann Gottlieb Herder. Proponents of primordialism regard nations as the continuation of ancient and ethnic communities (Hutchinson, 2000, p. 652). Ethnicity is usually understood as a fixed concept and a natural part of the development of nationhood (May, 2001, pp. 28-29). Nations are portrayed as not only universal and eternal, but often as ‘a natural extension of family and kinship relations’ (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 15). Within this approach, language also tends to be seen as symbolically primordial (Wright, 2000, p. 65).

Modernists typically view nations as modern, ‘imagined’ products of the age of nationalism, arising out of specific historical and social developments of modernisation in the 18th and 19th centuries (May, 2001, p. 61). One example is Hobsbawm (1994, pp. 76-78), who sees the modern nation as linked to the invention of tradition. Primary education, public ceremonies and public monuments are thus identified as important elements for the convergence of the state, nation and society. Anderson (2006 [1983], p. 35 and p. 42) argues that the emergence of print capitalism in 15th and 16th century Europe made it possible for people to develop an ‘imagined’ community. He, furthermore, suggests that the primacy of capitalism and the elevation of vernacular languages to standard languages contributed to the basis for the development of nationalism. It has to

be added that over the last decades, modernist approaches have prevailed over the less fashionable primordialist accounts. This shift is comparable to theories on identity and belonging in which there has been a focus on constructivism.

More recent scholarship argues that the aspect of language is often neglected in writings on nationhood, nationalism and the formation of the nation-state (see for example Wright, 2000 and May, 2001). Wright (2000, pp. 65-66) for one explains that some theorists dismiss language because they consider it to be one element amongst many in how nations are formed. Modernists generally underline the importance of the naming of languages and related standardisation processes in relation to nationalism. The establishment of 'standard' languages by those in power is seen as central to the development and establishment of national education systems, serving as a legitimising tool for the state. Wright (2000, p. 63 and p. 61) claims that in order to understand why scholars either accord importance to language or not in their interpretations of nationhood, language needs to be regarded as having two different functions. These functions are referred to as symbolic and communicative and can change according to circumstances (Wright, 2000, p. 61). Considering the symbolic function of language, Wright (2000, p. 76) explicates that it is seen as a symbol for differentiating between those who belong and those who do not; as a 'means of mobilising a proto-national group, the "ancestral" language, differentiated from adjacent idioms and elevated to the status of defender and carrier of the authenticity of the group.' As a 'differentiating symbol' a national language can therefore 'remain iconic.' On the other hand, she argues that language is also sometimes constructed as a 'tool of communication' and as central to the way the state functions. In this case, it is often argued that individual citizens have to master it, or they risk being excluded 'from civic life' (Wright, 2000, p. 77).

In relation to scholarship on nationhood, researchers who see language as one of the key aspects of nationalising processes usually stress the communicative function of language. Those who reject the significance of language do this because they see language purely in relation to its symbolic function. This symbolic aspect is often perceived by scholars as linked to extremism, discrimination and exclusion (Wright, 2000, pp. 63-64). Wright (2000, p. 76) then concludes that although there is a trend for some scholars to discard the aspect of language in the context of the nation-state, it is part of the fundamental organising principles of nationalism and thus central to how belonging is determined. This study is particularly inspired by Wright's (2000) writings and therefore language is given a key role in the following investigation. Moreover, Wright's (2000, p. 8) argument that language is in some cases used as a 'weapon of exclusion', is especially pertinent in the context of this study. In addition to this, her statements on linguistic skills are deemed useful as it is noted that people's linguistic skills are often one of the factors of inclusion or exclusion in different spheres. Linguistic skills are often linked to 'access to knowledge, employability, participation in the democratic process, active citizenship' (Wright, 2000, p. 3) Part 5.3. of chapter five shows how the participants discuss their understandings of the different functions and roles of languages in Luxembourg. In addition to this, the aspect of linguistic skills is discussed in chapter six in relation to language testing. In part 6.3., it is shown how some participants construct the procedure of testing as 'unfair' and 'discriminatory' based on the applicant's linguistic skills.

In a similar way to how the role of language is perceived in scholarship on nationhood and the nation-state, nationalism is often perceived by scholars to be either inclusive/liberal or exclusive. An analytical distinction is made between what is referred to as 'civic' ('inclusive') and 'ethnic' ('exclusive') nationalism. According to Brubaker

(1999, pp. 57-59), researchers tend to use these distinctions to characterise elements or tendencies within states. He argues that even though this is a popular distinction, the normative opposition of 'ethnic' and 'civic' nationalism remains problematic. The reason why the 'civic' understanding of nationalism is popular is because it is predominantly equated with citizenship. However, as he then points out, citizenship is by nature inclusive and exclusive, which leads him to conclude that the perceived inclusivity of 'civic' nationalism needs re-evaluating (Brubaker, 1999, pp. 63-65).

This point is similarly covered by Nic Craith (2004, pp. 290-291), who states that special attention needs to be paid to the distinction between theory and practice in nationalism studies. Her line of argument is that although many scholars follow the distinction between 'civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism in theory, in practice this characterisation does not correspond to reality. In practice, there is a link between 'civic' nationalism, language, culture and the 'imagined community', which leads her to insist that the distinction between both 'types' of nationalism is a false dichotomy.

Drawing upon this scholarship, this study aims in a similar vein to distance itself from distinguishing between different 'types' of nationalism. Instead, it intends to show how the participants talk about nationalism and how they position themselves. Chapter seven especially shows how nationalism is perceived as 'threatening' and linked to ethnicity by some of the participants. Chapter seven also illustrates how some of the participants use the term 'patriotism', instead of 'nationalism', to construct a separate, more 'civic' understanding which they perceive as being linked more closely to the notions of modernity and progress (see Billig, 1995, p. 43 and p. 55).

Nationalism and ethnicity studies have tended to develop separately from each other and connections between both have consequently often been considered

coincidental. Various scholars have recognised that although ethnicity and nationalism are often viewed as irreconcilable with each other, they should indeed be investigated as closely linked. May (2001, p. 56) puts forward that it is unhelpful to see ethnicity and nationalism as separate as this only presents a partial account of nationalism studies. He suggests that rather than treating both as separate terms, they should be analysed as connected. Jenkins (2008, p. 167) echoes this argument by stating that the conditions for and the components of nationalism are that it should be seen as an ‘ideology or ideologies of ethnic identification, historical contingency and variation, a state context, ethnic criteria of political membership and a claim to a collective historical destiny.’ He demonstrates that rather than classifying nationalism, it should be treated as a plural noun: nationalisms. He, furthermore, calls for scholarship to focus more on similarities than differences in nationalism studies (Jenkins, 2008 p. 151). Drawing on Jenkins’ (2008) writings, this study similarly suggests that studying nationalism needs to consider the aspect of ethnicity in order to understand how individuals construct the meaning of nationalism(s). This raises the question as to how ethnicity is theoretically defined.

Ethnicity can be compared to how identity has been previously discussed in part 3.1., namely within a social constructivist framework. This is based on the work of Barth (1969, p. 10) who argues that ethnic distinctions can be linked to social interaction between individuals. According to Barth, ethnic groups are ‘categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves.’ His model defines ethnicity as elastic, allowing individuals to shift and alter their ethnic ascriptions. However, both May (2001) and Jenkins (2008) warn of limitations to this social constructivist account of ethnicity. May (2001, pp. 41-43) notes that negotiation is one of the key aspects of the ongoing construction of ethnicity but reasons that individual and collective choices are bounded

by the ethnic categories available at any given time and place. His main argument refers to the different ethnic choices that are available to people as a product of unequal power relations in wider society. This is comparable to some of the scholarship on identity discussed previously, which postulates that there are different 'types' of identities, some of which are negotiable and others non-negotiable (see for example Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2004).

Concurring with Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004), Jenkins (2008, pp. 53-55) proposes that ethnicity contains an interactional feature, which he calls 'internal' and 'external' defining processes. Internal definitions are perceived as instances when members of a group indicate to other group members who they are. This is a way of establishing similarities between members. External definitions are described as instances when a set of persons define somebody else as 'other' (e.g. describing someone as a 'foreigner'). In contrast to Barth (1969), who presents ethnicity as something malleable by individuals themselves, Jenkins asserts that in many contexts, individuals are unable to choose or even change their ethnic identification. His assumption is that social categorisation plays a significant role in the construction of ethnic identifications. Individuals know who they are because they are taught who they are at a young age. Early socialisation is thus the 'realm par excellence of categorisation, setting a template for our receptivity to being categorised in later life' (Jenkins, 2008, p. 66). Jenkins' contribution differs from Barth in that it emphasises the link between categorisation, power and authority. Instead of focusing solely on the aspect of internal definition and group identification, this study relies on Jenkins' (2008) writings because he manages to successfully describe both processes of external/internal definition and social

categorization. This is a particularly useful framework as it allows for a deep investigation into how people construct ethnicity, which is one of the aims of this study as well.

Related to the nation-state, nationalism, ethnicity and language, there is also the aspect of citizenship, which is a widely discussed and contentious topic. The aim of the following part 3.3. is to explore recent developments and current trends in citizenship studies, whilst situating this study with respect to the relevant scholarship.

3.3. Recent developments in citizenship studies

Citizenship is a notion which has been theorised and disputed in a variety of ways. On a basic level, citizenship denotes legal membership in a state. Like nationalism, citizenship tends to be constructed in either ‘ethnic’ or ‘civic’ terms in a European context. France and Germany’s citizenship laws are seen as typical examples of these ‘civic’ and ‘ethnic’ understandings respectively (Brubaker, 1992, p. x). France is regularly cited as a country with ties to ‘civic’ nationalism, which means that it adheres to the principle of ‘culture-blind’ citizenship or citizenship by birthright. Germany tends to be perceived as the example of ‘ethnic’ nationalism and citizenship by common descent. However, as mentioned in part 3.2., various scholars have maintained that viewing nationalism as either ‘ethnic’ or ‘civic’ is unhelpful as this classification system obscures the various and complex understandings of nationalisms (see for example May, 2001 and Jenkins, 2008).

Not seldom is citizenship perceived as being linked to these different ‘types’ of nationalism (‘civic’ and ‘ethnic’) on a theoretical level. However, some scholars have noted that in practice, this distinction does not correspond to the reality of the nation-state. Instead, it has been argued that since the ‘political culture of a state and its public realm’ are unable to be politically neutral, citizenship should be seen as containing both ‘ethnic’ and ‘civic’ elements (Nic Craith, 2004, pp. 290-291). Moreover, since citizenship

is by nature both inclusive and exclusive, it does not make sense to classify citizenship as either 'ethnic' or 'civic.'

As one of the key elements of this study is the law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' adopted in 2008, it is necessary to situate this law in a wider European context. The main requirements for Luxembourgish 'nationalité' are that applicants pass a Luxembourgish language test and take 'civic' instruction lessons. At this point, it needs to be re-emphasised that the application of these requirements is not unique to Luxembourg. In fact, many other EU states passed comparable laws during a roughly similar time frame. These developments should be seen in relation to changes happening at the level of the EU during the 1990s. This period marked the introduction of so-called 'managed' migration regimes in light of irregular and more diverse migration patterns (see Kofman, 2005, Lewis and Neal, 2005). At the EU level, these policies have been formulated as responses to the persistence of irregular and diverse migration, worries about the sustainability of ageing societies, a desire to prevent 'illegal immigration' and to tighten asylum and refugee policy, and the need for more workers in various sectors for economic growth (Apap, 2002, pp. 47-50, Lewis and Neal, 2005, p. 425). Concerning the harmonisation of EU policies, some important treaties are the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 and the Treaty of Amsterdam which came into effect in 1999.

The Treaty of Maastricht introduced EU citizenship amongst many other things. There are various characteristics of EU citizenship, which, first of all, are multi-layered: according to EU law, any person who has citizenship of an EU country is automatically an EU citizen. Further, the conception of EU citizenship exists on various levels: processes of 'Europeanisation' which, according to Delanty and Rumford (2005, p. 4), are linked to processes of globalisation. Delanty and Rumford (2005, p. 55) specify that

this increasing awareness of European identity can be interpreted as ‘a generalised mode of self-understanding through which groups, whole societies and individuals define themselves and their relation to others.’ Symbols of ‘Europeanness’ such as the euro currency, identifiable European passports and EU citizenship are some examples of the construction of a ‘European collective identity.’

One of the main features of EU citizenship is that it is successfully constructed as linked to rights. Officially, EU citizenship confers the following rights to individuals: to move and reside freely within the EU, to vote for and stand as a candidate in European Parliament and municipal elections, to be protected by the diplomatic authorities of any other EU country, and to petition the European Parliament and complain to the European Ombudsman (EUROPA, 2015). Maas (2013, p. 95) suggests that these rights reflect ‘the project of equality and undifferentiated individual rights for all who have the status of citizen.’ Maas (2013, p. 96) adds that the ‘free movement rights for workers launched the process of European political integration, and the further development of European rights is central to the entire project of integration.’ However, he also underscores that these rights are not uncontested. Within several EU countries, there have been proposals to reintroduce border controls and restrict access to social assistance for some EU citizens. The example given by Maas (2013, p. 95) is that of the Roma expulsions in Italy and France, which he judges as challenging ‘human rights norms against discrimination.’

Drawing upon Maas (2013), Parker and Catalán (2014) provide a fascinating study on the lived experiences of a group of EU citizens, namely the mobile Roma EU citizens in France and Spain. In their study, these researchers unpack the relationship between mobility and citizenship. The relevance of this link is worth exploring because free movement is connected to the ‘integrative, post-national or cosmopolitan promise of

the European project' (Parker and Catalán, 2014, p. 380). Through fieldwork in Spain and France, their study reveals that EU citizenship, which is officially defined as nondiscriminatory and unitary in EU legislation, is not the same experience for all EU citizens, whilst coupled with movement and residence beyond the nation-state. They illustrate this point through analysing the 'lived experiences' of the mobile Roma EU citizens and conclude that the 'granting of rights commensurate with EU citizenship is conditional on the "desirability" of individuals' (Parker and Catalán 2013, p. 381), a statement which leads back to Maas' (2013, p. 93) work on EU citizenship.

Drawing on Maas' (2013) and Parker and Catalán's (2014) research, this study draws on the idea that the granting of rights to EU citizens is multi-level and complex. In particular, Parker and Catalán's (2014) observations about mobility and citizenship resonate with this study. According to these two researchers, mobility is regularly associated with citizenship, in this case EU citizenship, although 'one does not automatically follow from the other' (Parker and Catalán, 2014, p. 381). What this study, therefore, aims to do is provide an analysis of how its participants construct their experiences of mobility and citizenship in the Luxembourg context. In general, and in a similar vein to Parker and Catalán's (2014) research, this study sets out to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between mobility and citizenship through the discourses of those directly affected by policy.

An important aspect in the context of this research on Luxembourg is the fact that there is a language test in place dictating who is eligible to apply. The implementation of language and/or citizenship tests in many EU countries and some other countries has inspired many researchers to explore the reasoning behind their implementation. In many EU countries, language testing is assessed in terms of levels determined by the Common

European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Whereas these levels mainly refer to practical communicative competencies (van Avermaet 2009, pp. 24-25), countries differ in terms of level of testing, which can be explained by varying interpretations of the CEFR in different local contexts. Some researchers have taken a quantitative approach, such as de Jong et al. (2009) who justify the development and implementation of the language testing procedure in the Netherlands. Their research findings suggest that this language testing policy could lead to a more just treatment of those applying and that it benefits both the immigrant and the nation. This study suggests that the quantitative approach implemented by de Jong et al. (2009) gives limited insight into the workings of policies such as language testing. Their study, for example, hides the fact that people's perceptions of policy can range from 'fair' to 'discriminatory.' By taking a qualitative approach, this study on Luxembourg is able to provide alternative observations of how people perceive policy. For example, it shows how the participants discuss aspects of discrimination and exclusion with regards to the language testing.

With regard to the sociolinguistic scholarship, some has dealt with how testing the 'national language' has been constructed, justified and implemented (see for example Extra et al., 2009 and Hogan-Brun et al., 2009). Serious concern has been expressed as to why all kinds of different people with varying levels of literacy and schooling are being subjected to the testing of language proficiency for citizenship (van Avermaet 2009, p. 34). The procedure points to questions about how fair and ethical these tests are, especially when they are being used for the implementation of policies concerning citizenship, as this gives people access to other things such as social security, voting rights, etc. (Shohamy and McNamara 2008, p. 89). It has come to light that one of the ways in which language requirements are justified in an EU context is by arguing that

they contribute to the ‘social cohesion of society.’ In this sense, tests are used as resources that enable ‘the imagining of the nation as a cohesive community, access to which can be granted or denied depending on parameters of language proficiency, which are also taken as parameters of cultural and moral understanding’ (Milani 2008, p. 46). Constructed as symbols of ‘success, standards, objectivity and merit’, tests provide a way of perpetuating dominance through ‘symbolic violence.’ Bourdieu sees this as ‘the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate.’ This legitimacy obscures the power relations which permit that imposition to be successful (Bourdieu in Jenkins 1992, p. 104). Consequently, even those subjected to the tests may trust and respect them as they have adopted the power they convey.

Shohamy’s (2006) research provides some important insights into this topic. Shohamy (2006, p. 43) demonstrates that in the present-day diverse nation-state, language is frequently used as a ‘symbol and as an ideological tool whose purpose is to create and consolidate group membership and indicate the degree of inclusion, patriotism and loyalty to the state, economic status and classification of its residents.’ She adds that ‘the widespread acceptance within political entities of a particular favoured language along with its supposedly correct and pure grammatical form and appropriate accent’ means that language policy is a means to ensure certain ideology is put into practice over others (Shohamy, 2006, p. 44). In her writings, Shohamy (2006, p. 54) refers to language testing as a type of language policy mechanism which can be defined as representing both overt and covert tools employed as a way of constructing and maintaining language policies. Shohamy refers to some of these ‘mechanisms’ as ‘hidden’ since people are often not aware of their power and controlling nature with regards to influencing policies. She,

furthermore, clarifies that while these mechanisms are legitimately and broadly operational in many democratic countries, there is a need for more awareness and knowledge on the use of these ‘mechanisms.’ Since people are often unaware of these ‘devices as powerful tools capable of influencing language behaviour and practice’, she argues that there is no resistance to and protest against these manipulations. As she further explains, this means that ‘people comply unquestioningly with the demands set by the mechanisms as they are unaware of their often negative influences in terms of language rights and democratic processes’ (Shohamy, 2006, p. 55.) As will be shown in part 6.1., Shohamy’s arguments regarding language testing are comparable with some of the participants’ views. However, part 6.3. will also discuss some further examples in which other participants challenge and criticise the authority of the language testing in Luxembourg. These findings, while deviating from what Shohamy (2006, p. 55) argues, will importantly show that not everyone complies with the authority of language testing (see also Kremer and Horner, 2016, p. 172).

In addition to this particular analysis, the study also examines how participants describe citizenship more broadly in chapter seven. Several more empirically-orientated studies on citizenship have been of considerable use in informing this study’s approach. One such study conducted by Andreouli and Howarth (2013) concludes with a report on the intersections of institutionalised constructions of citizenship with individual discourses in the context of the concept of ‘earned citizenship’ in Britain. The researchers provide an analysis of public policy documents and interview material with thirty-three recently naturalised British citizens from Europe, Africa, Asia, America and Australia. There are some salient points from Andreouli and Howarth’s (2013) findings relevant to this study. First, Andreouli and Howarth’s (2013, p. 372) research reveals that their

participants represent Britishness in ethno-cultural terms, with these essentialising representations creating ‘clear and fixed boundaries between native British and migrant people.’ Also, Andreouli and Howarth (2013, p. 372) emphasise that most of their participants do not position themselves as British, which leads these researchers to argue that ‘essentialising ethnic representations of Britishness posed constraints on “how much British” they [the participants] could claim to be, constraining at the same time their possibilities for identity hyphenation.’ Another significant aspect about Andreouli and Howarth’s (2013, p. 374) research is that it highlights some of the reasons participants give for applying for British citizenship. Andreouli and Howarth find many of their non-EU participants cite practical advantages such as the ability to travel freely within the European Union, whilst others identify the passport as a ‘symbol of freedom of mobility’ (Andreouli and Howarth, 2013, p. 376). These findings are significant as they show similarities to some of the results from this study on recently naturalised Luxembourgish citizens (see chapter seven).

Another relevant study is one conducted by Williams (2013) in Germany. In interviews with second generation young adults with immigrant backgrounds, Williams (2013) demonstrates that his participants attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship and ‘Germanness.’ He observes that some of them identify themselves as culturally German (e.g. they express feeling ‘at home’ in Germany), none of them though as solely German. In addition to this, his research reports that those participants who see themselves as German make it clear that they do not consider themselves ‘real Germans.’ Williams (2013) then postulates that ‘Germanness’ is constructed in complex ways, with the cultural aspect often being understood as obtainable and the ethno-racial aspect perceived as only accessible through ascription. He arrives at the conclusion that some of

the participants call for citizenship to be separated from the ethnic sense of nationality. Williams' (2013) findings from interviews with participants in Germany are especially significant for this study as some of Luxembourgish participants similarly call for a separation of citizenship from the ethnic sense of nationality. This is discussed further in chapter seven.

Studies on citizenship such as the ones by Andreouli and Howarth (2013) and Williams (2013) use a variety of labels to describe their approach. Williams (2013), for example, refers to his research as the analysis of citizenship 'from below.' Other common phrases that are used to describe this research on citizenship are the 'lived experience' of citizenship, citizenship as 'enacted' or the analysis of citizenship as 'social practice.' Isin and Saward (2013) employ the terms 'enacted' and 'acts' of citizenship to describe instances in which individuals mobilise themselves to 'perform their right to have rights by asking questions about justice and injustice.' Their justification is that these words are not used to refer to an 'act' as such, but as the researcher's interpretations of people's 'struggles.' This allows the researchers to emphasise how conventional and dominant constructions of citizenship are enacted and contested by individuals. While people might not describe their 'struggles' in these terms, Isin and Saward argue that when people 'act', they can be seen as 'enacting' citizenship, whether individuals are passport carrying members of society or not. Furthermore, the researchers explain that this permits what they call the 'activist' citizens to question the assertions of the courts and governments as the only authorities and driving forces in defining citizenship (Isin and Saward, 2013, pp. 9-11 and Isin, 2013, p. 21-22).

Isin and Saward's (2013) writings raise some significant issues. On the one hand, their description of the different types of individuals who are considered as 'activist'

citizens opens up the possibility of seeing even those without passports as potentially ‘enacting’ citizenship. However, this study does not adopt Isin and Saward’s terminology of ‘acts’, ‘enacting’ citizenship and ‘activist’ citizens, as it does not focus predominantly on the ways in which citizenship is ‘performed’, and instead uses the term ‘experience’ in relation to citizenship. The aim is to achieve a deeper understanding of how the participants discursively construct their own experiences of citizenship. By analysing their discourses, the study also sets out to highlight the different ways in which people negotiate their own identities and belongings. Discourse, therefore, plays a significant role in the context of this study, which is why the last part of chapter three explores the development of, as well as current trends in, the study of discourse.

3.4. Discourse, power and ideology

The social sciences have been marked by an increased attention to discourse, which is largely due to developments during the mid-60s. According to Jaworski et al. (1999, pp. 3-6), this time marks a shift in perception of how knowledge is produced and a weakening of confidence in traditional methods of enquiry. This heightened attention to discourse was also influenced by societal evolution such as the change from a post-war era to the post-modern period. Giddens (1991) describes this as a phase during which advanced capitalist economies were expanding from being traditionally manufacturing-based to being established in the service sector. In this post-modern period, language takes on an increasingly important role as part of the promoting and selling of services. Another observable trend is that researchers have become particularly attentive to investigating the language of the media. Overall, it can be suggested that many disciplines have thus come to see the significance of exploring discourse more broadly but also more intensely.

The study of discourse takes on many forms and discourse is defined in many different ways depending on the approach taken by the researcher. According to Fairclough et al. (2011, p. 358), discourse can be seen as an ‘analytical category describing the vast array of meaning-making resources available to us’ in the most abstract sense. It can be considered as socially ‘constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people.’ Since discourse is so socially prevailing, it involves significant issues of power and dominance. The words or language people use are not only employed to name things but to conceptualise things. This means that discursive practices may have significant ideological effects: they may ‘produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men and ethnic groups, through the ways in which they represent things and position people.’ Fairclough et al. (2011, p. 358) also maintain that ‘both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people.’ With reference to this study, these arguments are particularly relevant as they underline the importance of analysing the power relations underlying the participants’ discourses.

In addition to drawing upon definitions of discourse by scholars such as Fairclough, this study is inspired by the writings of Bourdieu and van Dijk. Drawing upon Bourdieu’s theoretical groundwork, this study suggests that the power of words is a power capable of maintaining a social order because of the legitimacy of those who speak them (Bourdieu in Thompson, 1991, p. 170). Symbolic power requires the belief in the legitimacy of this power and the legitimacy of those who apply it. A further key concept is dominance, which can be broadly seen as ‘the exercise of social power by elites,

institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including the political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality' (van Dijk, 1993, pp. 249-250). Power and dominance are usually institutionalised and organised. The social dominance of groups is not only enacted individually by members of this group but is often also legitimated by the laws, enforced by the police or perpetuated by the media. As van Dijk (1993, p. 255) argues, the organisation of dominance implies a 'hierarchy of power: some members of dominant groups and organisations have a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power.' Thus, dominant discourse is a way of speaking or portraying any topic through the enactment of power relations by dominant group members.

This study uses the example of the word 'integration' and the verb 'to integrate' in order to explore dominant discourse in more detail, thereby referring to Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998) writings on this topic. According to Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, p. 111), whose discussion focuses on the region of Flanders in Belgium, 'integration' can be defined as a concept which outlines the 'goals of the government's policies, migrants ultimately becoming "integrated" into Belgian society.' It also 'refers to the political goodwill of the Belgians to accommodate foreigners, and to the position which migrants should eventually occupy in society' (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998, p. 111). This semantically vague term is used in a 'multitude of contexts, and every time, it would seem, with exceptional rhetorical power.' Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, pp. 111-112), furthermore, explain that the term may imply an 'accusation, it evaluates cultural similarities and differences, and it always points at a condition for acceptance, i.e. the absolute condition which migrants have to fulfil in order rightfully to enjoy the benefits of [...] society.' Although their investigation is anchored in the Belgian context,

Blommaert and Verschueren's (1998) work helps unpack how the participants of this study use the terms 'integration' and 'to integrate' in the Luxembourg context, which is particularly similar to that of Belgium. Their writings underscore one more significant aspect, which is valuable in the context of this study. In line with Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, p. 113), the verb 'to integrate' is mostly used reflexively, and usually occurs in three types of context: 'in stipulating conditions of acceptance' [...] (e.g. 'if only they were willing to integrate'), 'in the assignment of duties' [...] (e.g. 'they have to integrate themselves'), or in reproaches [...] (e.g. 'they don't want to integrate themselves') (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998, p. 113).

Whilst recognising that dominant discourse is linked to power, this study does not suggest that individuals always accept dominant discourse without challenging or contesting it. This study acknowledges the fact that it is often the case that some 'voices' are heard more than others, this being related to how people are able to access ways of communicating and distributing ideas. Van Dijk (1993, p. 256) claims that certain people have more and others less control over the variable properties of discourse and its conditions and consequences, such as 'planning, setting, the presence of other participants, modes of participation, overall organisation, turn-taking, agenda, topics or style.' Many people have limited access, which means that their 'voices' rarely feature in public debates, mainstream media, political speeches, etc. Alternative means of communicating may take place through forms of protests, letters to the editor, social media sites and so on. It is, nevertheless, debatable how unrestricted these are when they are subject to editing and/or censoring. This study, therefore, takes the approach of highlighting different 'voices' by analysing the individual discourses of those people who have been directly affected by policy.

Before moving on to the methodology chapter, there is a further concept that warrants discussion, namely ideology. Ideology is a difficult concept to pinpoint and there exist a wide range of definitions that encompass many different ideas and scholarly approaches. Broadly speaking, ideology is understood as a set of shared beliefs, values and attitudes which help people to make sense of the world. This broad definition does not provide detailed information, which is why ideology requires further exploration in the remainder of this chapter. The remaining part weighs various positions taken by scholars on the topic of ideology and discusses which aspects are of particular relevance to this study.

According to Eagleton (1991, p. 4), various scholars have claimed that ideology should be seen as obsolete in post-structuralism and postmodern thought. He states that after World War II (WWII), a prevalent approach amongst scholars was that ideology was identified as a pejorative notion labelling it as inflexible and schematic. There were harmonized calls to discard the concept of ideology as both ‘blindly irrational’ and ‘excessively rationalistic’ (Eagleton, 1991, p. 4). This ‘end of ideology’ movement is explicable as a response to WWII. However, as Eagleton (1991, p. xi) demonstrates, this approach does not explain the fact that ideology continues to play a significant role in the insurgence of various movements around the world. He, therefore, argues that instead of discarding the concept of ideology, it should be investigated as a complex notion. Eagleton (1991, p. 7) adds that both ‘the wider and narrower senses of ideology have their uses, and that their mutual incompatibility, descending as they do from divergent political and conceptual histories’ should be recognised.

Eagleton’s (1991, p. 1) approach to defining ideology includes a variety of aspects, some of which are briefly discussed in the context of this study. The following

combination of definitions is deemed helpful: ideology may be defined as ‘the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life’ and as ‘ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power’ (Eagleton, 1991, pp. 1-2). Eagleton (1991, p. 6) explores this aspect of power in more detail by assuming that ‘not every body of belief which people commonly term ideological is associated with a dominant political power.’ This leads him to question the statement that ideology is used to legitimate a dominant political power. He insists that a broader definition of ideology is needed for it to be understood as ‘any kind of intersection between belief systems and political power’ (Eagleton, 1991, p. 6).

Eagleton’s (1991, p. 9) arguments on the relationship between ideology and discourse resonate with this study. He proposes that examining ideologies in discourse requires knowledge about the context in which the discourse was produced. Terms are thus often considered ideological depending on the purpose they serve. The example of the word ‘integration’ given beforehand illustrates Eagleton’s (1991, p. 9) point in that he argues that what is ‘primarily ideological about these terms is the power-interests they serve and the political effects they generate.’ For him, ideology is, therefore, ‘less a matter of the inherent linguistic properties of a pronouncement than a question of who is saying what to whom for what purposes.’ In line with the assumption that the ‘same piece of language may be ideological in one context, and not in another’, he concludes that ideology should be considered a ‘function of the relation of an utterance to its social context’ (Eagleton, 1991, p. 9). Hence, one of the principal aims of this study is to pay close attention to the context in which the interviews take place whilst providing a discourse analysis of how the participants construct their experiences.

Further insightful discussion as to the concept of ideology is generated by van Dijk (2011). In fact, van Dijk (2011, p. 381) defines ideologies as ‘general systems of basic ideas shared by the members of a social group, ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourse and other social practices as group members.’ Concurring with Eagleton (1991), van Dijk (2011, p. 381) reasons that ideology is often seen negatively and thus recommends that rather than focusing entirely on this negative approach, researchers follow a more general, multidisciplinary theory that ‘accounts for various kinds of ideology, including those of resistance.’ Interestingly, van Dijk’s (2011, p. 381) definition of ideology is based on a sociocognitive approach, which he understands as the ‘basis of the shared mental representations of social groups which in turn will control the social practices of members.’ He furthermore specifies that his approach takes into account that ‘ideologies may be inculcated by specific groups in society, such as the symbolic elites that control the access to public discourse and hence have the means to manipulate the public at large’ (van Dijk, 2011, p. 381). Although this study does not intend to follow van Dijk’s (2011) sociocognitive approach, he raises some crucial issues which are taken into consideration, for one the argument that ideology should be seen as multidisciplinary, but also the need to account for ‘various kinds of ideology, including those of resistance.’ This stance allows the present study to view ideology in a much broader sense.

To conclude, chapter three has noted that this study intends to provide an analysis of how the participants negotiate identity and belonging through discourse. This argument has also been voiced in relation to ethnicity and nationalism. On a larger level, this study is interested in exploring how its participants discursively construct their experiences of mobility, language testing and citizenship in the Luxembourg context. One of the key

themes of chapter three has been the aspect of discourse: it has been suggested that a discourse analytical approach to studying issues of migration, language policy and citizenship can contribute to a deeper understanding of how individuals construct their experiences. The aim of the following chapter is to give an overview of the methodology of this study, to provide information on the participants and to describe the methods used for processing and analysing the interview material.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Chapter four is divided into four parts. Part 4.1. presents an overview of qualitative and quantitative methods of enquiry, along with a synopsis of the main challenges inherent to qualitative analysis. Part 4.2. discusses issues pertaining to the nature of interviews and the collection of the interview material in the field. This includes an account of how the participants were recruited. In addition to this, part 4.2. provides a self-reflective description of the researcher's experience of how the interviews were conducted. Part 4.3. provides an overview of the basic social characteristics of the participants such as gender, age, countries of origin, occupation and duration of residence in Luxembourg. This information is then presented in tabular form at the end of part 4.3. Part 4.4. discusses the various methodological approaches that have influenced the design of this study, namely grounded theory, thematic analysis and discourse analysis.

4.1. An overview of quantitative and qualitative methods

The two widely recognised means of enquiry are most commonly referred to as qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative studies address a number of different concerns related to the gathering of large amounts of material and making broad claims about it. They emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, which is mainly done through statistics, figures, graphs, etc. Its advocates take the view that their work is done from within a largely value-free framework (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 8). A quantitative approach to discourse commonly involves counting features that occur in texts or transcripts of speech, then tabulating the results (Johnstone, 2000, p. 123). As for qualitative work, there is no single definition of what it consists of as it has its roots in many disciplines (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, pp. 2-3). Seale (2004a, p.

100) points out that qualitative research is best seen as a ‘social movement, a banner around which people in social and cultural research have mobilized.’ A general description of qualitative research encompasses a set of practices, embracing ‘within its own multiple disciplinary history constant tensions and contradictions over the project itself, including its methods and the forms its findings and interpretations take (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).’ Qualitative researchers use a variety of empirical materials such as case studies, life stories, interviews, visual texts, which describe ‘routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 8).

Qualitative and quantitative approaches have been influenced by the positivist and post-positivist traditions in the physical and social sciences (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 9). The development of positivism in the 1930s and 1940s had a considerable influence on social scientists, who had previously used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Those who identify with positivism underline the importance of the scientific method modelled on the natural sciences. These methods are open to tests and therefore empirically verifiable. They argue that it is only through this method that ‘science is able to produce a body of knowledge whose validity is conclusive, which can replace the myths and dogma of common sense’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, pp. 3-6). Observations made in a scientific manner are also usually considered to be value-free (Cameron et al., 1999, p. 144). According to this tradition, the researcher has to ‘observe the world without influencing it and minimize their presence in the data-collection process’ (de Fina and Perrino, 2011, p. 3).

Challenges to positivism have mainly come from those who align themselves with realism and relativism. Relativists see reality not as a fixed entity independent of our

perceptions; they maintain that people have preconceived notions of what there is to be seen, and this affects what people see. In the social sciences, relativism ‘addresses the role of language in shaping an actor’s social reality’ instead of reflecting a ‘pre-existent, non-linguistic order.’ Ethnomethodology is a variation of this tradition and focuses entirely on micro-level interaction and the individual’s ‘subjective experience of a situation, to the point of denying any other reality’ (Cameron et al., 1999, pp. 144-145). This critical view of relativism is interpreted by Cameron et al. (1999, pp. 145-147) as taking a step closer to a realist position, meaning that there is a ‘social reality for actors and researchers to study and understand.’ Researchers taking a realist approach agree on a reality existing independently of the observer, but are also aware of its limitation, that this may be impossible to observe or to describe definitely.

Qualitative researchers are often faulted on the lack of validity or perceived ‘truth-value’ of their studies (Seale, 2004b, pp. 72-76). For many qualitative researchers, these criteria are impossible to fulfil because of the unpredictability of human behaviour. Working within a qualitative framework is usually done because of lack of interest in generalising or multiplying results in favour of analysing the socially constructed nature of reality. While this thesis acknowledges the relevant limitations related to qualitative research, it opts to take a qualitative approach due to its theoretical grounding in a social constructivist approach and the related prioritisation of analysing interviews as a means of exploring individuals’ diverse experiences of policies on language, migration and citizenship.

4.2. Interviews and the recruitment process

Interviews are seen as a way of recounting narratives and explaining how humans make sense of their experiences (Seidman, 1998, p. 2). The decision to conduct individual

interviews originates from an interest in learning about how people talk about their personal experiences. Chapter three illustrated that this study is drawing on scholarship that calls for identity and belonging to be analysed as discursively constructed by individuals through interaction. Moreover, chapter three highlighted that some of the recent scholarship in citizenship studies suggests that research should focus on how individuals construct their understandings and experiences of citizenship.

Interviewing is considered a valid method for collecting information for qualitative researchers. It is used across a variety of disciplines as for example in education studies, anthropology, sociology, social psychology and sociolinguistics. This is regularly done in combination with other methods such as focus groups, participant observation, diaries and so on (deFina and Perrino, 2011, p. 1). This study contributes to the growing body of studies which have successfully combined the method of interviewing individuals in relation to topics such as migration, language policy and citizenship. One such study is Baynham's (2006, p. 377) investigation of Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement, in which he interviews Moroccan economic migrants and analyses their identities as 'performed in discourse.' His study is discussed in more detail in relation to the interview material in particular in part 5.1. A thematically cognate study on individual understandings of citizenship is Williams' (2013) research based on interviews with young citizenship applicants in Germany about their understandings of 'Germanness' and the broader concept of citizenship. Williams' (2013) findings are compared to those of this study in chapter seven, which focuses on the ways that individuals understand 'Luxembourgishness' and citizenship on the basis of interview material.

As a method of collecting data, interviewing has its origins in various areas. In the late 19th century, Charles Booth conducted surveys on the social and economic conditions of people in London using unstructured interviews and ethnographic observation. Interviewing was also widely used as a method in psychological testing during World War One. In the 1950s and 1960s, the purpose behind interviews in survey research was to quantify data. More recently, researchers have turned their attention to the role of the researcher-participant relationship and the analysis of people's 'voices' (Fontana and Frey, 2000, pp. 647-649). As discussed in part 3.4., the issue of 'voice' is an important aspect as it can be argued that some 'voices' appear more than others in the public sphere. This is because people in positions of power have easier and faster access to ways of communicating and/or distributing ideas than others. Part 3.4. concluded that this is why it is important to pay attention to different 'types' of discourses, which means more specifically to explore the discourses of people who are often not able to voice their ideas in the public sphere. This study sets forward that one of the ways in which it is able to analyse these different 'voices' is through the analysis of interview material.

There are different types of interviews, ranging from structured to unstructured and open-ended. During a structured interview, a set of questions is usually strictly followed. This means that it is less flexible and the interviewer aims to take on a neutral role. The most highly structured interviews operate under a stimulus-response format which leaves little or no room to discuss feelings. Unstructured interviews are generally open-ended and are designed to understand complex issues or behaviour by members of society without imposing categorisation prior to the interview (Fontana and Frey, 2008, pp. 124-126 and pp. 129-134). According to Seidman (1998, pp. 69-70), frequently used open-ended questions can take the form of the participant explaining a typical day at work

or at school. The method of data gathering which is used in this study is that of a semi-structured interview. It follows that a sequence of themes and questions are covered, but that there is also openness to changes of this sequence (Kvale, 1996, p. 124). As highlighted previously, the aim of this study is to explore the discourses of those people who have been directly affected by policy. The approach, therefore, necessitates participants being able to express their opinions without having to strictly follow a structured path. This is the reason for implementing the semi-structured, more open-ended method of interviewing in this study.

There are some epistemological issues concerning the application of interviews. Scholarship which has focused on the interview method takes a variety of approaches. Some researchers contend that the interactional context should be erased as far as possible to examine people's natural behaviour. Others criticise the interview situation for its inauthentic and artificial context for collection, which is why they avoid it (deFina and Perrino, 2011, p. 1). The type of interview determines the questions asked by the researcher. Seale and Filmer (2012, p. 130) distinguish between open, closed and pre-coded questions. Open questions allow the respondent to answer on their own terms, while closed questions specify the terms of reference for the respondent to use in formulating their reply. Pre-coded questions allow for a quick analysis of replies and are most commonly employed in social surveys. The most evident criticism of closed and pre-coded questions is that they do not allow for much flexibility on the respondent's side. The themes of this study are mirrored in interview questions. Although the sequence was rarely strictly followed, the interview questionnaire first started off with questions about the participant's life and background. Secondly, the questions focused on the application procedure and the language test. The final part of the interview questionnaire

addressed issues of citizenship. The interview questionnaire as well as the information sheet and consent form were prepared in four languages namely French, German Luxembourgish and English. The various versions of the information sheet, consent form and interview questionnaire can be found in appendices one through four.

This study adopted two methods of recruitment. In a first instance, contact was established with certain people through the researcher's acquaintances by receiving details of people who were recent or future applicants for Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' This is what Milroy (1987, p. 53) refers to as the 'friend-of-a-friend' method. In November 2012, the researcher also organised a meeting with the president of an organisation called ASTI Luxembourg (Association de Soutien aux Travailleurs Immigrés/ Association of Support for Immigrant Workers). Laura Zuccoli, the current president, agreed to distribute the information sheet in some of their language classes and to send it via email to their mailing list. In total, the researcher undertook five visits to Luxembourg, which included one trip in November 2012 for initial recruitment, and four visits for interviewing and further recruitment which took place in January, March, June and August 2013. Each period of recruitment/interviewing lasted between two weeks and one month.

During the June 2013 visit, the researcher visited two beginners Luxembourgish language lessons which were organised through the ASTI organisation. The initial purpose of these visits was to recruit further participants for this study, but interestingly, the lessons were also an eye opener as regards to the different challenges learners of Luxembourgish face. The researcher gained insight into the language learning process and she noted that many of the learners expressed concerns during the lesson over how little they are able to use Luxembourgish in their day-to-day activities and workplaces.

Despite enjoying learning Luxembourgish, they wished for more opportunities to practise and improve it outside the classroom. These comments formed an important observation as they echoed some of the comments made by the participants of this study during interviews. Some of the participants, who have also been learning Luxembourgish, explain that they have difficulties practising this language in their everyday activities and workplaces, which is a topic explored in more detail in part 5.3. of chapter five.

In terms of conducting the interviews, they were in the first instance held on the campus of the University of Luxembourg in Walferdange where the researcher chose a quiet space in the university cafeteria. In some instances, the interviews took place in a café near the participant's home or work. The participants were in different stages of the application procedure, which means that some had already completed the process, while some were still in the process and others had yet to begin their application. The researcher's initial goal was to interview thirty people but by the end of August, twenty-seven had been successfully interviewed and she decided to stop the process at this stage due to the fact that this formed a robust number for a qualitative study based on the analysis of in-depth interviews.

There are certain noteworthy issues related to the position of the researcher within the context of the fieldwork. The fact that the fieldwork took place in Luxembourg by a researcher based at a British university was an important aspect. Further, the researcher grew up in Luxembourg and speaks Luxembourgish, English, French and German. The researcher has rarely experienced people questioning her 'Luxembourgishness.' Being able to converse fluently in English means that she is also often described as 'British.'

Overall, the relationship between the researcher and each participant varied from person to person. As suggested in part 3.2., language and ethnicity are some of the key

elements in how group membership is constructed. Both elements are important in Luxembourg and as noted in the previous paragraph, they contributed to how the participants understood the relationship with the interviewer. Language was particularly relevant because it played a significant role in how the participants of the study chose to position themselves. People with whom interviews were conducted in Luxembourgish, French or German, usually regarded the interviewer as a Luxembourgish researcher who happened to be based at a university in the U.K. The people spoken to in English were often confused as to why the interviewer's accent sounded so 'authentic.' Even though it was pointed out to them that the interviewer was born in Luxembourg and that she spoke Luxembourgish as well, some participants did not acknowledge this during the interview. Sometimes the conversations would for example turn to discussions about the 'Luxembourgers' as the generalised 'Other' in relation to both the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviews conducted in Luxembourgish sometimes centred on the 'foreigners', as the participants saw the interviewer and themselves as belonging to the Luxembourgish 'ethnic core.' One of the main issues that need to be raised here is that the ambiguity of the interviewer's status was particularly significant during this process because it influenced what participants were willing to share.

One of the central factors in how participants chose to describe themselves was their choice of language(s). This was influenced by how comfortable they were speaking it but also what common language(s) there was between them and the researcher. Usually, this was either French or English. A majority of the participants spoke Luxembourgish or were learning it; those who had recently started learning it, however, frequently chose a different language they felt more comfortable in, as they explained that they would be unable to express themselves fully. There were some exceptions to this: one participant

mentioned that she wanted to do the interview in Luxembourgish as she was still learning but wanted to improve. During another interview that took place in English, a participant noted at the end that the interview should technically have been in Luxembourgish as the research was also on Luxembourg. Thus, it can be concluded that the language(s) participants chose to use during the interviews were influenced by a variety of factors.

4.3. Information on the participants: basic social data

Before discussing the methods of transcription and analysis of the interview material, it is necessary to outline some basic social data on the participants of this study. This information helps underline some salient facts about the individuals whose extracts are discussed in the subsequent chapters five, six and seven. Some information is provided about each participant's background, age, gender, countries of origin/ parents' origin, current occupation and interview length. The information is discussed briefly in a first instance before being summarised in a tabular form to provide a clear overview.

Firstly, it should be noted that there is a larger proportion of participants from other EU-member states than from non-EU countries. Of the twenty-seven participants, only eight are from countries outside the EU and nineteen are from EU countries other than Luxembourg. Of those participants from other EU member states, six are either from Portugal or their parents came from Portugal to Luxembourg before they were born. Three are from Italy or their parents moved to Luxembourg from Italy before they were born. Three participants are from Germany, three from the U.K. and two are from Belgium. In addition to this, two participants have parents who came to Luxembourg from Spain and Italy before they were born. One major aspect is that not all of the participants had moved to Luxembourg recently but that some were born in this country to parents who had moved before they were born. In relation to the participants from countries outside the

EU, three are from South America and two from North America. One participant was born in a South Asian country, one in the Middle East and one is from East Africa. It was decided not to specify these participants' country of origin as this might have led to their identification in the interview material.

There is some variation in relation to the amount of time participants have spent in the country before the interview. Overall, the majority of participants have been in Luxembourg for quite an extensive period of time. Of the twenty-seven, only three have been living in Luxembourg for under five years. Six participants have been living in the country for about five to ten years whereas two for about ten to twenty years. The time frame of twenty to thirty years has the most significant numbers with fourteen participants. Two participants have been living in Luxembourg for over thirty years. Here, it is worth re-emphasising that some of these numbers originate from the fact that various participants were born in Luxembourg and so, these numbers also correspond to their age. This aspect is highlighted in further detail in the grid at the end of part 4.3. In terms of the participants' ages, there are two participants in the age bracket of 18 to 20. There are six participants in the age bracket of 21 to 29, four in the bracket of 30 to 39, two in 40 to 49, nine in 50 to 59 and four in 60 to 69. The 50 to 59 age bracket therefore, has the most significant numbers in this study. Additionally, there are ten male participants and seventeen female participants.

In terms of occupation, the majority of participants can be described as having skilled jobs. Also, most of them have a university degree but not all of them work in the white collar job sector. Those participants who work as skilled workers are in schools, at research centres, offices or banks in Luxembourg. Some of the younger participants are still in secondary school or are studying at a university abroad. Some of the older

participants had worked in Luxembourg for most of their adult lives but are now retired and/ or volunteering. Information on the participants' job situation is detailed in the following grid. Some of this information has been generalised in order to maintain their anonymity. Finally, most participants were recruited through the friend-of-a-friend method. Of the twenty-seven participants, nineteen were actually recruited in this way. Four participants were recruited through others who had participated, and four were recruited through the ASTI organisation:

Nr.	Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Country(-ies) of origin/countries of parents' origin	Length of stay in years	Area of occupation	Method of recruitment	Length of interview (approx.)
1	David	late 30s	M	Portugal	39	researcher	friend-of-a-friend	1h 30 mins
2	Angela	early 30s	F	Italy	30	human resources	friend-of-a-friend	35 mins
3	Andrée	early 50s	F	Belgium	25	human resources	friend-of-a-friend	45 mins
4	Linda	early 60s	F	U.K.	30	retired	friend-of-a-friend	40 mins
5	Paola	early 50s	F	Italy	25	volunteer	friend-of-a-friend	1h 30 mins
6	Julia	early 30s	F	Germany	3	researcher	friend-of-a-friend	1h 35 mins
7	Melissa	late 40s	F	South East Asia	25	office worker	friend-of-a-friend	40 mins
8	Carol	early 50s	F	U.K.	10	human resources and management	snowball effect	50 mins
9	João	early 60s	M	Portugal	35	Retired	through organisation	1h 30 mins
10	Robert	early 50s	M	North America	25	Teaching	friend-of-a-friend	1h
11	Carla	early 40s	F	South America	10	office worker	friend-of-a-friend	1h 30 mins
12	Nathan	late 20s	M	North America	3	Researcher	friend-of-a-friend	1h 35 mins
13	Filipe	late teens	M	Portugal	19	Student	friend-of-a-friend	1h
14	Cristina	late 40s	F	South America	10	housewife/volunteer	snowball effect	1h 20 mins
15	Bernardo	early 50s	M	Italy	25	project management	snowball effect	40 mins
16	Isabel	mid-20s	F	Portugal	25	Student	friend-of-a-friend	1h 40 mins
17	Patricia	early 40s	F	South America	10	medical sector	snowball effect	1h 30 mins
18	Sofia	mid-20s	F	Spain/Italy	25	Student	friend-of-a-friend	1h
19	Alexandra	early 50s	F	Germany	22	teaching	friend-of-a-friend	1 h
20	Birgit	early 60s	F	Germany	25	retired/volunteer	friend-of-a-friend	45 mins
21	Nathalie	late 20s	F	Belgium	5	human resources	friend-of-a-friend	1h 20 mins
22	Nina	early 50s	F	Middle East	7	project management	through organisation	1h 40 mins

23	<i>Luisa</i>	late 20s	F	Portugal	28	researcher	through organisation	1 h
24	<i>Nuno</i>	late teens	M	Portugal	19	Student	friend-of-a-friend	30 mins
25	<i>Michael</i>	early 60s	M	U.K.	30	Retired	friend-of-a-friend	1 h 15 mins
26	<i>Manuel</i>	late 30s	M	East Africa	7	factory worker	through organisation	45 mins
27	<i>Bruno</i>	late 20s	M	Spain/ Italy	28	office worker	friend-of-a-friend	1h 20 mins

4.4. Transcribing and analysing the interview material

The transcription and analysis of the interview material takes place in various stages and is interdisciplinary in nature. The analytical method employed in this study is influenced by approaches from grounded theory, thematic analysis and discourse analysis. As a systematic and inductive approach, Guest et al. (2012, p. 12) consider grounded theory as inspired by the writings of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and as a method of working designed to ‘identify themes and categories from data’ while linking it to theory. As the exploration of themes in grounded theory is inductive and constantly evolving, it requires involvement and interpretation from the researcher. These aspects of grounded theory were adhered to by this research, as one of the first steps taken in the analysis process was the identification of themes. Three general themes were identified at the start of the research process, namely citizenship, migration and language testing. These informed the interview questionnaire, which was discussed in part 4.2. Other themes, such as the issues of discrimination and exclusion or the theme of ‘staying’ emerged throughout the interview process and these are discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters five, six and seven. The research questions were therefore not finalised before conducting the interviews, but rather were revisited and refined in the course of the analysis phase.

Various aspects of what is commonly referred to as the thematic approach have also influenced this study. Like grounded theory, a thematic approach is inductive and interpretive. Guest et al. (2012, p. 10) note that this approach is one of the most commonly used method of analysis, aiming to identify themes which is ‘useful in capturing the complexities of meaning.’ Whilst borrowing from other areas, the applied thematic approach generally aims to ‘present stories and experiences voiced by people as accurately as possible’ (Guest et al., 2012, p. 16). According to Guest et al. (2012, p. 44),

researchers following this approach need to be flexible and consider the aspects of robustness and validity when choosing the data for analysis.

Grounded theory and thematic approaches have been influential in a large body of research and have been further developed by various scholars in their methodologies. One such example is Stirling (2001), who provides a helpful interdisciplinary approach based on both approaches to analysing data. Stirling (2001, p. 386) calls her thematic method of analysis 'thematic networks', arguing that it 'enables a methodological systematisation of textual data, facilitates the disclosure of each step in the analytic process, aids the organisation of an analysis and its presentation, and allows a sensitive, insightful and rich exploration of a text's overt structures and underlying patterns.' Although this study does not describe the themes of the interview material as 'networks', it has been inspired by Stirling's (2001) method. For example, Stirling (2001, p. 390) describes the method of data reduction as 'data coding', which some researchers might complete using a computer programme to identify patterns in the material. Data reduction is one of the first key steps in the analysis which, according to Stirling (2001, p. 391) sets out to reduce it into 'meaningful and manageable chunks of text such as passages, quotations, single words, or other criteria judged necessary for a particular analysis.' One of the preliminary steps undertaken in the analysis of the interview material of this study is for the researcher to listen to the recorded conversations many times to familiarise herself with the material. She chose to focus firstly on the theme of language testing and listened to the interviews one by one in order to pinpoint in which segments the participants talked about this. In a first instance, she transcribed those parts of the interviews which included references to this topic.

Transcribing material and selecting it for analysis is, however, not always a straightforward procedure. Validity is a key feature of research and for qualitative researchers, this aspect warrants particular attention in terms of transcription and analysis. Guest et al. (2012, p. 84) reason that validity refers to the ‘credibility and accuracy of processes and outcomes associated with a research study.’ One of the foundations of qualitative research is therefore the use of quotes (Guest et al., 2012, p. 96). This study argues that quotes allow the people affected by policy to be heard. There is no standard way of transcribing talk as there are a variety of different ways of representing talk on the page and how to show non-verbal features (Cameron, 2001, p. 43). However, it should be mentioned that the chosen method of transcription is usually connected with the analysis, thus linked to the theory and basic aims of a research project.

Using a close-reading analytical method often means being unable to cope with large quantities of material (Johnstone, 2000, p. 122). The justification for choosing certain parts over others therefore needs to be carefully worded. Relevant to this study is the interview material being in four different languages, namely French, German, Luxembourgish, and English. In terms of translating interview material, Guest et al. (2012, p. 96) suggest that this ‘adds an additional layer of complexity that can affect both the validity and the reliability of the data’, which is why these researchers argue that original accounts as well as translated versions should be represented in the final document. This study has been influenced by this approach, which is why the researcher has decided to include the quotes in their original language and the accompanying translations which have been completed by the researcher herself.

The aspect of translation plays an important part in the context of this study. Certain words are important in the context of this study such as French ‘nationalité’/

‘citoyenneté’, German ‘Staatsangehörigkeit’, Luxembourgish ‘Nationalitéit’ and English ‘nationality’/ ‘citizenship.’ These were discussed in more detail in part 3.3. of the theoretical framework where it was argued that individuals attach a variety of meanings to them. As the aim of this study is to analyse the different opinions of individuals who have been directly affected by policy, these words are not translated. Translating these words could potentially change the meaning or detract from the participant’s original intention.

Overall, the participants use a variety of different words to talk about citizenship, a topic which is explored in much detail in chapter seven. Some participants employ the English word ‘citizenship’, others use ‘nationality.’ There are also some participants who use both the Luxembourgish word ‘Nationalitéit’ and the French word ‘citoyenneté’ in the same extract in order to show how they wish to construct them separately. The original excerpts in French, German or Luxembourgish, together with a translation into English are therefore needed, as they are essential for highlighting aspects of the analysis. In addition to this, it should be pointed out that the study employs the word ‘citizenship’ to refer to the theoretical concept in general, whereas the French ‘nationalité’ is used to denote the official legislation and legal citizenship status in Luxembourg. In Luxembourg, the laws are published solely in French and not in Luxembourgish or German, which is why the French version is used frequently in this context.

The transcription conventions used in this study are based on methods used by Mercer (2000, xii-xiii) and Weber (2009). The research is interested in capturing the discourses of the participants but is not interested in details such as participants’ laughter, hesitation or coughs, which is why these occurrences were not transcribed. In order to facilitate the reading of the interview material, the researcher has emphasised key words

and phrases in bold. Moreover, brackets {} are used to add relevant information for readers. In addition to this, it should be noted that although many researchers use computer software to detect common occurrences in the texts, the researcher identified themes by colour coding segments of the text. By manually circling and underlining recurring words or utterances, the researcher cut out the relevant segments and collated them together in themes on a large sheet of paper. Similar discursive markers such as for example a participant's use of the verb 'must' or 'have to' in relation to the language testing procedure, were identified as recurring. The approach taken by the researcher is based on Stirling (2001, p. 392), who has suggested that as themes emerge, 'they have to be moulded and worked to accommodate new text segments, as well as old ones.' She adds that 'each theme has to be specific enough to pertain to one idea, but broad enough to find incarnations in various different text segments.' It was therefore important the researcher remain open to the moving around of certain quotes or the possibility of using certain quotes for different themes.

Various aspects of Braun and Clarke's (2006) advice for researchers for the thematic approach have been followed as well. These scholars suggest that researchers should describe the 'active process' of a thematic approach. A theme, they argue, 'captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response of meaning within the data set' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82). They add that the 'keyness' of the theme is not necessarily 'dependent on quantifiable measures', rather than capturing something significant in relation to the research questions. The researcher's judgement is therefore essential for identifying themes and according to Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87), familiarisation with the interview material requires immersion usually involving 'repeated reading of the data

and reading the data in an active way.’ Whilst advocating for an inductive approach, these scholars underline the importance of the researcher’s ‘active’ role in the identification of themes, a method which was employed in this study as well.

As mentioned previously, the identification of themes in the interview material took place through different stages including colour coding and the manual cutting and pasting of quotes on a large sheet of paper. The first focus was the aspect of language testing and the researcher found various consistencies in the participants’ responses. For example, the researcher noted that some participants talked about the language testing positively whilst using modal verbs such as ‘must’ to indicate their wish for other applicants to participate in this testing procedure in order to access Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ The researcher also found that other participants expressed their disagreement with the testing procedure by using words such as ‘barrier’ and ‘social exclusion.’ Determining themes in relation to the language testing procedure relied on the one hand on identifying similar discursive markers (e.g. the use of the modal verb ‘must’ or the use of certain pronouns such as ‘I’ or ‘we’) and on the other, on recognising similar constructions such as positive vs. negative attitudes towards the test.

Although the researcher started with the analysis of the aspect of language testing, this is not the first analysis chapter in this thesis. In fact, the theme of migration is the focus of the first analysis chapter five, followed by language testing in chapter six and citizenship in chapter seven. It was decided that one of the ways in which the strong impact of policy on people’s lives could be highlighted was through identifying themes that are linked to different parts of people’s experiences such as moving to a new country, learning new languages and applying for citizenship. It was decided to follow this path in the analysis chapters which is why chapter five starts with the aspect of migration, then

language testing and finally citizenship, even though these themes were not analysed and written up in this sequence.

Following on from the exploration of language testing, an identical process was completed for chapter five (migration) before finishing with the analysis of the extracts shown in chapter seven (citizenship). The analysis of the interview material took place, as previously mentioned, in various steps and the writing process is considered, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 86), as an ‘integral part of the analysis’ with an engagement with the appropriate literature throughout. This study is inspired by Braun and Clarke’s (2006, p. 86) further comments on this process, which describes the thematic analysis as involving ‘a constant moving back and forth between the entire data set.’ The analysis is thus not considered a ‘linear process of simply moving from one phase to the next’ but a more ‘recursive process’ with a moving back and forth between analysis and theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 86).

As mentioned previously, the analysis of the extracts comprised close listening and reading, identifying recurring discursive strategies used by the participants and categorising the extracts according to themes. Like many other qualitative studies, discourse analysis plays an important role in this study. As a widely used method of analysing qualitative data, discourse analysis is an umbrella term for a variety of approaches and has been taken up by scholars from various disciplines such as the social sciences, linguistics, anthropology, geography and so on. As discussed in detail in part 3.4., discourse is a key feature of this study. As an ‘analytical category describing the vast array of meaning-making resources available to us’, part 3.4. described how discourse brings about significant issues of power, ideology and dominance (Fairclough et al., 2011, p. 358). Inspired by Wodak (2001, p. 11), who argues that texts are often seen as ‘sites of

struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance’, this study focuses the analysis on the discourses of the 27 participants who were interviewed and shared their viewpoints with the researcher.

Additionally, his study draws upon the work of Monica Heller (2001), who provides a helpful discussion of discourse analysis. Heller (2001, p. 118) proposes a discourse analytical approach which is focused on exploring how the processes ‘of construction of social difference and social inequality actually unfold over time and space.’ Heller (2001, p. 119) argues that it is important ‘at least to attempt to discover how these processes work, and how texts are linked to other sites of discursive production and interpretation, as well as to demonstrate outcomes, precisely in order to be able to figure out whose interests are at stake and why.’ Furthermore, she calls for that research to be reflexive, as she argues that researchers ‘cannot engage in social and political (or, for that matter, economic and cultural) debate without thinking about the nature and status of the knowledge’ that [we, as researchers] produce, our ‘own interests in that knowledge’ (Heller, 2001, p. 119). Heller’s (2001) focus on reflexivity is an important point, mirroring the previously mentioned comments made by Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 86) in their discussion on thematic analysis. More broadly, this study is influenced by a body of scholarship which calls for reflexive research that demonstrates a deep awareness of the context in which discourse is produced (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 181). In the following analysis chapters, this approach is therefore applied to the interview material gathered from individuals who have been directly affected by migration, language and citizenship policy in Luxembourg.

Chapter Five: Stories of Migration

Stories of migration are an integral part of this study and their uniqueness allows for the exploration of the different ways in which the participants express belonging and discuss their identities. As detailed in part 4.4., the processing and analysis of the interview material is multi-faceted and throughout the initial stages of analysis, the researcher identified various recurring themes in relation to the participants' stories of migration. The key recognised themes are travel, work, home/holiday, the aspect of names, different types of behaviour and most significantly, language. The theme of language is mostly related to expectations of moving to a new country and the process of learning Luxembourgish. Chapter five is divided into four parts. Part 5.1. includes examples of how the participants construct their identities. This part also illustrates people's experiences of the tensions between mobility and immobility through the topics of internationalism, work, travel, home/holiday. Part 5.2. provides an analysis of extracts where names and the aspects of language and behaviour are described by the participants as markers of belonging and exclusion. Part 5.3. focuses in more detail on language and explores how the participants construct the tension between language policy and practice in Luxembourg. Chapter five then concludes with an overview of the most significant findings in part 5.4.

5.1. Moving to Luxembourg

Moving to new countries often brings new challenges and expectations with it. The findings show that many participants discuss their reasons for moving to Luxembourg in relation to work. Some participants with children state that Luxembourg is an especially

safe place to raise them. The findings also reveal that participants foreground various advantages of living in Luxembourg, including its reliable social security system and the availability of a plethora of sports and extra-curricular activities. One such example is Patricia who is in her early forties and has been living in the country for about ten years. She was born in South America and relates that she came to Luxembourg for work reasons with her children and husband. In the following extract, she describes why she enjoys living in the country:

Extract: 1

I just **love this country**. **I chose** to live in Luxembourg. **We could have stayed in [...]**. **I like this**. And **I like the organisation**. They are so organised here. **Everything functions**. (*Patricia, early 40s*)

Here, Patricia uses the expressive and emotive function of language through the verbs ('I love'/ 'I like') to describe her experience of living in Luxembourg as positive and satisfying for herself and her family ('we'). By selecting the verb 'to choose', she illustrates their decision to move to Luxembourg as voluntary and that residing in another country would also have been a possibility. In fact, Patricia and her family had previously resided in the U.S. for a few years before moving to Luxembourg but she explains that she prefers Luxembourg to a larger country like the U.S. In addition to conveying the idea that their move and prolonged stay in Luxembourg is based on a conscious decision of her own, this extract also portrays Patricia's personal feelings of comfort, belonging and welfare. Correlatively, Luxembourg is described as an 'organised' country, where 'everything functions', a statement which mirrors other extracts as many of the participants explain that this is one of the reasons they enjoy living in Luxembourg.

The next extract is taken from an interview with a participant called Carla, who has a similar background to Patricia's. Like Patricia, Carla was born in South America and moved with her husband to Luxembourg about ten years ago for work reasons. Before living in Luxembourg, Carla and her husband lived in other European countries. Carla currently works in an office in the 'Kirchberg' area of Luxembourg City where many banks, European institutions and shopping centres are located. Besides a ten-minute drive away from the airport, it offers an excellent location for business deals and links with other European cities such as Paris, Frankfurt or London. In extract 2, Luxembourg is portrayed as a 'special' country, where 'you feel international':

Extract: 2

It's a special country because **you feel international here. You don't feel out of this group. No, everybody is international. We** end up speaking a lot of languages so, **we decided to come here, we** were living in [...]. **I just feel like I am like everybody. I am a foreigner, I am working,** and I need to keep up with the languages. So that's why we decided **to stay**, because it was **a neutral place for us, for me and my husband.** (*Carla, early 40s*)

This extract contains various intermeshing themes and linguistic resources which Carla uses to portray herself and her family in a certain way. Carla relies on pronouns such as 'you' and 'everybody' to construct her similarity to others, who she perceives as belonging to the 'international' group of people living in Luxembourg. The description of her experiences of moving to this country and working there is generalised as being valid for both herself and her family ('we'). In his research on Moroccan narratives of

migration and settlement, Baynham (2006, pp. 383-384) equally finds that some of his participants use linguistic features such as the general present (e.g. “works”, “sends”) and generalised actors (e.g. “the family”) in what he calls a ‘generic narrative.’ According to Baynham (2006, p. 383), a ‘generic narrative’ ‘implies taking on a public-speaking position, a resource in a sense made available by the genre itself but bespeaking also a social role of leadership.’ Baynham (2006, p. 383) furthermore suggests that sometimes a speaker, instead of telling a unique and singular sequence of events, will therefore ‘recount events that happened regularly, repeatedly, to a particular group of participants over time.’ In this extract, Carla draws upon the themes of internationalism, work, multilingualism, and foreignness as well as the interchangeable use of the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘we’ to construct her identities, to convey a sense of her perceived belonging and identification with this country.

Another noteworthy aspect about this extract is that it contains Carla’s explanation as to her family’s decision to ‘stay’ in Luxembourg, which is comparable to Patricia’s in extract 1. The portrayal of Luxembourg as a ‘neutral place’ is significant because it puts her husband and herself on equal grounding. This is a reference to an earlier part of the interview in which Carla explains how living in other European countries was different for her because she was not working (as opposed to her husband who had a work visa) and felt like she could not communicate with local people. Here, she conveys the feeling that as a woman, living in a foreign country with a working husband was not easy, whereas Luxembourg has given her the opportunity to work as well.

This theme of ‘staying’, which was theoretically explored in chapter three, is linked to the aspects of immobility and mobility. As previously mentioned in part 3.1., immobility and mobility are commonly discussed in relation to the topic of migration.

According to Mata-Codesal (2015, p. 2279), immobility is often employed as a negative label obscuring the ‘many ways in which people “stay put.”’ Mobility, on the other hand, is regularly used to describe something positive, or the ‘freedom of movement’ (Glick and Schiller and Salazar, 2013, p. 190). Various studies have analysed the ways in which individuals describe their relationship with mobility and immobility. As discussed in part 3.1., one such study was conducted by Hjälml (2014), who notes that her elderly Swedish participants label ‘staying’ in their Swedish town as something positive, which they have chosen. Likewise, Hjälml’s (2014, p. 577) study also reveals that immobility and mobility are part of the complexity of human experiences and that individuals express their understandings of being ‘mobile’ or ‘immobile’ in different ways. This argument can similarly be applied to this study on Luxembourg, with reference to Carla’s extract 2, as well as to Patricia’s extract 1. Both participants insist that their current situation in Luxembourg has been deliberately chosen by themselves and their families. Carla and Patricia’s positive descriptions of their families’ prolonged stay in the country and their wish to remain is supported by the statements about their choice, which they actively voice during their interviews. In fact, as mentioned beforehand, both women are from South America and lived in several other countries before moving to Luxembourg and settling down to have children around ten years ago. Both women clarify that they had not particularly enjoyed living in the countries they resided in prior to moving to Luxembourg, which, it could be argued, also contributes to the positive portrayal of their present situations in Luxembourg to the researcher.

The next extract is taken from an interview with a participant called Nuno, who is in his late teens and is still a student in a local ‘lycée’ (high school) in Luxembourg. Like four other participants, Nuno’s parents moved to Luxembourg from Portugal before he

was born, for work reasons. Similar themes are explored in the following three extracts. They were chosen and are grouped together here to demonstrate some parallels in how Nuno and another participant called Isabel describe their identities and belongings. Nuno and Isabel, who were both born in Luxembourg, assert that their parents own houses in Portugal and that they usually go to Portugal for a longer period over the summer. However, both participants then state that they do not visit their parents' houses in Portugal as frequently as their parents. The following extracts 3, 4 and 5 show that they wish to portray themselves differently from their parents by using the example of trips to Portugal.

In the extract 3 for example, Nuno admits that he does not feel 'at home' in Portugal as he 'just' goes there during the holidays. A key aspect about this interview is that it takes place a couple of days before Nuno is due to travel to Portugal with his brother. Nuno indicates that they are going to stop in Spain for a couple of days for a holiday before driving on to Portugal. This detail is a way for him to describe Portugal as one of many holiday destinations that they will visit over the summer as opposed to Luxembourg, which he describes as the country where he 'was born':

Extract: 3

Seitdeem ech gebuer sinn, **sinn ech hei**. Mir ginn ebe **just** an der **Vakanz dohinner [Portugal]**. Dowéint kéint ech mech och **net sou wéi doheim fillen do**. Och well ech **nëmmen** an der **Vakanz do** sinn.

[I have been here since I was born. We **just** go **there [Portugal]** during the **holiday period**. That's why I could not feel like **I was at home there**. Also because I **only** go **there during the holiday period**.] (*Nuno, late teens*)

Nuno's emphasis on 'just' and 'only' in relation to Portugal underscores that he wants to construct this country as a place he has 'only' experienced through going 'on holiday' and not as a place where he feels 'at home.' Nuno's comment about not feeling 'at home' in Portugal is comparable to Antonsich's (2010, p. 646) work discussed in part 3.1. on belonging, where it is noted that the notion of 'home' often represents a symbolic space of familiarity, comfort and security. Antonsich (2010, p. 645) refers to the notion of belonging as a 'discursive resource' constructing, claiming and resisting forms of inclusion or exclusion. His argument is especially relevant to extract 3, as Nuno's statements illustrate how he negotiates his position in Luxembourg by not only explaining that this is his place of birth, but also by differentiating between both countries. This constructed difference thus allows him to claim 'Luxembourgishness.'

This idea is elaborated upon in further detail in the following extract, which is from an interview conducted with Isabel. Isabel is in her mid-twenties and was born in Luxembourg to parents who came from Portugal before she was born. She is currently pursuing her studies abroad. Isabel underlines that she rarely visits Portugal with her family but that her parents usually go for a longer period to stay in the region they are from. In extract 4, Isabel draws upon various themes to distance herself from Portugal, a country she describes as not 'having much of a connection to':

Extract: 4

Ech kenne näischt, **net vill aus der Kultur**, ech kennen am Fong just déi Saachen déi meng Eltere mir bäibruecht hunn, **aus deem klengen Eck vu wou mir kommen**. Awer ech gi quasi **ni do an d'Vakanz**, an ech hu net vill mat deem Land um Hutt.

[I **don't know anything, not much about the culture** and I only really know those things that **my parents have taught me from the little corner where we are from**. But I **hardly ever go there on holiday** and I don't have much of a connection to the country.] (*Isabel, mid -20s*)

Isabel relates that the only part of 'the culture' she knows about is through her parents and that her knowledge is limited to the part of Portugal from where her family originates. Thus, Portuguese culture is one of the aspects with which she least identifies. Her statements also serve a secondary purpose, namely that she is able to differentiate herself from her parents, who she describes as being more 'culturally' Portuguese than she considers herself to be. This description is a way of constructing her identities on her own terms, which is comparable to Nuno's extract 3.

Travel is a recurrent theme of this study whereby participants describe their feelings of belonging or difference in relation to others. For example, some of the participants whose parents moved to Luxembourg explain that visiting their parents' countries of origin (e.g. Portugal, Italy), gives them the opportunity to construct boundaries between themselves and the people who are currently living in those countries. This comes across clearly in the following extract, in which Nuno describes his trips to Portugal as instances during which he is able to distinguish between different 'types' of 'people':

Extract: 5

Déi Leit vun do {Portugal} kann ee, wann een do en **Ausländer** gesäit, déi kann een direkt ënnerscheede vun **deene Leit déi do liewen**. Si, keng Ahnung [...], wéi soll ech soen? Wees net, **eng aner Mentalitéit**, am Fong. Et mierkt een elo direkt: “Also, deen ass elo an der **Vakanz hei, an dee leeft hei.**”

[One can distinguish **the people from there** {Portugal}, when you see a **foreigner** there, you can tell them apart from the people who live there. I don't know [...], how shall I put it? I don't know, a **different mentality**, in fact. You notice straight away: “That person is **here** on holiday, and that person lives **here.**”] (*Nuno, late teens*)

Here, Nuno situates himself as someone who is able to distinguish between the people ‘from there’/ ‘who live there’ and ‘a foreigner’, i.e. someone visiting Portugal. By doing so, he constructs himself as an authoritative figure, who is able to explain these differences to the interviewer. Equally in Baynham’s (2006, p. 393) work on Moroccan narratives of migration and settlement, some of his participants take on this role in order to position themselves during a story about returning to Morocco for the holidays after having migrated to the U.K. Baynham (2006, p. 394) argues that the use of a speaking position during the interview process enables his participant to construct himself as a ‘different kind of traveller’, showing that he has been changed by his years living in London, as opposed to some of the people he meets on his trip back to Morocco. Likewise, Nuno uses his statement about people having a ‘different mentality’ in Portugal to

construct himself as a person who is ‘on holiday’ there, hence different from the group that he classifies as ‘people from there.’

The extracts presented in this part demonstrate how some of the participants construct belongings and identities through themes such as internationalism, work, travel, home and holiday. The extracts allow for an investigation into how identity and belonging are connected to interaction and are therefore linked to the scholarship discussed in part 3.1., which looks at human agency and how individuals negotiate and transform themselves in this process (see for example Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2004, p. 20). Part 5.2. shifts focus to provide an analysis of how the participants discuss their experiences of being categorised and positioned by others and how they attempt to negotiate their identities and belongings in those contexts.

5.2. What’s in a name?

Names often act as symbols of belonging and serve the purpose for others to identify someone as belonging to a certain group or to determine someone’s ethnicity. Names also sometimes function as markers for identifying someone as an ‘outsider’ or a ‘foreigner’ (Jenkins, 2008, p. 119). The findings of this study show that some of the participants describe experiences of exclusion whilst living and/or growing up in Luxembourg. A key topic that arises in a number of interviews is the way in which their names have been perceived as not being ethnically Luxembourgish and consequently, they report instances in which they have been categorised as ‘foreign.’ On this note, it is helpful to refer to Jenkins’ (2008) and May’s (2001) work, discussed in part 3.2., where it is argued that ethnicity should be investigated as socially constructed and interactional. May (2001, pp. 41-43), for example, suggests that negotiation is one of the key aspects of ethnicity, but that individual and collective choices are limited to the ethnic categories which are

available to people. In line with this, Jenkins (2008, pp. 53-55) argues that ethnicity contains an interactional feature, which he calls ‘internal’ and ‘external’ defining processes. ‘Internal’ definitions are perceived as instances when members of a group specify to other group members who they are: this is a way of instituting similarities between members. ‘External’ definitions encompass instances when a set of persons define somebody else as the ‘other’ (e.g. describing someone as a ‘foreigner’). In the following extracts 6 and 7, the aspect of names is explored and it is shown how these are constructed as markers of ethnic belonging or, conversely, exclusion.

In extract 6, a participant highlights an experience during which she was positioned as a ‘foreigner’ at school by a teacher, based on her Italian family name. The extract is taken from an interview with Angela who is in her early thirties. Angela was born in Luxembourg and attended Luxembourgish state schooling. In the following extract, she describes an experience that she had while she was in her first year of secondary school. At the age of twelve, she reports an experience with a German teacher, who made fun of her Italian name in front of her classmates. She explains that they had all been handed back their first German test after starting secondary school and that many of the students had poor results. Angela’s results meant that she had failed her German test, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract: 6

Da kënnt een an de Lycée an éischt Prüfung, **et war Däitsch**, an do hat jidferen plus-minus an déi 30, Ufanks 40. An ech hat 28 oder 29. An do war de Proff, deen huet mäi Numm erausgeholl aus der Lëscht, an dun huet e gesot: **Pozzati, wat ass dat da fir e Numm?**” An du sot ech dat wier italienesch Ofstamung. An dun huet en irgendwéi gesot: “Kuck däi Resultat,

häss du vläit net besser no der Schoul **d’Bänken ze botzen, wéi um Stull ze sätzen?**”

[Then I came into secondary school and the first test, **it was German**, and everyone had around the pass mark, low 40s. And I had about 28 or 29. Then the teacher took my name out of the list and said: **“What sort of a name is *Pozzati*?”** And then I said it was of Italian origins and he said: **“Look at your test result, don’t you think you should be cleaning the desks after school, rather than sitting at one of them?”**] (*Angela, early 30s*)

It is worth pointing out that the Luxembourgish state education system relies heavily on German for teaching basic literacy skills during primary school, which is discussed in part 2.1.2. German also plays a significant role in the secondary school curriculum as it is used as a language of instruction for other subjects such as biology and history. There is a large proportion of romanophone and lusophone students in the state school system and many children use non-Germanic languages in the home including French, Italian and Portuguese. The current state school system is, therefore, often a challenging environment for students with romanophone and lusophone backgrounds, a topic which is explored in particular by Weber (2009). In extract 6, the teacher is described as positioning Angela as being unable to master German and consequently, incapable of succeeding in the Luxembourgish state school system. The suggestion is that since she is incapable of succeeding, she should instead become a cleaning lady.

On a similar note, extract 7 illustrates how a name is used as a symbol of belonging and as a way of excluding an individual. The extract is from Isabel’s interview, who, as previously mentioned in part 5.1., was born to parents who moved to Luxembourg from

Portugal before she was born. Isabel explains that when she applied for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, she was forced to change her name on her passport, from ‘Isabel’ to ‘Isabelle’ because the authorities did not allow for her original spelling ‘Isabel.’ She recounts how the authorities argued that this spelling was not ‘Luxembourgish’ and consequently, could not be included on her application form as such. The decision taken by the authorities to prevent her from using her desired spelling correlates with their view of her ‘foreign’ name (‘Isabel’) as not being ethnically ‘Luxembourgish.’ Ironically, Isabel clarifies that her parents wanted to call her ‘Isabelle’ when she was born, but were told at the time by the authorities that this spelling was only allowed if their child had Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, which was not the case at the time:

Extract: 7

Zum Beispill, wéi ech gebuer gi sinn hat meng Mamm [...], wollt si Isabel mat *le*. An do hate si hir gesot: „**Jo, mä wann Dir Ärt Meedche mat *le* wëllt nennen, da muss et déi lëtzebuergesch Nationalitéit kréien.**” An da hu meng Eltere gesot: „Nee, dat maache mir net.”

[For example, when I was born my mom wanted to call me Isabel with *le* and they said: “**If you want to call your child Isabelle then she has to get Luxembourgish ‘Nationalitéit.’**” And my parents said: “No, we’re not doing that.”] (*Isabel, mid- 20s*)

While Isabel’s parents are being told they cannot use the spelling of ‘Isabelle’ for their child who does not have Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, this issue has not resolved itself when she applies as an adult. Although the name is identical from a phonological point

of view, the spelling of the name in these two different ways plays a symbolic role in indexing two different ethnicities.

Extracts 6 and 7 are examples of how Isabel and Angela are both categorised as ‘foreigners’; they claim that their names act as ways in which people see them as not being ethnically ‘Luxembourgish.’ Even though both participants describe these experiences as negative aspects of growing up in Luxembourg, they refuse to be deterred from identifying as Luxembourgish in other ways. In fact, Angela mentions that her teacher’s negative comments in school made her even more determined to succeed. In Isabel’s case, she continues to use her original spelling ‘Isabel’ for personal matters whereas on legal documents her name is officially ‘Isabelle.’ This is an example of how she negotiates identities on her own terms.

The aspect of language is a further common theme which is frequently discussed in the interviews. Language is an especially salient topic for the participants as they enjoy talking about Luxembourg’s sociolinguistic situation. For many of the participants, language is a way for them to situate themselves during the interview but also for them to elaborate on their belongings and identities. In the following extract, language is described as one of the ways of identifying someone as Luxembourgish. In extract 8, which is from Isabel’s interview, she refers to different ‘types’ of ‘foreigners’ in Luxembourg, who can be distinguished through two different aspects, namely language and behaviour:

Extract: 8

Et gi **verschidden Ausländer**, do gesäit een direkt: „**Ah, deen do ass awer net Lëtzebuenger.**” Dat hänkt dovunner of **wéi ee schwätzt, wéi ee sech verhält. Jo, et ass d’Verhalen.** Et ass wéi een **d’Sprooch beherrscht.**

[There are **some foreigners** where you see straight away: „**Ah, that one is not a Luxembourger.**” That depends on **how one speaks, how one comes across. Yes, it’s the behaviour. How one masters the language.**] (*Isabel, mid-20s*)

Isabel’s portrayal of ‘Luxembourgishness’ does not just focus on the aspect of language. Instead, she points to further ways of identifying a Luxembourger such as how an individual is able to adhere to a certain type of behaviour (‘how one comes across’), which includes, more particularly, the authentic ‘mastering’ of the language (‘how one speaks’). Here, it is appropriate to refer back to Wright’s (2000) work discussed in part 3.2. Wright (2000, p. 76) stresses that language should be seen as embodying two different functions depending on circumstances, namely symbolic and communicative. In this extract, Isabel’s description focuses on the symbolic function of ‘the language’ (Luxembourgish), which acts as a marker for identifying those who belong. The aspect of authenticity (‘how one speaks, how one comes across’) is particularly salient here as Isabel suggests that the ability to ‘master’ Luxembourgish in a certain way is one of the key features of belonging.

In the next extract, which was taken from an interview with Nathan, it becomes clear that he was excluded on the basis of not being able to converse in Luxembourgish. Nathan is in his late 20s and moved to Luxembourg a few years ago to pursue his studies. In extract 9, it transpires how he felt excluded from the group of people he was studying with at the time as they used Luxembourgish to speak to one another, a language he did not speak at the time:

Extract: 9

I was never invited to anything. I would start conversations and **they** would immediately switch to Luxembourgish and **not talk to me.** **I figured if it was a language barrier, I would speak in German. That didn't change anything.** And throughout the two years, it was just **extremely disheartening** to be **completely shut out** after trying pretty hard to jump in. (*Nathan, late 20s*)

His attempt to speak with the other students in German is portrayed as being something that did not change the circumstances. Nathan's description points to the possibility that the communicative aspects of language might not have been the (only) thing holding the other students back from speaking with him and including him in their activities. The fact that he mentions trying German (a language he speaks quite well), but receiving little response suggests that there were possibly other issues within this group and, perhaps, that the symbolic function of language played a role in the interaction. What Nathan refers to here is his account of his exclusion from a group of people whose common denominator was that they all spoke Luxembourgish. This is only one instance of an accumulation of events that happened over the course of two years, which makes it difficult to explore the exact causes of his exclusion.

The extracts discussed in this part reveal that language, along with other elements such as behaviour and names, are constructed as key criteria for being considered Luxembourgish. The aim of part 5.3. is to focus on this aspect of language in more detail. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the participants construct their understandings of the different functions and roles of languages in Luxembourg.

5.3. Constructing the roles and functions of languages in Luxembourg

The officially recognised roles and functions of the different languages in Luxembourg were discussed in part 2.1.3. In the discussion on the language situation, it was noted that languages have been used as a way to construct Luxembourg as a distinct nation and its members as a linguistically homogenous unit. In this context, Horner's (2007, p. 366) argument was drawn upon, which encompasses two forms of linguistic identification in correlation with specific patterns of language use. There is the monolingual identification with Luxembourgish, on the one hand, and, on the other, the trilingual identification with German, French and Luxembourgish. As discussed in part 2.2.2., current debates concerning migration and citizenship mainly revolve around the function and status of Luxembourgish and are informed by the one nation, one language ideology. Currently, the issue of Luxembourgish language learning is often at the centre of political debates with regard to migration, language testing and citizenship. In her research concerning the ratification of the 2008 law and the Luxembourgish language test, Horner (2009b, p. 124) reasons that in political discourses on this topic, Luxembourgish tends to be portrayed as an 'acultural' resource. This representation of Luxembourgish, she shows, is then often framed in political and mainstream media discourse as enabling the process of 'integration', making it, in theory, a language available to anyone.

The aim of the analysis of the following extracts is to show in what ways the participants construct the roles of languages. Many participants reveal that they are in the process of learning Luxembourgish or have taken courses in the past, even though they do not use this language in their day to day activities. Only two participants do not speak Luxembourgish. There are a variety of reasons why they have not learnt it. One of the main reasons cited by these two participants is that they do not use it at work and have

never needed it in their everyday activities. Those participants who learnt Luxembourgish in the past or who were in the process of learning it at the time of the interviews tended to be enthusiastic and positive about wanting to learn the language. Some of the participants even construct the learning of Luxembourgish as their ‘duty’, an aspect which is explored in more detail in the following extracts.

Participants’ willingness and eagerness to learn Luxembourgish comes across strongly during the interviews, as in the following extract by Nina. Nina is in her early fifties and has been living in Luxembourg for a number of years since moving to the country for work reasons. Nina was born in the Middle East and has a white collar job in an office. She works with a mixture of Luxembourgish speaking and non-Luxembourgish speaking colleagues. Like many of the other participants, Nina first started taking Luxembourgish classes when she moved to Luxembourg, as she wanted to ‘learn the language’:

Extract: 10

When I first came **here, I wanted to learn the language**, you know? And **my colleagues, they were Luxembourgers and they said: “You know you don’t need it.”** (*Nina, early 50s*)

Nina’s extract is based on a shared understanding of what ‘language’ (i.e. Luxembourgish) she ‘wanted’ to learn ‘here.’ Extract 10 also reveals that her wish to learn Luxembourgish was met by her colleagues’ (the ‘Luxembourgers’) statement that she would not ‘need’ it. It is unclear to what extent her colleagues are claiming that she does not ‘need’ it in the working environment, or if they think she will not ‘need’ it for everyday activities or for applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ This is not a minor

issue because this was said to her during a conversation at work and, therefore, does not necessarily concern applications for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ For example, if the colleagues had been talking about Nina’s decision to apply, they might have suggested that she learn Luxembourgish as they might perceive it as a requirement.

Concerning the issue of language learning, demand for Luxembourgish courses has risen over the past years, as there is a growing pressure for job seekers in some areas to be proficient in this language (see for example Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 83). Some participants state that they are able to learn Luxembourgish through courses offered during their lunch breaks at work. This is not uncommon as companies often do this by either providing courses or by allowing people some flexibility to pursue courses during working hours. However, the courses offered by companies tend to vary as businesses usually tailor them to their own individual needs. The findings show many participants enjoy their beginners’ courses and they are eager to learn more, but are unable to find places that offer advanced courses or any other additional material. This is an observable trend as there are many Luxembourgish courses on offer and there is a growing availability of materials (e.g. word lists). However, there is still a limited amount of advanced courses and consequently, this is inevitably one of the negative aspects which makes the learning of Luxembourgish more difficult.

The increased availability of Luxembourgish courses is, nevertheless, an extremely positive and encouraging development for those who are able to take advantage of them. Yet, the language courses sometimes take place within the structure of individual companies, which leaves many people excluded from them. Other language classes are organised at a local level by the ‘communes’ (local municipalities). For a majority of those working in the service industry or in manual jobs, access to language courses at

work or during lunch breaks is limited. This situation is even more convoluted if the job involves shift work or the company does not have policies that encourage people to learn Luxembourgish. Additionally, as some of the manual labour sector operates on the basis of the black market, any course would have to be completed at people's own expense and time. This argument is mirrored by some of the participants of this study who argue that access to courses is dependent on a person's social status, financial situation, time constraints and so on.

In the following two extracts, the participants, Luisa and Manuel, construct the language learning process as being influenced by people's access to resources such as time, social status and money. Extract 11 is from an interview with Luisa who is in her late twenties and works in an office in Luxembourg City. Luisa was born in Luxembourg after her parents had moved to the country from Portugal for work reasons. She explains that her mum had to work long hours when she was growing up to support her and her brother, which, according to her, is why she had 'no time left for classes':

Extract: 11

Meng Mamm ass um 5 Auer moies, war dat schon am Zuch. Si ass um 9 Auer zrëckkomm. **Si huet och misste fir mäi Brudder do iesse maachen, botzen, hei an do. Do bleiwt keng Zäit fir Coursen.**

[My mum had to catch a train at 5 in the morning and returned at 9 in the evening. **She had to make food for my brother, and clean here and there. There was no time left for classes.**] (*Luisa, late 20s*)

Luisa emphasises that her mum had a job that required a considerable amount of travelling back and forth by public transport and long hours. Further, she notes that her mum needed to look after a family, which entailed that learning Luxembourgish was not a priority. Luisa's account of her mum's experience is one example of how the learning of Luxembourgish is described as something which is not readily accessible to everyone.

The next extract is from an interview conducted with Manuel. He is in his late thirties and was born in East Africa. He has been living in Luxembourg for about ten years with his wife and two children, and plans to apply for Luxembourgish 'nationalité' once he has successfully completed the language test. He has already attempted to pass the test multiple times but has not succeeded yet. He has had a university education, yet has not managed to get his degree certified in Luxembourg. He works shifts in a factory, something that he regrets, but cannot do anything about. Manuel has been told that he has to re-take the training undertaken in his home country because it does not qualify him to work in EU countries. In extract 12, Manuel explains how his situation in the country can be described as 'difficult' because one 'does not have many chances' or a 'choice' in terms of education:

Extract: 12

Le Luxembourg, au niveau de **l'éducation pour les immigrés**, c'est **difficile**.
Ce n'est pas facile encore **pour avancer**. {Moi, je dois travailler la nuit.} Ici,
on n'a pas beaucoup de chances [...]. On n'a **pas de choix**. Si j'allais dans
un grand pays, la France ou l'Angleterre, j'ai tous les choix. **On est bloqué**.
On reste au même niveau.

[In Luxembourg, it's quite **difficult** in terms of **education for immigrants**. It's still **not easy to improve**. {I have to work nights}. Here, **one does not have many chances [...]**. **One does not have a choice**. If I went to a big country, France or England, I would have more choices. **One is blocked. One stays on the same level.**] (*Manuel, late 30s*)

This extract illustrates that for many people, moving from one country to another is not just a physical displacement, but brings along many other issues. For some people, the skills, languages or degrees that might have been regarded as prestigious in other countries are not transferable to a new legal context. Manuel's choice of linguistic features such as the negative verbs and adjectives ('not easy'/ 'difficult'/ 'blocked') and his use of the generalised 'one' ('one does not have a choice'/ 'one is blocked) to illustrate his own and the experience of other 'immigrants' creates a 'generic narrative' not unlike extract 2 in part 5.1. In taking on this role, Manuel constructs himself as someone who is able to describe what he considers a difficult situation for those residing in Luxembourg without the necessary accreditation of their educational qualifications. Besides, Manuel notes that he is unable to think about moving to larger countries such as England or France until he passes the language test and is able to complete his application.

Related to this is the central theme of choice. This is comparable to the previously discussed extracts 1 and 2 in part 5.1., in which the participants Patricia and Carla convey how their decision to 'stay' in Luxembourg is based on their personal choice. Extract 12 differs from extracts 1 and 2 because Manuel describes the negative aspects of not having a 'choice' in Luxembourg and labels this as being 'blocked' and staying on 'the same level.' This is reminiscent of Mata-Codesal (2015), who makes a distinction between different 'types' of immobile people ranging from those who have not chosen to be

immobile but are forced to because of legal reasons and those who actively choose to stay where they are. Also, Carling (2002) discerns how the age of migration is not just a period of fluidity, but a time in which restrictive immigration policies limit the movement of certain people, which is referenced as ‘involuntary immobility.’ Although Manuel’s description in extract 12 cannot be generalized, his statements about living in Luxembourg shed some light on how his lack of officially recognised educational documents has led him to perceive his situation negatively and to describe himself as someone who is ‘blocked’ in this country.

Regarding the aspect of education, Manuel refers to the lack of opportunities for speaking and practising Luxembourgish. He concludes that at work, his co-workers all use French. His boss is the only one who speaks Luxembourgish but he speaks French with his employees. Manuel comments about not being able to use Luxembourgish at work in relation to the language test, which he is currently attempting to pass. He notes that he has difficulty in the listening comprehension part of the exam as he does not get enough practice with the materials available through the beginner’s course of Luxembourgish. Finally, he states that he tries to listen to RTL, one of Luxembourg’s main radio and TV stations, but that the conversations are often too complex and difficult to follow with the elementary vocabulary that he has learnt in the beginner’s courses.

Manuel’s description of his experience is somewhat comparable to Nina’s extract 10 about her co-workers telling her she would not ‘need’ Luxembourgish. However, there is a significant difference between both participants as they are located within varying social contexts. The ‘Luxembourgers’ in Nina’s extract 10 might think that she will not necessarily ‘need’ Luxembourgish to communicate, because they know she can speak French and English and the assumption is that this will suffice in the immediate office

context. In Nina's white collar working environment, employees most likely use different languages including spoken and written English, French and possibly also German. Luxembourgish might also be spoken amongst some people, but will generally not be used in official notifications or reports. The difference between Nina and Manuel's workplaces is that they will be expected to use different language varieties to communicate. Nina will most likely be required to employ the standard variety of French or English, whereas Manuel and his co-workers would use more colloquial and diversified varieties of French to communicate. In both Manuel's and Nina's workplace, Luxembourgish is described as not being a language of communication.

As Manuel does not have the opportunity to speak Luxembourgish at work, he has found other ways of practising it. In the following extract, Manuel explains how he has found a Luxembourgish language coach to help him learn. He describes his language coaching sessions as the 'best solution' for improving his proficiency in Luxembourgish, as 'one does not have the opportunity to find a Luxembourgish speaker face to face':

Extract: 13

Avec le coach, oui, vraiment c'est la mieux solution. **On n'a pas le moyen de trouver le luxembourgeois face à face de parler.** Donc le coach c'est la mieux solution pour moi. **J'ai pas des amis luxembourgeois, je n'ai pas des voisins**, tu sais?

[It's the best solution really with **the language coach**. **One does not have the opportunity to find a Luxembourger to speak to them face to face**. So the coach is the best solution for me. **I don't have any Luxembourgish**

friends, I don't have any [Luxembourgish] neighbours, you know?]

(Manuel, late 30s)

He currently meets up every week with his language coach in a café or in a group at someone's house to practise speaking, although this is challenging because they often end up speaking French to one another. As French is their common language, they regularly fall back into it when they are joking or having fun.

In extract 13, Manuel describes Luxembourgish as a language that cannot be used for communication in everyday activities, at work, with friends or with neighbours. Indeed, the only instances he describes during which he is able to use this language is during his private coaching lessons. His extract also reveals that in practice, language learning is a complex process and that despite Manuel taking steps in order to improve his fluency, he does not use Luxembourgish frequently enough to make any substantial progress. This is the cause of much frustration, which is also voiced by many other participants.

Another participant who articulates her concerns about learning Luxembourgish is Paola, who is in her early fifties and has been living in Luxembourg for about thirty years. Extract 14 illustrates how Paola and her husband had to decide which 'language' to learn when they came to Luxembourg about thirty years ago from Italy. She comments that when she and her husband first arrived, they wanted to learn 'the language' (i.e. Luxembourgish) but that they decided to focus on French instead because it is more 'widely spoken':

Extract: 14

Vous savez quand **on est venu au Luxembourg** on avait dit : “Voilà, ça c’est la langue **qu’on devait** apprendre pour vivre ici au Luxembourg.” **Je** l’aurais appris sans problème, parce **qu’ils ont nous donné le choix**. Et naturellement, comme je vous ai dit, **on a appris le français parce que c’était plus vaste**. **Mais je suis sûre quand même que pour vivre dans un pays, il faut apprendre la langue. Mais alors à ce moment-là tout le monde devrait parler le luxembourgeois. C’est ça le problème.**

[You know **when we came to Luxembourg** we said to ourselves: “Right this is the language **we need** to learn to live here in Luxembourg.” **I** would have learnt it without any problems because **they gave us an option**. **But naturally we learnt French** because as I was saying to you beforehand, **it’s more widely spoken**. But **I am sure that to live in a country one has to nevertheless learn the language, but at that point everyone should speak Luxembourgish. That’s the problem.**] (*Paola, early 50s*)

Extract 14 contains statements which are placed within two different moments in time. On the one hand, Paola talks about what is currently happening in Luxembourg and, on the other hand, she describes when she and her husband first moved to Luxembourg. Her reference to ‘they’ can be interpreted as an allusion to the ‘Luxembourgers’, who she perceives as giving them the ‘option’ of learning a language when they first moved to Luxembourg. Moreover, she insists on the sense of duty to learn ‘the language’ (‘we need to learn’). However, she explains that at that point in time, she and her husband decided to learn French as they perceived it as a more important language for communication in

Luxembourg as opposed to other languages such as Luxembourgish or German, hence the suggestion that it made more sense for them to learn French when they first moved to Luxembourg thirty years ago.

In the second part of extract 14, Paola hints at the current situation in Luxembourg, when she describes Luxembourg as a country where ‘the language’ (i.e. Luxembourgish) is not spoken by everyone. This statement is juxtaposed with her declaration that to ‘live in a country’ one ‘has to learn the language.’ These insightful observations can be analysed in juxtaposition to dominant societal discourse, which perpetuates the idea that Luxembourgish is the ‘language of integration’ or an ‘acultural’ instrument which is readily available to all who wish to integrate (see Horner, 2009b, p. 124). In brief, Paola is pointing out a salient contradiction, namely that, on the one hand, Luxembourgish is described as the language of ‘integration’, but on the other, it is not spoken by everyone or everywhere.

This paradox is also voiced by Cristina who is in her late forties and has been living in Luxembourg for ten years with her husband and two children. Cristina was born in South America but moved to Europe when she was in her twenties for work reasons. She is currently volunteering and has been learning Luxembourgish for the past couple of years through paid courses. She comments that although she enjoys speaking Luxembourgish, she has nowhere to practise it and worries about how much this affects her learning process. This makes her conclude that Luxembourgish is a language ‘you cannot learn here’:

Extract: 15

Man kann das hier nicht lernen. Ich merke jetzt seit ich zwei Monaten, jetzt keinen Kurs mehr gemacht habe, **fang ich an wieder alles zu vergessen.**
Wenn man das nicht übt.

[**You can't learn it here.** I have noticed that since I stopped doing the course two months ago, **I have started to forget things already. If you don't practise it.**] (*Cristina, late 40s*)

Here, Luxembourgish is described as a language 'no one' can learn. Cristina refers to her own personal experience of learning the language, accentuating the idea of Luxembourgish as a language that can be acquired through a course, but she insists that the level of proficiency in the language cannot be sustained due to a lack of opportunities to use it. This last point is significant because it sums up many of the arguments brought forward by some of the other learners of Luxembourgish who were interviewed as part of this study. What these examples highlight is that there is a contradiction between how Luxembourgish is constructed in dominant discourse, namely as the language of 'integration' and everyday communication, and how learners are prevented from using this language in their everyday practices. The analysis of this part thus reveals how the participants describe their experiences of discrepancies between language policy and language practice.

5.4. Summary

The extracts analysed in chapter five have shown how the participants construct their experiences of moving to Luxembourg in different ways. Part 5.1. illustrates how the

themes of internationalism, work, home/holiday and travel play a significant role in the participants' stories of migration and sense of mobility. The analysis exemplifies how participants position themselves as belonging to Luxembourg by distancing themselves from other countries such as Portugal. In extracts 3 and 4 for example, Nuno and Isabel construct themselves as feeling more 'at home' in Luxembourg, whilst Portugal is considered a country they visit 'only'/'rarely' for holidays with their families. Their statements are linked to how they wish to claim their identities and belongings on their own terms. The analysis in part 5.2. highlights how the participants recount instances in which they have been identified as 'foreigners' based on their names. Other participants construct behaviour and language as central to how 'Luxembourgishness' or 'foreignness' is determined. A key theme in chapter five is the aspect of language and part 5.3. demonstrates that many of the participants voice concerns over how little Luxembourgish they are able to use in their everyday activities. The analysis reveals these concerns, in particular the participants' fear of making little to no progress in their language proficiency. Finally, part 5.3. points to apparent contradictions between language policy and language practice. In the next chapter six, the theme of language is explored further in the context of discourses of endangerment and the Luxembourgish language testing procedure for applicants for Luxembourgish 'nationalité'.

Chapter Six: Language Testing

The subject of language, which plays a central role in the final parts of chapter five, is revisited in chapter six in relation to discourses of endangerment and the aspect of language testing for applicants for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’. In Horner and Weber’s (2008, p. 111) comprehensive sociolinguistic analysis of Luxembourg’s language situation, they propose that ‘in times of demographic changes and fluctuating language patterns’, the status and function of the Luxembourgish language has become a major focus of debate. These authors furthermore argue that popular discourses have been increasingly linking Luxembourgish (national) identity to the monolingual Luxembourgish language ideal as opposed to trilingualism (French, German and Luxembourgish). They explain that the language law of 1984 is a significant event in this connection. Moreover, they point out that there has been much popular discussion about Luxembourgish ‘dying out’ or becoming ‘an endangered language’ (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 111).

Chapter six is structured as follows: part 6.1. provides an analysis of how Luxembourgish is portrayed by some participants as (becoming) an ‘endangered’ language that is in need of protection from ‘foreign’ influences. This part also demonstrates how this construction of Luxembourgish is used by these participants as a means of justifying the implementation of language testing. The analysis in parts 6.2. and 6.3. then highlights the different ways in which the Luxembourgish language testing is perceived by the participants. Part 6.2. focuses on how participants conceive the testing procedure as an ‘objective’ measure of determining who is allowed to apply for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Part 6.3. then discusses some examples of how other

participants argue that these testing measures are used by the government in order to exclude certain people (see also Kremer, 2014, Kremer and Horner, 2016). To conclude, the findings are summarised in part 6.4.

6.1. Luxembourgish: (becoming) an endangered language?

As mentioned above, Horner and Weber (2008, p. 83) have shown that ‘there is a great deal of popular discourse calling attention to the possibility of Luxembourgish becoming a minority or endangered language.’ In the context of discourses of endangerment, Heller and Duchêne (2007, p. 4) explain that these ‘types’ of discourses are often about other ‘kinds of threats which take place, for specific reasons, on the terrain of language.’ They also suggest that this perceived threat is linked to the presence of other languages and that endangerment discourses provide details about what measures need to be taken against ‘virus-like attacks on the essence of the languages in question, which necessarily undermine their health and potentially lead to their demise.’ In Luxembourg, Horner and Weber (2008, p. 83) note that popular discourse which focuses on Luxembourgish (becoming) an endangered language constructs a dichotomy between the linguistic behaviour and attitudes of those who speak Luxembourgish as a home language and those who speak it as a foreign language (Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 83).

In the following extract, a participant called Birgit discusses her perception of language practices and language change in Luxembourg. Birgit is in her early sixties and has been living in Luxembourg for about thirty years. Her extract contains a description of an experience she had walking around a main square called the ‘Place d’Armes’ in Luxembourg City. The ‘Place d’Armes’ has seen various transformations over the years. It functions as a meeting place for many people as it is often used for markets, events and

concerts. Here, Birgit states that while she was in the city, she only heard ‘foreign languages’, which made her wonder ‘where all the Luxembourgers’ were:

Extract: 16

Ech war d’lescht Woch op der **Place d’Armes**, ech hu nëmme **Friemsproochen** héieren... Dun hunn ech geduecht: “Ma nondikass, **wou sinn dann d’Lëtzebuerger?**” Ech war ganz baff, wees du? Jidferen ass sou aus sengem Büro, aus sengem Buttéck komm, an ech hu **nëmme Friemsproochen héieren**. Dun hunn ech geduecht: „Dat do gëtt et net.”

[I was at the **Place d’Armes** last week and I only heard **foreign languages**... Then I thought to myself: “Well darn, **where are the Luxembourgers?**” I was really blown away; you know? Everyone was coming out of their offices and their shops and I **only heard foreign languages**. Then I thought to myself: “That’s not possible.”] (*Birgit, early 60s*)

Birgit makes a distinction between Luxembourgish and the ‘foreign’ languages that she heard during her walk. However, she herself uses the French word ‘Place d’Armes’ instead of the Luxembourgish equivalent, which indicates that the use of French words is acceptable in this specific context. In fact, there is often a French and Luxembourgish name for the same places and street names. This explains Birgit’s use of the place name (‘Place d’Armes’) in French, rather than Luxembourgish or German. It also indicates why this language is not considered ‘threatening’ while employed by a Luxembourgish person

in this context. Extract 16 thus illustrates that she positions the ‘Luxembourgers’ (and for that matter, the Luxembourgish language) in opposition to the ‘foreign’ languages she refers to. Moreover, the concentration of different types of people in this place is described as incomprehensible (‘that’s not possible’). Finally, Birgit portrays ‘Luxembourgishness’ as incompatible with these ‘foreign’ languages, as she describes the ‘Luxembourgers’ as being absent in her retelling of this experience.

The next extract also contains elements of the discourse of language endangerment and was taken from an interview with Robert. Robert is in his early fifties, from North America, and moved to Luxembourg during his twenties for work reasons. In the discussion that takes place before this extract, Robert argues that Luxembourg is different to more populated or ‘larger’ countries because the latter are able to regulate the number of speakers of a specific language (e.g. the ‘national’ language) more easily. His reasoning in extract 17 relies on the fact that he perceives the Luxembourgish context as a ‘different situation’:

Extract: 17

And Luxembourg, I think yeah it’s clear **it’s a different situation, they’re trying to preserve a culture and to preserve a language**, which I am not sure if Luxembourgish is not on some kind of **endangered language list** or something. I think it might be or it’s getting close to. (*Robert, early 50s*)

Here, Robert’s suggestion is that Luxembourg is a small country which is making efforts to ‘preserve’ a language and ‘culture.’ This shows that Robert is aware of the promotion of Luxembourgish language and culture. Further, his statement about Luxembourgish

‘getting close to’ being on an ‘endangered language list’ is comparable to the arguments which are voiced in popular discourse on the position of this language in the country (see Horner and Weber, 2008, p. 83). A noteworthy aspect is that Robert does not portray himself as ‘trying to preserve a culture and to preserve a language’ but refers to this as ‘their’ job (‘they’re trying to preserve a culture and to preserve a language’). This could be explained by the fact that he moved to Luxembourg as an adult and therefore does not consider himself as part of the group responsible for maintaining Luxembourgish, even though he sees a need for it.

Another important finding is that some of the participants combine the discourse of endangerment with the discourse of purism. As discussed in part 2.1.3., purist discourse can be described as a focus on the aesthetic dimension of language (see Horner, 2005). Drawing upon Horner (2005), Horner and Weber (2008, p. 111) emphasise that one of the positions in relation to language debates about Luxembourgish can be distinguished as the ‘essentialist perspective, oriented towards the aesthetics of language, inherently puristic in nature.’ In these discourses, the language-identity link is often portrayed as ‘natural’ and in terms of ‘biological’ continuity. As an example, Horner and Weber (2008, p. 111) analyse the discourses used by some of the members of ‘Actioun Lëtzebuergesch’, an association founded in 1971 to promote the use of Luxembourgish. These authors argue that the discourses of this association ‘gravitate towards the ethnic model of the nation and link with the term *Stacklëtzebuergesch*’ (authentic Luxembourgish). Further, they explain that this term, while often emerging in discourses of language purism, ‘embodies an interesting metaphor, as the *Stack*-element has biological connotations and expresses a sense of rootedness.’

Interestingly, similar discourses are used by some of the participants. In the following extract, which is taken from Birgit's interview, there are elements of this puristic discourse and the discourse of language endangerment:

Extract: 18

Also ech fanne bei allem wat ech elo gesot hunn iwwer Lëtzebuergesch, dass et eng wonnerbar Sprooch ass. **Dass ech et gäre schwätzen, fannen ech dass et och net soll verluer ginn. Et ass einfach. Et soll gepflegt ginn.** Ech si frou dass et Lëtzebuenger Autore gëtt, Autoren déi Bicher schrëiwen. Ech ginn immens gären an de Lëtzebuenger Kino, an de Film. Et ass einfach eppes flott, et huet een einfach eppes spezielles. An dofir mengen **ech, sollte mir eis net vum Franséichen, Däitschen oder Engleschen, vun deene grouse Sproochen iwerrulle loossen. Si solle wirklech hirt Lëtzebuergesch pflegen.**

[Well I think with everything I have now said about Luxembourgish, **it's a wonderful language. I really like speaking it and think that it shouldn't be lost. It's just that. It should be cultivated.** I am glad there are Luxembourgish authors, authors who write books. I really like going to see Luxembourgish films at the cinema. It's something amazing, one just has something special. And that's why **we should not let ourselves be steamrolled by French, German and English, by the big languages. They should really cultivate their Luxembourgish.**] (*Birgit, early 60s*)

Birgit uses optimistic vocabulary in the initial lines but then chooses a negative metaphor ('we should not let ourselves be steamrolled') to describe her feelings towards Luxembourgish and other languages. The use of the pronoun 'we' suggests the idea of shared responsibility, which is similar to the idea conveyed in Robert's extract 17. The image of Luxembourgish being 'steamrolled' by other languages is deeply anchored in a contextual historical narrative. During World War Two, Luxembourg was annexed by the Nazis into the Third Reich and a language policy which consisted of imposing the German language was enforced. Horner and Weber (2008, p. 113) find that the German-Nazi occupation is often employed in current language debates as a way of constructing current changes such as the increase in the francophone cross-border workforce in a similar way, i.e. as an invasion.

Embedded within the 'steamroller' metaphor is Birgit's description of the duty of safeguarding Luxembourgish from dying out by 'tending' to it, like a threatened plant species ('It should be cultivated'). Her statement is comparable to the discourses of the association called 'Actioun Lëtzebuergesch' which, as mentioned previously, often relies on similar metaphors for their argument about the need to defend Luxembourgish (see Horner and Weber 2008, p. 111). Birgit uses both pronouns 'we' and 'they' to refer to a collective responsibility of 'preserving' Luxembourgish. Birgit's opinions are comparable to Robert, who similarly suggests that this is a collective responsibility which belongs to 'them.' A way of explaining how both participants see this responsibility is by looking at their age and their backgrounds. They are both over fifty and were not born in Luxembourg, but moved to the country when they were adults. These factors possibly influence how they see these responsibilities as belonging to a 'younger' generation.

The following extracts contain further examples of the discourse of language endangerment in relation to the aspect of Luxembourgish language testing for acquiring ‘nationalité.’ They portray the testing of Luxembourgish as a way of ‘protecting’ the language and the country. The first extract is from an interview with a participant called Bruno. He is in his late twenties and was born in Luxembourg. His parents have been living in Luxembourg since before he was born and he has attended state schooling, which has exempted him from the language testing requirement. Here, Bruno places an emphasis on the basics of acquiring Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ and the correctness of upholding the standards (the ‘basics’) for anyone applying:

Extract: 19

Ech fannen dat wichteg, dass déi Leit déi sech déi Nationalitéit ufroen, dass se **wéinstens d’Grondbasis** kënnen. Well ech sinn der Meenung, dass et **richteg** sou ass. Villäicht dass een [...]. Et ass an der Zäit och gewiecht, dass de d’**Nationalhymne** hues misste kënnen. Jo, ginn ech zou, ech ka se [...], mä muss net sinn. Dat ass villäicht iwwerdriwwen, mä dass de **op mannst d’Sprooch kanns**. Fannen ech wichteg. An dat därfe se och **net ofschafen**, menger Meenung no. Därfe se op kee Fall **ofschafen**, dat wär nämlech e grouse Fehler. Da géinge mir einfach... Dat wär net gutt fir Lëtzebuerg.

[I think it’s important that if people ask for that *Nationalitéit*, that they **at least know the basics** because in my opinion that’s **right**. Maybe that one [...].

You used to have to sing the **national anthem** back in the days. Yes, I admit I can sing it [...], but this does not have to be a prerequisite. It’s a bit over the

top; but that you **at least can speak the language**. That I think is important. And **they** should **not get rid of this** in my opinion. **They** should **not** under any circumstances **get rid of this**; that would be a big mistake. Then **we** would just ...that would not be good for Luxembourg.] (*Bruno, late twenties*)

In contrast to the ‘strict’ process (‘over the top’) from ‘back in the days’, Bruno constructs the current testing procedure as being less rigid and therefore possibly as more lenient towards present-day applicants. Although the test was officially instated in January 2009, here it is perceived as having always been part of the procedure. Another important aspect is that this participant refers to ‘singing the national anthem’, which is a statement that can be explained by the fact that Bruno had previously talked about procedures in other countries such as the U.S. By referring to a practice which he sees as ‘over the top’, he potentially wishes to position himself and Luxembourg as different from other countries such as the U.S. Another noteworthy aspect of this extract is the use of the pronoun ‘they’ in the last lines, which indicates his wish to construct the state and the applicant as having a duty to maintain certain standards towards the in-group members (‘we’). When asked about why a removal of these duties (such as speaking Luxembourgish), would not be good for Luxembourg, he replies that:

Extract: 20

Well einfach d’Sprooch **verluer** geet. Well einfach soss een dee **nëmme Franséisch** oder **Däitsch** kann, oder soen mir **en Araber**, deen einfach déi Nationalitéit **brauch fir wat wees ech fir Geschäfte kënnen hei**

opzemaachen. Dann kënt heihinner, mécht seng Nationalitéit, a ka just Arabesch.

[Because the language would **disappear**. Because it is then simply the case that someone who can **only speak French or German** or **an Arab** who only needs that *Nationalitéit* **to open up shops here** could come **here and get his Nationalitéit and can only speak Arabic.**] (*Bruno, late 20s*)

Three languages are constructed as ‘foreign’: French, German and Arabic. French and German can be seen as an indication of ‘foreignness’ coming from across the country’s borders, France, Belgium and Germany. Bruno is most likely referring to the number of cross-border workers who move in and out of Luxembourg on a daily basis. The use of the word ‘Arab’ indicates a different issue, because this person is seen as just being able to speak Arabic and not Luxembourgish, German or French. Here, the use of the word ‘Arab’ is most likely not a reference to an immigrant or someone who might be claiming asylum, but a description of someone coming to Luxembourg for business. A significant detail is that Bruno uses the personal pronoun ‘he’ instead of ‘she’ to describe this person, thus constructing the image of a wealthy businessman. Further, the ‘Arab’ is described as ‘needing’ Luxembourgish ‘Nationalitéit’ to open shops. A way of explaining Bruno’s mention of the ‘Arab’ is that there have recently been foreign investors from the Middle East in the banking sector and international companies in Luxembourg.

In the following extract, Filipe, who is in his late teens, suggests that ‘knowing’ the Luxembourgish language should be a key component of ‘becoming a Luxembourger’:

Extract: 21

Wéi gesot, ech fannen et **soll** een **d'Sprooch kennen** fir Lëtzebuenger ze gin. Et **muss** een och Lëtzebuergesch kënnen. Wann een dat einfach **ofschaaft**, da kann zum Beispill, keng Ahnung **en Amerikaner heihinner** kommen: „Ok, ech si lo Lëtzebuenger.”

[Like I said I think that you **should know the language** to become a Luxembourgish. One **must be able to** speak Luxembourgish. If you just scrap it [the Luxembourgish language test] then, I don't know, **an American** could come **here** and say: “Ok, now I am a Luxembourgish.”] (*Filipe, late teens*)

Filipe constructs the test as an essential component of the procedure and the use of direct speech (“Ok, now I am a Luxembourgish”) is his way of questioning the legitimacy of an application by an American, which is portrayed as being done hastily.

A general observation from Bruno's and Filipe's extracts is that both participants consider the Luxembourgish language as a significant component of acquiring Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' Further, their arguments are examples of how 'being' a Luxembourgish is identified with speaking Luxembourgish, thus adhering to a monolingual, Luxembourgish speaking ideal. In doing so, their statements are reminiscent of the research conducted by Horner and Weber (2008, p. 111), in which it is argued that in popular debates Luxembourgish national identity is increasingly linked to the Luxembourgish language as opposed to trilingualism (French, German and Luxembourgish).

6.2. Language testing: an ‘objective’ and ‘normal’ procedure

As discussed in part 2.2.2., one of the main requirements for people applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ through the 2008 law is that they have to complete a Luxembourgish language test. The 2008 law marks the first time that an official language test is made mandatory for applicants. In addition to this, applicants have to complete three ‘civics’ lessons and have to prove that they have been legal residents in Luxembourg for seven consecutive years before their application. These requirements are not unique to Luxembourg. In fact, many other EU states passed similar laws around the same time. As discussed in part 3.3., these developments can be seen in the context of changes happening during the early 1990s at the level of the EU. This period marked the introduction of the so-called ‘managed’ migration regimes in light of irregular and more diverse migration patterns (see Kofman, 2005, Lewis and Neal, 2005). Van Avermaet (2009, p. 15) argues that many countries implemented language requirements for citizenship around the turn of the 21st century in order to create uniformity and transparency in migration policies across Europe.

The legitimacy of a policy relies on it being perceived as a ‘normal’ and ‘necessary’ measure. Creating a need for something, which initially is not seen to be necessary, requires a considerable amount of work. It has been argued that between 2001 and the ratification of the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, a lot of discursive work took place in political discourse and in the mainstream media in order to establish Luxembourgish as the ‘language of integration’ and to solidify the link between this language and national identity (Horner, 2009b, p. 124). A central pillar in this discursive work was the fact that Luxembourgish had already been declared the ‘national language’ in the language law of 1984. When in 2008, the new law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’

was passed which includes an official language test to be completed only in Luxembourgish, the link between this language and the nation further solidified. This is shown in the following extract, which is taken from the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ The language used in the 2008 legal text underlines the importance of knowledge, achievement, and competency. The Common European Framework of Reference for languages is central as it dictates the required level of achievement in Luxembourgish:

Extract: 22

La naturalisation sera refusée à l'étranger lorsqu'il ne **justifie pas d'une intégration suffisante**, à savoir : [...] lorsqu'il ne **justifie pas d'une connaissance** active et passive suffisante **d'au moins** une des langues prévues par la loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues et lorsqu'il n'a pas réussi une épreuve d'évaluation de la langue luxembourgeoise parlée. **Le niveau de compétence à atteindre** en langue luxembourgeoise est celui du niveau B1 du Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues pour la compréhension de l'oral et du niveau A2 du même **cadre** pour l'expression orale.

[Naturalisation will be refused to the foreigner if he [*sic*] does not **demonstrate sufficient integration**, namely [...] if he [*sic*] does not **demonstrate sufficient** active and passive **knowledge** of **at least** one of the languages stipulated by the language law of February 24th 1984 and if he [*sic*] does not pass an evaluative test in spoken Luxembourgish. The **level of**

competence to be **achieved** in the Luxembourgish language is that of level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages for oral comprehension and level A2 of the same **framework** for oral production.]

(Mémorial 2008, my emphasis)

The legitimacy of language testing is built on a myriad of different measures taken by governments to assert their authority. In Luxembourg, this authority is reinforced through a variety of mechanisms that include but are not limited to the fact that the test is anchored in the official policy text. In addition to this, the testing procedure takes place at the National Institute of Languages, which is an establishment offering a variety of language courses, including Luxembourgish. Before the first formal testing in the context of the law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ took place, this institute was put in charge of developing its content and examining process. Currently, the test has two parts: firstly, the applicant listens to a conversation and completes a multiple choice exercise on a sheet of paper; they then have a conversation with an examiner. The first part is conducted in an exam type setting where candidates sit at separate tables. The subsequent part involves a spoken test with an examiner in a smaller room.

As suggested by Shohamy and McNamara (2008, p. 89), tests are ‘associated with standards, objectivity and merit, and, in the context of immigration, are associated with productivity in the workplace and in society as a whole.’ This section shows how some of the participants agree with the procedure by relying on the same kinds of terms and arguments that can often be found in dominant discourse. The following extract illustrates how the 2008 legislation is constructed as a means of establishing a ‘proper structure’ and ‘framework’:

Extract: 23

I think since the law has changed, **it's more objective. So people know. You know that if you want it, you know what you have to go through**, and everyone does the same thing [...]. It sets **a standard**, and it's important to have **a standard and a framework**. (*Melissa, late 40s*)

Melissa first uses the general 'people know' before focusing on the individual 'you know.' The individual is seen as responsible for understanding how the procedure works and for conforming to a standard, ensuring uniformity and objectivity. The words employed by Melissa, such as 'objective', 'people know', 'a standard' and 'a framework', are comparable to the language used in the policy document (extract 22). It can be suggested that in both extracts 22 and 23, the responsibility of conforming is put onto individuals to ensure the cohesion of an idealised, culturally and linguistically homogenous society.

In the next extract, which is taken from the same interview, the 2008 law is compared with the 2001 amendments. Before the new 2008 law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' was passed, there were the 2001 amendments of the 1968 law. The 2001 amendments, which have been discussed by Scuto (2005) and Horner (2009a, 2009b), were the first to stipulate language requirements but did not include an official language test. The applicant had to show proficiency in one of the three officially recognised languages (French, German and Luxembourgish) as well as 'basic knowledge' of Luxembourgish. Before the 2008 law was passed, each municipality (i.e. 'commune') was in charge of 'interviewing' applicants. This meant that someone at the municipality

office checked the applicant's proficiency in any of the three officially recognised languages and their basic knowledge in Luxembourgish. This was not a formal test following clearly delineated procedures, but rather a conversation between two people. The following extract shows how the procedure which was in place prior to the 2008 law is perceived as 'very subjective':

Extract: 24

It's good that the law [changed] so it had **a proper structure**. You know, I think [before] you had to go to your commune and you organised an interview and you would have an interview with somebody. It depends. **It was very subjective**, I suppose. (*Melissa, late 40s*)

Here, the participant's description of the arbitrariness of the procedure linked to the 2001 amendments is contrasted with the 'objectivity' of the 2008 law. In the next extract, another participant called Andrée expands on the theme of the duty of learning Luxembourgish. She implies this by using the personal pronoun 'you' in relation to the words 'at least' and 'a minimum':

Extract: 25

Ech fannen et **bësse normal**. Dass **du mindestens awer e bësse Lëtzebuergesch** kenns, wanns du déi **Nationalitéit**. Et ass **e Minimum**, he?
Ech wees och net wéi schwéier deem [den Test] ass, mä ech mengen et ass wirklech **e Minimum**, he?

[I find it **quite normal**. That **you at least know a bit of Luxembourgish**, if you want that **nationality**. **A minimum**, yeah? I also don't know how hard it [the test] is, but I think that it's really **a minimum**, yeah?] (*Andrée, early 50s*)

This participant considers the effort that has to be put in by individual applicants to be part of a 'normal' way of proceeding. By using rather vague expressions such as 'at least'/'a bit of Luxembourgish'/'a minimum', she allows for an arbitrary interpretation of what this 'effort' consists of. In addition to this, she constructs knowing Luxembourgish as a prerequisite to gaining access to 'that nationality.' Her statement is informed by the ideology that equates one nation with one language, upon which many nation-building strategies rely. By linking Luxembourgish to nationhood, this extract is a reproduction of the discourse employed in the 2008 law, which constructs Luxembourgish as the only possible language to test.

In a related vein, some of the other participants support the state's policy of testing Luxembourgish by arguing that applicants have many opportunities for learning the language and 'should' take advantage of this, as exemplified in the next extract, which is taken from a different interview. The participant's use of 'here, in Luxembourg' indicates in what ways she imagines Luxembourg and includes ideas about what language is to be spoken, and what sort of behaviour is to be followed by those wishing to apply:

Extract: 26

Jo, also ech fannen dat ass eng gutt Saach [den Test], dat ass elo e grousst Wuert mee **eng flott Diskriminatioun** soe mir mol sou, well wann een hei zu Lëtzebuerg ass an ech mengen do huet een d'Kriterien fir kënnen

d'lëtzebuergesch Nationalitéit ze hunn, wann een. Do muss een jo minimum fennëf Joer mengen ech hei zu Lëtzebuerg sinn. An an deene fennëf Joer huet een d'Méiglechkeet, **an et huet ee vill Méiglechkeete fir kënnen op mannst Lëtzebuergesch, jo op mannst ze probéieren.**

[Yes, so I think it's a good thing [the test], it's a big word but I would say it's a **convenient way of discriminating** against someone because when one is here in Luxembourg and one has the criteria for Luxembourgish 'Nationalitéit' [...]. One has to have spent a minimum of five years here in Luxembourg I think [...]. And in those five years, **one has the opportunity and one has many opportunities to at least try Luxembourgish, yes at least try.**] (*Angela, early 30s*)

In this extract, there is a reference to a time frame. Angela's mention of a 'minimum of five years' is understood as the period that applicants have before they can apply. It is argued that this gives them enough time to 'at least try Luxembourgish.' Her understanding of the five years is actually in reference to the conditions of the pre-2008 law. In reality, the 2008 law stipulates that people have to show uninterrupted residency for seven years before their application. However, it could be argued that the five year and seven-year time frames are important because they represent much more than just a time frame. Comparable to official policy legislation, Angela constructs this time frame as a way of deterring those applicants in search of an 'easy' or 'quick' application. This brings in the aspect of legitimacy: it separates the 'serious' applicants from the 'fraudulent' ones (i.e. those perceived as taking advantage of the generosity of the country

and with less of a genuine interest). The use of the indefinite, gender neutral pronoun ‘one’ and the verb ‘to have’ places the ownership of this opportunity, which (in theory) is available to anyone, onto the applicant and away from the host country.

These voices support the act of testing, which tends to be employed to demarcate those who pass and those who do not. Thus, those who can prove their knowledge of a language are transformed into deserving citizens, while those who do not are excluded (Milani, 2008, p. 45). Language testing for citizenship sends out a very powerful message and it needs people to support its legitimacy through authority. Shohamy (2006, p. 55) maintains that it is through the authority and the perceived legitimacy of tests that they often remain unchallenged by individuals. It could be said that the extracts discussed in parts 6.1. and 6.2. support this argument. However, the findings of this study also show that some participants challenge this authority by maintaining that the testing procedure is unfair and discriminatory, as is demonstrated in part 6.3.

6.3. Language testing: a ‘discriminatory’ and ‘unfair’ procedure

The analysis in this part focuses on how participants construct testing measures as potentially discriminatory or unfair. The first extract is taken from an interview with Robert. Robert is in his early fifties and initially came to Luxembourg for work in his twenties. Robert has to pass the test and at the time of the interview he still needs to complete this stage of the application procedure. He explains that he is nervous about the test as he does not know what to expect from the testing format. In the following extract, he discusses the level of proficiency in Luxembourgish and how this might affect applicants’ chances of ‘becoming a Luxembourger’:

Extract: 27

I am a little bit wondering about **the level** of the test and I don't think you should **exclude people** from being Luxembourgish if **their level** is not high enough, you know? If there is **a will** there, if there is **some effort** and, or what are they going to say? "Come back next year to be a Luxembourger if your Luxembourgish is good enough." I would find that just a strange thing to say, but since I haven't seen the test, I can't say. (*Robert, early 50s*)

Here, a 'will' and 'some effort' are perceived to be conditions that applicants need to fulfil in order to have a chance of passing the test, and ultimately becoming 'Luxembourgish.' At the same time, individual perceptions of the level of testing do not match up with official declarations that stipulate what are meant to be clear guidelines (e.g. Luxembourg's B1 of the CEFR for oral comprehension and A2 for oral expression). The words used by Robert indicate his doubt about the testing procedure and especially his uneasiness about the level(s). The sentence ("Come back next year to be a Luxembourger if your Luxembourgish is good enough") is thus an expression of what this participant understands to be a rigid and also unclearly defined procedure. In summary, the required level of achievement is sometimes perceived differently by those affected by the policy as compared to the way that this level is defined by official policy (see also Kremer, 2014, p. 181, Kremer and Horner, 2016).

Some participants challenge the authority of testing in other ways. In the following extract, the language testing procedure is constructed as an 'unfair' procedure by a participant called Julia. Julia is in her early thirties and has been living in Luxembourg intermittently since she was a teenager. She has recently completed the language test and

clarifies that she was not nervous about the test, even though she observed many other people who appeared anxious while taking it. She notes that while she and other applicants were waiting for the test to start, they were left hanging around the stairwell of the building. She describes being asked to wait in the stairwell before they were allowed into the examination hall as an unpleasant experience, since people were kept waiting in a small space unnecessarily. Julia states that this led to people becoming increasingly nervous about the procedure. This leads her to argue that the procedure is ‘unfair’, as illustrated in the following extract.

Extract: 28

Et ass trotzdeem **onfair**. Also ech hunn dat **net ganz fair** fonnt, soe mir sou. Dat verlaangt engem Mensch dee net vill schoulesch Erfahrungsgeheet huet ganz vill of. Mä dat doten ass en typeschen Test wéi de Bourdieu géif soen, deen do ass quasi fir eng **sozial Selektioun** ze maachen. **Wie wees am firaus scho wat deen Examen vun deem wëll?**

[It’s still **unfair**. I didn’t think it was **very fair** to put it that way. It demands quite a lot off someone who has little schooling. But it’s a typical test like Bourdieu would say, that exists to make a kind of **social selection**. **Who knows in advance what the test wants them to do?**] (*Julia, early 30s*)

An important aspect to note is that even though Julia passed the test on her first attempt, she considers the testing procedure to be ‘unfair’ and, more specifically, a tool for discriminating against people. There are different ways of making a ‘social selection’ and advanced knowledge of what the test might consist of could give some an advantage over

others. In extract 28, the reference to ‘someone who has little schooling’ points to a person’s social status and to their possible inexperience with testing procedures. How much a person knows about what is expected of them in a testing environment therefore depends on experience of and familiarity with similar situations. These experiences can only be accumulated in certain situations (e.g. by reaching high levels of schooling or by becoming a teacher). In Julia and Robert’s extracts 27 and 28, language is regarded as a potential tool for exclusion (Kremer, 2014, p. 182, Kremer and Horner, pp. 173-174, 2016).

This is similarly mentioned in the following extract, which is taken from an interview with Cristina. Cristina, who has been learning Luxembourgish for a few years, had to take the language test as part of the application procedure. She attributes her success with the testing to her attendance of Luxembourgish lessons and her ability to speak German:

Extract: 29

Ich denke für mich war es nicht schwierig, weil ich **schon Deutsch spreche** und weil ich Hausfrau bin. Ich habe einen Mann der **Geld** verdient und ich habe **Zeit** in die Schule zu gehen, dreimal in der Woche zu lernen. Aber es gibt so wie meine Freundin die schon dreimal gemacht hat [...]. Ich meine sie kann kein Deutsch, hat drei Kinder. Sie arbeitet voll sie hat schon mehr als drei Jahre gemacht. Ja, für Leute die nicht diese **Zeit nehmen können zu lernen finde ich es unfair.**

[I think that for me it wasn't very difficult, because I **already speak German** and because I am a housewife. I have a husband who earns **money** and I have **time** to go to school, to learn three times a week. But there are people like my friend who has already tried three times [...]. I mean she **does not speak German** {and} has three kids. She works full time and has done the course for over three years. Yes, **for those people who can't find the time to study, it's unfair.**] (*Cristina, late 40s*)

The contrast that Christina makes between herself and her friend serves as a way of highlighting the 'unfairness' of the procedure. Time and money are seen as influential factors in the process of acquiring a language. In fact, these issues have also been discussed in detail by Shohamy (2009), who argues that the policies targeting migrants put those who do not have many resources at a disadvantage. Societal differences based on unequal access to resources such as language classes, textbooks, or having time and money to invest in learning a new language tend not to get addressed in dominant discourse (Horner, 2009a, p. 163). As discussed in part 5.3., unequal access to resources often determines how individuals are able to progress with language learning. The analysis in part 5.3. highlights the ways that some participants, who are also learners of Luxembourgish, are unable to practise this language in their everyday activities. This is for example the case for Manuel who states that he is practising speaking Luxembourgish with a language coach, but is unable to use it at work or with friends/neighbours as none of them speak it (see extract 13). As the analysis in chapter five shows, Manuel is not the only participant to raise this issue as many other learners of Luxembourgish state that they wish to improve but cannot use it in their everyday activities. One of the main aspects

that Manuel's extract 13 shows is the complex structure of the individual language learning process. This is a topic discussed in further detail in the following extract, which is taken from an interview with a participant called David. David is in his late thirties and argues that the language testing procedure is a process that potentially 'marginalises' certain people:

Extract: 30

Wat heescht dat {eng Sprooch}? Do **grenzt du jo a priori eng ganz Rei vu Leit aus**. Ech mengen **du kanns net verlaangen** dass een deen en Unisoofschloss huet deen heihinner kënnt an deen Lëtzebuergesch léiert. Dat ass jo kloer am Prinzip dass deen et bëssi méi einfach huet eng Sprooch beizeléieren, eng nei Sprooch beizeléieren, wéi een deen just e Primärschoulofschloss huet an engem Land deen och sproochlech immens wäit ewech läit.

Du kanns och net verlaangen, dass een deen um Büro schafft aacht Stonnen huet villäicht suguer och säi Patron nach d'Coursen innerhalb vun de Bürosstonnen organiséiert fir Lëtzebuergesch Coursen. Dat ass net déi selvecht Situatioun wéi **een deen um Bau** oder deen deen dann **Botzfra** ass privat doheem de ganzen Dag alleng op sech verlooss ass, dass déi op eemol Lëtzebuergesch léiert. Dofir fannen ech déi ganz, also dat ass nämlech e **Probleem**. Also gesinn ech e bëssen als **Probleem** an der **Integratiounspolitik**, {et} **gëtt versicht sou een *one size fits all* an dat funktionéiert meeschtens ni**.

[What does it mean {a language}? You are **marginalising** a certain number of people. I mean **you can't expect** someone with a university degree to **come here** and someone who only has a primary school degree from a country, which **linguistically** is also **very far away**, to learn Luxembourgish in the same way.

You can't expect someone who works at an office for eight hours and whose boss might even organise Luxembourgish language lessons during working hours. That's not the same situation as someone working **as a builder or a cleaning lady**, who works by herself all day long. That she suddenly learns Luxembourgish ... That's the **problem**, so I see this a bit as a **problem** in this **integration politics, because the *one size fits all* policy rarely ever works.]**

(David, late 30s)

David questions the use of language as the object of testing and in doing so, highlights the potentially marginalising effects this kind of policy can have. He uses the juxtaposition of white collar work and the manual job sector as a way of emphasising differences between people. Traditionally, the jobs he refers to ('cleaning lady'/'builder') were taken up by many of the Portuguese immigrants who came to Luxembourg in the late 1960s and early 70s to find work. As discussed in chapter two, this type of migration was encouraged by an agreement between Luxembourg and Portugal in 1970, including a clause that allowed workers to bring their families as well (Pauly, 2010, p. 68). During this period, it has been argued that certain types of 'immigrants', i.e. those with a Catholic background were encouraged, because it was assumed that this would avoid religious clashes in the predominantly Catholic country (Davis, 1994, p. 10). His reasoning is

therefore grounded in the assumed shared understanding between himself and the researcher about who is usually considered a cleaning lady in Luxembourg.

In extract 30, social interaction is also considered an important element in the language learning process and so, another issue is brought forward which is often erased in mainstream media discourse. David argues that, as someone working by herself all day, a cleaning lady in Luxembourg has very limited opportunities for speaking and hearing Luxembourgish. This argument is comparable to some of the findings highlighted in part 5.3. The analysis in part 5.3. shows that some participants, who are also learners of Luxembourgish, voice their frustrations at the fact that they are trying to learn this language but are unable to use it in their day to day activities, and that this makes it hard to progress with Luxembourgish. As for David in extract 30, he concludes that language is being used by government policy makers as a tool to discriminate against certain people (for detailed discussion of this point, see Kremer and Horner, 2016 on experiences of language-in-citizenship policy).

In the next extract, which is taken from an interview with another participant called Bernardo, a similar issue is raised. Bernardo is in his early fifties and has been living in Luxembourg since his twenties, when he came to the country for work. Bernardo claims that individuals should ‘know the language of the country’, but that it should not be a ‘barrier’:

Extract: 31

Bon, la langue **à mon avis, il faut la connaître**, mais je pense que ça ne devrait pas être **une barrière insurmontable**. C’est ça que je pense, moi, ça je pense en général, pas seulement pour le Luxembourg. Donc moi, je considère que

la langue, c'est important de la connaître, la langue du pays. Mais ça ne devra pas vraiment être **une barrière rigide, une barrière qu'on ne peut pas franchir.**

[Well, **in my opinion you should know it**, but it should not be **an insurmountable barrier**. This is what I think, in general, not only for Luxembourg. So, I think that it's important to know **the language**, it's important to know **the language of the country**. But it should not be a **rigid barrier, an insurmountable barrier.**] (*Bernardo, early 50s*)

While it can be inferred that he is referring to Luxembourgish, his consideration of it as a potentially 'rigid' or 'insurmountable barrier' is significant. He depicts the 'language of the country' as both a duty ('you should know') and a problem ('an insurmountable barrier'). His view therefore opposes the portrayal of Luxembourgish in political discourse on language testing as an 'acultural' instrument or resource, facilitating the process of 'integration' and, in theory, available to everyone (Horner 2009b, p. 124). The idea behind it is that Luxembourgish, constructed as an 'everybody's language', should be easy enough for anyone to learn and therefore speaking the language and completing a test in it should, in theory, be achievable for everyone. Woolard (2008, pp. 2-4) explains that discussions surrounding the value of languages centre around two ideologies, which she calls anonymity and authenticity. The latter locates the value of a language in its 'relationship with a particular community', whereas anonymity rests on the belief that a language belongs to the public, and hence is available to everyone. It can be suggested that Bernardo's and David's extracts challenge the ideology of Luxembourgish as an

‘acultural’ instrument and claim that, on the contrary, it is not readily obtainable for everyone.

6.4. Summary

The analysis in chapter six emphasises several key issues. Part 6.1. highlights how some participants perceive Luxembourgish as (becoming) an endangered language. It argues that they construct Luxembourgish in this way as a result of changing demographics and societal changes. It also shows how some participants understand the language testing procedure as a way of ‘protecting’ the Luxembourgish language and country. Overall, the findings reveal that participants have a range of opinions on the testing procedure. Here, it should be pointed out again that not all participants had to complete a language test as part of their application. As discussed in part 2.2.2., there are some exemptions to the procedure. Some participants for example did not have to complete it because they had attended the Luxembourgish state school system. Others had lived in Luxembourg since before the 1984 language law was put into place officially recognising Luxembourgish as the ‘national’ language, which in turn also made them exempt from the testing procedure. The participants who took the test describe a wide range of experiences. Some state that they were not nervous about taking the test; others explain that they had been so upset about the testing process itself that they even thought they had failed. Although these extracts only offer a window into people’s experiences of the procedure, it is important to note this diversity of viewpoints, as it illustrates that each individual reacts differently to testing situations even though the testing procedures are often constructed as processes which aim to treat people equally.

A final key point is the fact that some participants conform with the dominant discourse on language testing, whereas others contest it. In addition to this, some participants perceive testing to be something that has always been part of the

requirements, even though this has officially only been the case since the law was passed in 2008. What this shows is that perceptions of how things were done in the past are profoundly influenced by current debates. Therefore, close attention should be paid to how myths are used to support present-day arguments. Even though testing the national language has only recently been introduced in many EU countries, discourses focusing on the idea that testing has always been and therefore will always be a part of these procedures are powerful tools for legitimising these policies. This chapter highlights how some participants construct language testing as a ‘fair’ and ‘normal’ procedure and how others perceive it as an ‘unfair’ and ‘discriminatory’ process. In the latter case, some people even challenge the overall authority of the tests. Shohamy (2006, p. 55) argues that the authority with which tests are established is often not challenged by individuals. The findings of this study indicate that many people do support testing regimes by constructing them as ‘necessary’ and ‘normal’ procedures for acquiring Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ However, the findings also reveal that people sometimes challenge the authority of tests and unpack the various ways in which they do this (see Kremer, 2014 and Kremer and Horner, 2016).

Chapter Seven: Constructing Citizenship

While chapter six dealt with the aspect of language testing in the context of citizenship legislation, chapter seven focuses on the notion of citizenship in a broader sense. As discussed in chapter three, empirically-orientated studies on citizenship based on interviews have been particularly helpful in inspiring the approach taken in this study. One such study is by Andreouli and Howarth (2013), who conduct an analysis of public policy documents and interview material with recently naturalised British citizens on the concept of ‘earned citizenship.’ Their findings are of particular interest to chapter seven as the authors report similar findings to this study. Research conducted by Williams (2013) with interviews of second generation young adults with immigrant backgrounds in Germany, shows how the participants attach a wide array of meanings to citizenship. Williams’ (2013) study is, therefore, also important for this chapter as it highlights similar issues to the present study focused on Luxembourg.

Chapter seven is divided into four parts. The first part 7.1. explores how citizenship is constructed as an individual responsibility and commitment by a number of participants. Part 7.2. illustrates how ethnicity plays an important part in how belonging and exclusion are framed by some of the participants. Part 7.3. then shows how current citizenship legislation is constructed in certain instances as potentially discriminating against those who are unable to conform to the policy. Crucially, it also reveals how certain participants call for a separation of citizenship and nationality, which, as discussed in this study’s theoretical framework, are concepts that are often used interchangeably in dominant discourse within the Luxembourg context. For example, in Luxembourg the words ‘Nationalitéit’ or ‘nationalité’ are usually employed to refer to the notion of

citizenship as legal membership in a state. This chapter provides a close analysis of the diverse lexical items that the participants use to describe Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, which helps to unpack the differences between the ways in which the participants refer to this notion and the ways in which it is framed in dominant discourse. Finally, part 7.4. concludes with a summary of the findings in this chapter.

7.1. Constructing citizenship as an individual responsibility and duty

Recent empirical studies on citizenship such as the ones conducted by Williams (2013) and Andreouli and Howarth (2013) reveal that individuals construct the concept in a variety of ways. This complexity and diversity of individual understandings of citizenship constitutes an important part of this study on the Luxembourgish context. In order to put the extracts discussed in this chapter into context, a brief discussion on the interview questions is necessary. The interview questions on citizenship were, for many of the participants, the most thought-provoking aspect of the interview. Whilst most participants talked about their backgrounds, family life and experiences with language testing freely, many participants explained that the questions on citizenship were difficult for them to answer. The first question was concerned with what ‘nationalité’ or ‘Nationalitéit’ meant to them. Then the participants were asked if this word meant the same thing to them as the word ‘citizenship’, ‘citoyenneté’ or ‘Staatsangehörigkeit.’ A primary concern for many participants was the Luxembourgish language test which is part of the procedure of applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ For many of the participants, this link between testing a language and acquiring ‘nationalité’ was, therefore, an important anchor for them to discuss their understandings of citizenship.

In a first instance, this chapter examines how some of the participants construct citizenship as inherently linked to a sense of individual responsibility and duty. The

language test is understood by many participants as forming a central part of these individual efforts which need to be fulfilled in order to be able to apply. The first extract is taken from an interview with Andrée. Andrée is in her early fifties and has been living in Luxembourg since she was in her twenties. When asked about how she understands Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, she answers the following:

Extract: 32

Du gehéirs zu engem Land. Du deels un all déi Elektione mat, du participéiers mat dengem ganze Liewen, du mëss eppes fir d’Land. Du hëllef d’Land, du ... *pour que le pays survive.*

[You belong to a country. You participate in all the elections, you participate with your whole life, and you do something for the country. You help the country, you... for the country’s survival.] (*Andrée, early 50s*)

Through the use of the personal pronoun ‘you’, Andrée describes a citizen as someone who ‘belongs’ to a country and who ‘participates’ in order to ‘do something for the country.’ Citizenship is perceived as an active and ongoing process linked to individual commitment and duties. This individual involvement is seen as contributing to the ‘survival of the country.’

A theme recurring in this study is the idea of ‘earned’ citizenship. One such study which has analysed the topic of ‘earned citizenship’ through public policy documents and interviews with recently naturalised British citizens, is Andreouli and Howarth (2013). These authors note that policies of ‘earned citizenship’ have been implemented in the

U.K. within the framework of what they call ‘managed migration schemes.’ Further, Andreouli and Howarth (2013, p. 367) suggest that ‘speaking the language, learning about life in the UK and demonstrating “active citizenship”’ form part of the discursive framework that is used by policy makers and linked to the idea of ‘earned citizenship.’ Interestingly, this study finds that some of the participants employ similar language in their discussions on the topic of citizenship. One such example is taken from an interview with Nathalie, who is in her late twenties and has recently completed her application. As part of the naturalisation process, Nathalie had to take the Luxembourgish language test. In the following extract, she indicates how she understands Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as an aim that individuals need to ‘work towards.’ On a thought-provoking note, Nathalie uses the English expression ‘You have to deserve it’ to clarify her position on this topic:

Extract: 33

Och wann si den Test méi schwéier maachen, da géif ech soen, wär et nach besser. Well ech géif soen: “...*You have to deserve it.*” Ech géif soe wanns **du wirklech eppes wëlls. Wanns du wirklech Lëtzebuerger wëlls ginn, muss du dofir schaffen, well dat ass soss ze einfach.**

[I would also say that if they {the government} wanted to make it {the test} harder, I would agree with that. **Because I would say that... you have to deserve it {citizenship}. I would say that if you really want something. If you really want to become a Luxembourger, you must work for it, because otherwise it would be too easy.**] (*Nathalie, late 20s*)

In this extract, language testing is seen as a central component of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Nathalie’s use of the personal pronoun ‘you’, in addition to the modal verbs ‘have to’ and ‘must’, is indicative of how she portrays Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as something that the individual (‘you’) needs to ‘work towards.’ Another important aspect is that Nathalie uses the English sentence ‘you have to deserve it.’ in her interview, which was conducted in Luxembourgish. Nathalie is a recent learner of Luxembourgish and one of the reasons why she wanted to hold the interview in this language is because she wanted to practise it. However, at various points during the interview Nathalie uses other languages such as English and French in order to articulate her ideas more clearly, as she claims she does not know enough vocabulary in Luxembourgish. The issue that is foregrounded in this extract is that the language test is perceived as a way of safeguarding the value of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, as applicants are portrayed as having to ‘work’ for it in order to ‘deserve’ it. This is similar to Andrée’s extract, where individual involvement, responsibility and duty are advocated as the key to political participation.

Another aspect discussed by some of the participants is the topic of ‘integration.’ As touched upon in chapter three, the word ‘integration’ or the verb ‘to integrate’ is often used arbitrarily in dominant discourse on issues of migration and citizenship to encourage the normative behaviour of individuals. Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, p. 112) maintain that ‘migrants’ are often implicitly portrayed as ‘outsiders’, even if they have been living in the country for decades, or were born and raised there. The only valid entry point into society for the ‘migrant’ is through this arbitrary process labelled as ‘integration’, which is imposed by the dominant group onto those who are perceived as ‘outsiders.’

A first, thought-provoking observation is that the participants do not widely employ this word. In fact, only four out of twenty-seven participants mention the word ‘integration’ or the verb ‘to integrate.’ A second and related point worth noting is that three out of these four participants use this word as a way of representing themselves as complying with the requirements of applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ They employ this word to position themselves as being more involved in the process of applying, as being ‘active’ citizens. Two participants highlight that they see it as their ‘duty’ as ‘outsiders’ to ‘integrate.’ One of these is Birgit, who has been living in Luxembourg for about thirty years. In the following extract, she uses the verb ‘to integrate’ with a reflexive pronoun to illustrate her ‘responsibilities’ as an individual living in Luxembourg:

Extract: 34

Well ech hei liewen, da muss ech och versiche mech ze integréieren, da well ech och eigentlech fir alles. Jo, responsabel sinn, matschwätzen, Rechter a Pflichten hunn genau wéi all Lëtzebuenger.

[Because I live here, **I also have to try and integrate myself**, and then I want to do everything. Yes, **being responsible, having a voice, rights and responsibilities like all Luxembourgers.**] (*Birgit, early 60s*)

In this extract, the verb ‘to integrate’ is employed in relation to an individual who is constructed as having to work towards conforming in order to gain access to the same rights and responsibilities as ‘all Luxembourgers.’ A comparison of Birgit’s extract with

Nathalie's and Andrée's extracts indicate that all three participants understand citizenship as dependent on individual participation. Gaining access to legal citizenship rights is, therefore, perceived as something that individuals need to 'work' towards through a series of efforts which function as a kind of 'proof' of their commitment to the country. This can be compared to dominant discourse where the onus of gaining access to rights is often placed onto the individual rather than on the state. It is significant that the participants in these extracts employ similar vocabulary to emphasise the idea of citizenship being linked to individual responsibilities, rights and duties.

A central aspect of the interviews is that the participants emphasise the role of language and culture as intrinsically linked to Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' An example of how language functions as a symbol for national belonging, identity and citizenship, is taken from an interview with a participant called Filipe. Filipe is in his late teens and currently attends Luxembourgish state schooling. When asked about how he understands Luxembourgish 'Nationalitéit', he replies:

Extract: 35

Et ass einfach dass een **d'Kultur kennt vum Land an dass een och d'Sprooch kennt zumools [...]. Et ass ee Lëtzebuerger an et kann een d'Sprooch vum Land net, dat geet einfach guer net [...]. Dann ass een jo guer keen Lëtzebuerger méi wann ee kee Lëtzebuergesch kann.**

[It's knowing **the culture** and especially **the language of the country** [...].

You are a Luxembourger and you can't speak the language of the country:

that just doesn't work at all [...]. Then **you are not a Luxembourger anymore if you can't speak Luxembourgish.**] (*Filipe, late teens*)

According to Filipe, belonging is dependent on knowing the 'culture' and the 'language of the country.' In this case, the 'language' he is referring to is Luxembourgish. Filipe's response can be compared to many other participants who similarly state that language and culture are two of the main cornerstones of determining who is considered a 'Luxembourger.' This belief concerning the centrality of language and culture in relation to Luxembourgish 'nationalité' is far-reaching. It is in line with the scholarship discussed in chapter three, which calls for research to focus on how language and culture are used as markers of belonging in relation to nation-state formation (see for example May, 2001 and Nic Craith, 2004).

The following extract illustrates how citizenship is understood as involving a set of rights and duties. Bruno is in his late twenties and has grown up in Luxembourg. His parents have been living in Luxembourg since they were in their early twenties and were born in different Southern European countries. Bruno constructs citizenship as a set of individual duties and responsibilities ('I would stand in {fight} for Luxembourg and not any other country'). Bruno's use of military vocabulary ('fight'/'war'), combined with the personal pronoun 'I', emphasises this feature:

Extract: 36

Fir mech bedeit dat mat **sengem Heemechtsland** verbonne sinn, **säin Heemechtsland** och kennen, an och eben **houfreg sinn op dat Land** [...]. Et ass elo net dass du elo sees ech si **Nationalist**, mä dass du awer sees ech sinn **e Patriot**. Ech géing am Eeschtfall och wann ech déi lëtzebuergesch

Nationalitéit net hätt, géing ech éischer fir dat lëtzebuergesch Land astoen, falls et géing am Eeschfall, dass Krich géing ausbriechen [mir hoffen natirlech net]. **Mä ech géing éischer fir Lëtzebuerg stoe, wéi irgend en anert Land.**

[It means being connected to one's **homeland**, knowing **one's homeland and being proud of that country** [...]. It's not like you can say that I am a **nationalist**, but that you can say I am a **patriot**. In the worst case scenario, I would stand in {fight} for Luxembourg, even if I did not have Luxembourgish *Nationalitéit*. If it came to the worst, **like a war [of course we hope this won't happen], I would stand in {fight} for Luxembourg** and not any other country.] (*Bruno, late 20s*)

Bruno uses the term 'patriot' while distancing himself from the concept of 'nationalism.' This statement is not unique to Bruno's interview; in fact, many participants are similarly reluctant to associate with the term 'nationalism.' They prefer to identify with 'patriotism' or describe themselves as 'patriotic' or 'patriots.' This practice resonates with Billig (1995), who states that in both academic and lay understandings, 'nationalism' is seen as problematic as opposed to the term 'patriotism, which is often used instead to indicate a civic understanding of 'nationalism.' 'Patriotism' is thus perceived to be linked more closely to the ideas of modernity and progress (Billig, 1995, p. 43 and p. 55). However, as discussed in chapter three, May (2001, p. 53) maintains that rather than considering understandings of 'ethnic' and 'civic' nationalism as being separate, nation-states should be seen as containing both ethnic and civic elements. He notes that often the 'ethnic

interests of the majority group are legitimated and naturalised as civic ones which, in turn, are equated directly with modernity.’

7. 2. Constructing belonging(s)

Part 7.1. has illustrated how individual responsibilities and duties, knowledge of language and culture are constructed as an integral part of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Part 7.2. explores the role of ethnicity which is sometimes interwoven with language and culture as an indicator of belonging in Luxembourg. This is very much in line with Blommaert and Verschueren’s (1998, p. 6) work on the Flanders region in Belgium, in which the authors insist that ethnicity has always been a ‘forceful actor’ in Belgian history, especially in Flanders. They suggest that those people ‘speaking a particular language also have a particular culture and belong to a particular ethnic group.’ In the same vein, they note that the three parameters of language, culture and ethnicity are treated as equivalent, which automatically gives those individuals access to political rights and obligations. Similarly to Blommaert and Verschueren’s (1998, p. 6) argument about Flanders, it can be assumed that ethnicity, language and culture are often intertwined with each other and play an important role in determining belonging in Luxembourg.

In the following extract, a participant called Nuno discursively positions himself as different from ‘real Luxembourgers.’ Nuno was born in Luxembourg and attends state schooling. His parents came to Luxembourg about thirty years ago from Portugal. Nuno describes his ‘Portugueseness’, which he argues, makes him feel less like a ‘real Luxembourger’:

Extract: 37

Bon, **ech fille mech och éischer als Portugies wéi als Lëtzebuerger**, ech wees net wisou [...]. Well **am Fong sinn ech jo Portugies well meng Eltere jo Portugies sinn, obwuel ech hei gebuer sinn**. Mä trotzdem fillen ech mech awer och esou. Et ass elo net wéi wann ech mech géif **als e richtege Lëtzebuerger fille**.

[Well, **I feel more Portuguese than Luxembourgish**, I don't know why [...]. Actually, **deep down I am Portuguese because my parents are Portuguese, even though I was born here**. Nevertheless, I also feel like that. **It's not like I now feel like a real Luxembourgger.**] (*Nuno, late teens*)

Here, Nuno aligns himself closer to Portugal through his parents, who are also Portuguese. His emphasis on family as a marker for belonging is an example of how nationhood is sometimes understood as a 'natural extension of family and kinship relations' (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p. 15). 'Luxembourgishness' and 'Portugueseness' are constructed along clear, distinct boundaries which Nuno uses to distinguish between himself and other 'real Luxembourgers.' Nuno's distancing could be interpreted as a way for him to show that he is aware of his difference from 'real' Luxembourgers. He might also have experienced other people claiming that he is not a 'real' Luxembourgger based on the fact that his parents are Portuguese. Nuno's use of the temporal marker 'now' is significant as it shows that he is aware of his parents' past impacting on the present, which prevents him from being a 'real' Luxembourgger.

Williams (2013), who has conducted interviews with second generation young adults with immigrant backgrounds in Germany, finds that some of the participants similarly report tensions in the way in which they view themselves, and how they think other people perceive them. In his study, some of the participants note that they have been called ‘foreigners’ in Germany, despite being born in the country and having grown up there. His findings reveal a salient paradox: some of the participants identify as ‘culturally’ German (e.g. feeling ‘at home’ in Germany) and others identify as ‘German’ but specify that they do not consider themselves ‘real’ Germans. This leads Williams (2013) to conclude that ‘Germanness’ has multiple meanings for the participants: on the one hand, the cultural and achievable aspect, and on the other, the ethno-racial and ascribed aspect. On this note, it is helpful to refer to Jenkins (2008, p. 55), who argues that ethnicity is always socially constructed. This interactional feature, nevertheless, contains what he refers to as ‘internal’ (instances when members of a group indicate to other group members who they are) and ‘external’ (instances when a set of persons defines the other as something else) definitions. Nuno’s extract, therefore, underlines the tensions between how he wishes to portray himself, and how he thinks others perceive him (as someone who is not a ‘real’ Luxembourger or as a ‘foreigner’).

The following extract, which is taken from an interview with a participant called Isabel, develops this interactional aspect of ethnicity further. Isabel is in her mid-twenties. Her parents are from Portugal and came to Luxembourg before she was born. Here, Isabel explains how her parents reacted negatively, when she told them that she was applying for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’:

Extract: 38

Meng Eltere perséinlech ware **net zefridden a net begeeschtert** [...]. Si hu meng Entscheidung... si hunn se respektéiert, mä ech hu gemierkt dass zum Beispill mäi Papp dee war bësse getraff, dass du sees: „**Ok, du verkeefs am Fong deng Patrie wous du, vu wous du kënns.**” An ech hu gesot dat géing **net stëmmen.**

[My parents weren't very pleased or happy about it. They accepted my decision... they respected it but I noticed that for example, my dad was quite taken aback by it and said: “**Ok, you are basically selling your *patrie*, where you are from.**” I told him that was not true.] (*Isabel, mid-20s*)

Isabel is using the French word ‘patrie’ in order to emphasise her father’s understanding of a distinctive place where her family comes from. However, Isabel is determined to distinguish between how her parents perceive her ‘Portugueseness’ and her own definition of herself. She illustrates this by using direct speech to mimic her father (‘Ok, now you are selling your patrie, where you are from’) and then contradicting him (‘I told him that was not true’). In this extract, Isabel demonstrates that she wants to construct her belonging on her own terms and conditions whilst going beyond her father’s essentialised understanding of ethnicity.

It can be argued that the first two extracts (37 and 38) of part 7.2. highlight how participants understand ‘Luxembourgishness’ in different ways. Whereas Nuno explains that he cannot see himself as a ‘real’ Luxembourger, Isabel insists that her citizenship

application does not mean that she is relinquishing her ‘Portugueseness’ but that she wishes to construct her belonging on her own terms. The last extract explores how belonging is expressed through a different framework. In Isabel’s case, identifying with a fixed, essentialised version of ethnicity is not how she sees herself.

The following extract which was taken from an interview with Carol, features a participant who rejects both ‘Luxembourgishness’ and ‘Britishness’ in favour of her ‘Europeanness.’ This is comparable to research undertaken by Favell (2008), who has interviewed highly skilled and educated Western European citizens having moved around Europe and living in cities such as London, Brussels and Amsterdam. Favell (2008) discovers that the participants sometimes identify more with the term ‘European’ than the nation-state. For him, this is a way for people to construct their own movement as detached from ‘international migration’, positioning themselves within Europe as their home and European cities as places where they live (Favell, 2008, p. 103). This resonates with the following extract by Carol, who grew up in Britain and has been living in Luxembourg for about ten years:

Extract: 39

I feel part of Luxembourg but I don’t feel Luxembourgish. I feel European actually, more than anything. I don’t necessarily feel British either, but I feel European. (*Carol, early 50s*)

Carol positions herself closer to ‘European’ membership whilst distancing herself from what she considers ‘national’ belonging. On an interesting note, Favell’s (2008, p. 103) study also shows that the participants use the term ‘European’ as a way of distancing

themselves from the term ‘migrant.’ The author argues that the word ‘migrant’ often acts as an identifying marker of certain ‘groups’ of people with negative or unfavourable connotations. This leads Favell (2008, p. 103) to deduce that this is why people might choose to ‘label’ themselves differently. Although the participants were not asked if they considered themselves ‘migrants’ (as opposed to Favell who asked people if they would describe themselves in that way), identifying with the term ‘European’ turns out an important marker of belonging. In fact, it indicates membership in a post-national space, something that, according to Favell (2008, pp. 17-18), is what the European Union is based upon: transcending the nation can be seen as part of the guiding ideal with the ‘trajectory of European modernity– the legacy of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism’ becoming post-national. What part 7.2. has shown is that participants identify themselves in different ways and that they attach a wide range of meanings to ‘Luxembourgishness.’ Thus, claiming belonging is not a uniform process but characterised by individual understandings of what it consists of and where people see themselves as fitting in.

7.3. Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’: a tool for exclusion?

Part 7.3. investigates how the participants narrate processes of exclusion in relation to citizenship. The analysis shows how they challenge the discourse of responsibilities and duties described in part 7.1. Notably, some of the participants argue that there is a disjuncture between policy and practice; in particular, the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ is perceived by some of the participants as potentially discriminating against certain people. In essence, the extracts discussed in this part provide examples of how current legislation in Luxembourg is challenged by some of the participants. One of the key arguments is that the current conflation of citizenship and nationality is

discriminatory and that the ethnic sense of nationality needs to be separated from citizenship.

A significant finding highlighted in part 7.1. is that the word ‘integration’ and the verb ‘to integrate’ are not used extensively by the participants. While only two participants use these words to emphasise their perceived duty towards Luxembourg, one participant called David uses ‘integration’ in a different, more critical sense. In the following extract, David argues that the ‘integration measures’ that many countries have implemented can be seen as ‘barriers.’ David is in his late thirties and was born in Luxembourg to parents who moved to Luxembourg from Portugal. He describes these ‘integration measures’ as ‘barriers’ used by the government to exclude certain people:

Extract: 40

Ech fannen dat déi ganz, op englesch gëtt dat *integration measures* genannt, ne? Dat si just **Barrièren** déi gesat ginn, zousätzlech **Barrièren**. Ech hätt léiwer **mir hätten eng Attitude**: jiddreen ass wëllkomm, an **da probéiere mir** der Persoun **Loscht ze gin**. An dann eben eng Dynamik versichen opzestellen déi et mécht dass d’Auslänner **Loscht kréien** eppes iwwer d’Lëtzebuenger ze léieren, an dass d’Lëtzebuenger nach **méi Loscht kréien och iwwert hir auslännesch Populatiounen ze léieren**.

[I think these *integration measures*, as they say in English, are just **barriers**, **extra barriers that are put in people’s way**. I would prefer us to have a different attitude: everybody is welcome and then we try to get the person interested. And that we **create a dynamic** that makes foreigners **excited** about learning something about Luxembourg and that Luxembourgers become **even**

more excited about learning something about their foreign population.]

(David, late 30s)

David challenges the arguments often brought forward in dominant discourse on ‘integration’, where the responsibility of conforming tends to be put onto the individual, away from the host country (cf. Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998). By constructing common responsibilities for both the ‘foreign’ and the ‘host’ populations, David rejects the ideological narratives of ‘self-improvement’, which tend to be directed at ‘migrants.’ His understanding of citizenship thus rests on the idea that the objective of citizenship is to create a ‘dynamic’ situation through collective participation from both sides. Here, the idea of ‘active’ citizenship is implied; however, this ‘active participation’ is not linked to individualism but collectivism. This marks the difference between this extract and those presented in part 7.1.

A key finding of this study is that some of the participants perceive the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as having a certain amount of restrictions. Some of these restrictions are linked to the applicants having to pass a language test in Luxembourgish. What is pointed out is that the residency period of seven consecutive years, which applicants have to fulfil in order to apply, is also a discriminatory measure. It is argued that many people have to travel regularly for work and sometimes even re-locate to other countries, so they are unable to apply as this means that their residency period in Luxembourg is potentially annulled. Many participants have family members who are applying at the same time as they are. Some participants state that various members of their family are unable to apply as they cannot fulfil the criteria necessary for a successful application. Others stress that some of their family members are unable to apply because

of their job situation. Further issues arise because people are studying in countries other than Luxembourg, which means that their residency period has been disrupted or expired.

This is the case for a member of Paola's family. Paola is in her early fifties and moved to Luxembourg when she was in her late twenties with her husband from a Southern European country. In the following extract, she describes how certain aspects of the 2008 law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' may be considered restrictive for some applicants. She insists that this is an important issue for her because one of her family members has experienced obstacles to accessing his rights even though he was born in Luxembourg and grew up there as well:

Extract: 41

J'ai trois enfants. Bon, mon mari et moi on est luxembourgeois parce qu'on est là avant 1984. Mon fils le grand, l'ainé est luxembourgeois parce qu'il est né en 1983, alors il n'a pas dû faire l'examen. Mon dernier enfant est le plus petit, il est luxembourgeois parce qu'il est mineur. **Mon deuxième enfant est le plus luxembourgeois de toute la famille ; il ne peut pas être luxembourgeois parce qu'il est né en 1987. Il a vécu ici au Luxembourg, il a fait des études, il est né au Luxembourg et ne peut pas parce qu'il doit faire l'examen. Ça je trouve que ce n'est pas normal.** Toute la famille, 4/5 de la famille est luxembourgeois. Lui, qui est plus luxembourgeois que nous quatre mis ensemble, **il n'a pas le droit de devenir luxembourgeois sans avoir fait les examens.**

[I have three children. So my husband and I are Luxembourgish because we have been there since before 1984. My eldest son is Luxembourgish because

he was born in 1983, so he didn't have to do the language test. My youngest child is under-age so he is Luxembourgish. **My second child is the most Luxembourgish of all the family. He can't be Luxembourgish because he was born in 1987. He has lived in Luxembourg, done his studies here, was born in Luxembourg and he can't because he has to do the exam. I don't think that is normal.** The whole family, 4/5 of the family is Luxembourgish. **And he who is the most Luxembourgish of us all put together doesn't have the right to become a Luxembourger without doing the exams.]**

(Paola, early 50s)

At the time of the interview, Paola and her husband had both applied and had been successful. Interestingly, she had taken Luxembourgish courses in the past and enjoys speaking this language. However, due to her circumstances, she does not have to complete a language test. The 2008 law stipulates that applicants who have been resident in the country since before 1984 are exempt from the testing procedure. 1984 is the date of the language law which officially recognises French, German and Luxembourgish whilst positioning Luxembourgish as the 'national language.' As discussed in part 2.2.2., this language law is significant for the 2008 law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité' as it paves the way for Luxembourgish to be constructed as the sole indicator of belonging in the context of citizenship legislation. Because Paola and her husband have been residents in the country since before the 1984 language law was instated, they are exempt from the testing procedure. The same procedure applies to her oldest son who was born before 1984. Her youngest son is able to become a 'Luxembourger' through his parents because he is a minor. The law recognises that children under the age of 18 are able to

automatically receive Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ if one or both of their parents are citizens.

As Paola explains, her middle son born after the 1984 language law is unable to apply since he has to complete the language testing. Because her son currently does not speak Luxembourgish very well, but is learning it in order to pass the test, he is the only member of the family who has to complete this procedure. Paola constructs this son as being the ‘most Luxembourgish of us all’; however, without passing a language test, he is unable to apply. An essential aspect about this extract is that Paola understands Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ not only as linked to language and ethnicity, but to other factors such as her son’s birthplace and his studies in Luxembourg. Paola thus argues that the 2008 law should incorporate the principle of citizenship by right of birth to facilitate people’s access to their rights. In addition, Paola challenges the policy, which includes the testing of the Luxembourgish language. She maintains that it is through this policy of formal testing that the government is preventing people from accessing their rights.

In the next extract, the participant expresses his wish to expand the interpretation of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ in a similar way. Bernardo, who has been living in Luxembourg for about thirty years, questions why someone born in Luxembourg is not automatically granted ‘nationalité’, as is the case in some other countries:

Extract: 42

Moi je pense que pour la naturalisation **il faudrait tenir compte** comme je disais avant **des gens qui sont nés au Luxembourg** [...]. **Dans chaque pays quand quelqu’un est né dans le pays, il est d’un point de vue des droits**

de nationalité etc. est considéré différemment de quelqu'un qui est immigré, qui doit quand même rester un certain nombre d'années.

[I think that for naturalisation you should take those people who were born here into consideration [...]. In every country if someone was born in the country he/she is considered differently than someone who after all has immigrated and who has to stay for a certain number of years for *nationalité rights*.] (Bernardo, early 50s)

What Bernardo particularly questions here is the fact that people who he describes as 'immigrants' are granted rights after they have stayed in the country for a certain number of years, whereas those who were born in Luxembourg may not be granted the same rights. This extract is similar to the previous one in which certain applicants are described as not having access to rights because of an understanding of Luxembourgish citizenship based on language and ethnicity. The issue that both participants raise is that they see the 2008 law theoretically opening up possibilities for certain applicants, but not for others. This is in line with Goodman's (2010) framework which describes the ways in which access to citizenship has started to become more liberal, whilst on the other hand, the conditions for naturalisation have become more densely formulated. Goodman (2010, p. 758) contends that current citizenship legislation in many EU countries needs to be seen as complex and dynamic. Changes in recent legislation such as the implementation of language/ 'integration' tests and civics courses have varying meanings and consequences in many EU countries. What is significant about Paola's story of her family is that it offers a window into the various effects policy has on people's lives.

This is also one of the main aspects in the following extract, which is from an interview with Julia. She is one of the participants who had to complete the language testing procedure. Julia is in her mid-thirties and originally from Germany, although she has been living in Luxembourg since she was a teenager. Although she passed the Luxembourgish language test with a high score on her first attempt, Julia expresses concern about the ‘socially selective’ and ‘discriminatory’ aspect of this procedure. Additionally, she indicates that she felt completely humiliated during the language testing procedure. She explains that applicants had to leave their belongings outside the examination hall. Also, before entering the hall, applicants were agitated as they were kept waiting on the narrow stairwells. She herself was not nervous as she had experienced this type of scenario during her schooling and university education. However, many of the other applicants, she said, seemed nervous and confused as to how the procedure of testing was going to take place. She interprets this as a way for the state to exert its power over individuals by only granting access to those people who are able to overcome these obstacles:

Extract: 43

Dat ass sou eng **Staatsmuecht** do demonstréiert ginn ebe vu wegen: “**Hei kritt net jidfereen déi Nationalitéit irgendwéi.**”

[That was such a **demonstration of the state’s power** stating: “**Not everyone is going to get this *Nationalitéit here*”] (*Julia, early 30s*)**

Rhetorically, she mimics the position of the state through the use of direct speech. This extract shows that Julia questions the actions of the state, which are considered problematic as they only allow access to those who are able to conform. In sum, Julia regards the current legislation on ‘nationalité’ as a way for the government to exercise more control over potential applicants.

Moreover, Julia explains why she initially decided to apply for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Throughout her life, Julia has lived in multiple EU countries and has been a resident in each country separately. This means that she has lost her right to vote in national elections in her initial EU country of origin. She was not permitted to vote in national elections in Luxembourg either before she applied for ‘nationalité’. The de facto exclusion from political rights is cited as one of the main reasons for her application, as described in the following extract.

Extract: 44

Fir mech ass eng Nationalitéit haaptsächlech e Biergerrecht, an dat ass sou ze soen wat traureg ass. Ech mengen ech hätt misste keng lëtzebuerger Nationalitéit hunn, wann ech irgendwou op der Welt eng *Citoyenneté* gehat hätt déi mir erlaabt hätt ze wielen, mä ech hat keng politesch Rechter.

[***Nationalitéit* is for me a right of citizens** and that’s what’s so sad about it actually. I wouldn’t have had to have Luxembourgish *Nationalitéit* if I had had a *citoyenneté* somewhere in the world that would have allowed me to vote. **But I didn’t have any political rights.**] (*Julia, early 30s*)

Julia narrates how her political rights, which were initially ‘lost’ through moving from one country to another within the EU, are re-obtained through her application with the reinstatement of her political rights in Luxembourg. A significant factor in Julia’s case is that she has moved around various countries in the EU. Her moves have been facilitated by agreements such as the Schengen Agreement, which makes her situation comparable to that of many other people residing in Europe. She has moved around various European countries for her education, whilst settling in one country to be with her family. However, her case also shows that even if at an EU level, individual mobility is encouraged, on a national level, this often has a negative impact, with individuals being excluded from voting rights in their country of residence. Therefore, it could be suggested that while many EU citizens take advantage of the principles of free movement within EU boundaries, national legislation often prevents people from accessing certain rights/benefits including national voting rights. This is not only the case for Luxembourg, but holds true in many other EU countries as well.

Furthermore, Julia voices criticism on the ways that the ethnic sense of nationality is conflated with citizenship as a legal status in the Luxembourgish context. She employs two different words, namely the Luxembourgish word ‘Nationalitéit’ and the French word ‘citoyenneté’, to underline that nationality and citizenship should be de-coupled. By using the French word ‘citoyenneté’ to refer to legal, political rights, she constructs a distinction between the concepts of citizenship and nationality. In doing this, she is pointing out the way in which the fusion of these concepts potentially excludes people and bars them from accessing their political rights.

This point is expanded upon in the final extract, which is from an interview with Luisa. Luisa is in her late twenties and was born in Luxembourg just after her parents

came to the country from Portugal. In the extract, she maintains that if the Luxembourgish concept of ‘Nationalitéit’ embodies the idea of political rights based on people’s ability to adhere to a homogenised ideal of a shared common culture and language, then this potentially acts as a way of discrimination against people. She notes that if the aspects of ‘culture’ and ‘sentimentality’ are linked to Luxembourgish ‘Nationalitéit’, then language should play an important role. However, she argues that the coupling of this ethnic sense of nationality to citizenship as a legal status (linked to voting rights) is a form of discrimination:

Extract: 45

Wanns du an der Logik bass dass **d’Nationalitéit och eppes vu Kultur a Sentimentaliteit ass da jo, da solls du och d’Sprooch awer bësse kënnen.**

Dann hätt ech awer léiwer dass d’politesch Rechter dann ausserhalb vun deem Package sinn [...]. Dat heescht, wann een d’Saachen esou mécht... o.k. Mä wann dat wirklech déi eenzeg Konditioun ass fir un de politeschen, also fir den *droit de vote* ze kréien... **Dat fannen ech dann e bëssen diskriminativ,** well d’Land huet dräi Sproochen [...]. **Fannen ech ass et bëssen, bëssen zevill verlaangt.**

[If you understand *Nationalitéit* as something linked to culture and sentimentality then you should know the language a little. Then I would prefer it if **the political rights were outside this package** [...]. That when you do it like that. But if that’s the only condition **to get political or voting**

rights ... I find that a little discriminatory, because the country has three languages [...]. **I think it's too demanding.**] (*Luisa, late 20s*)

This extract raises a number of issues which can be related to the specific context of Luxembourg as well as to the wider context of how citizenship is predominantly framed in many other countries. Luisa suggests that testing Luxembourgish as a condition for accessing political rights is 'too demanding.' She alludes to the fact that this process could be too difficult for some people to adhere to because of their limited language skills. She expresses a contradiction which is specific to the Luxembourgish context. Luxembourg officially recognises three languages: French, German and Luxembourgish through the 1984 language law. The law, however, only defines Luxembourgish as the 'national language', thus creating a symbolic link between language and nation. This extract highlights that by positioning Luxembourgish as symbolic of nationhood and coupling this with access to national voting rights, the government is excluding many people on the basis of their ability to speak a language. She is thus challenging the government's approach of using language as a tool for discrimination and calls for a de-coupling of nationality and citizenship. This resonates with Julia's extract, which also implies that the conflation of these two concepts leads to the potential exclusion of certain people. The findings are comparable to Williams (2013), whose participants similarly call for citizenship to be separated from the ethnic sense of nationality. Both studies therefore demonstrate that there are related patterns in the diversity of ways that people understand citizenship.

Finally, the extracts also reveal that specific lexical items that the participants use are indicative of their understandings of citizenship. In fact, the participants' use of the

words ‘Nationalitéit’ and ‘citoyenneté’ demonstrates how they attempt to differentiate between these two ideas. While ‘Nationalitéit’ is constructed as a way of belonging to the nation through culture and language, ‘citoyenneté’ is described as linked to the rights of a citizen of the state. By exploring these nuances, this study is able to show how some of the participants challenge dominant conceptions of the word ‘Nationalitéit’ as it is often used in the Luxembourgish context.

7.4. Summary

The analysis in chapter seven shows how the participants attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship and ‘Luxembourgishness.’ Part 7.1. demonstrates how some of the participants understand citizenship as a relationship between individual rights and obligations. Part 7.2. explores how participants discuss tensions, particularly in relation to the ways in which they see themselves and how they think other people perceive them. This part, furthermore, emphasises that some participants wish to negotiate ‘Luxembourgishness’ on their own terms. By giving a voice to these participants, the study highlights the different ways in which they express belonging. Finally, the analysis in part 7.3. calls attention to the fact that some participants perceive the 2008 law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as potentially discriminatory towards certain people. These participants argue that the conflation of the ethnic sense of nationality with citizenship potentially excludes certain people from accessing their legal rights such as national voting rights.

Significantly, the analysis reveals that some participants frame citizenship more in relation to ethnic terms (citizenship by common descent), whereas others do so in relation to civic terms (citizenship by birth right). For some participants, the aspects of language and culture constitute important aspects of being a ‘Luxembourger.’ Moreover,

many participants express the wish to distance themselves from ‘nationalism’ and prefer to associate with the term ‘patriotism.’ This is a significant trend in many of the interviews. Another salient finding is that some of the participants call for the ethnic sense of nationality to be separated from citizenship. The analysis in part 7.3. discloses how some participants use different words such as the Luxembourgish ‘Nationalitéit’ and the French ‘citoyenneté’ to distinguish between nationality and citizenship in the Luxembourg context. These participants argue that such a decoupling could potentially lead to a more just means of accessing legal citizenship rights.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

This concluding chapter summarises the key findings from this study and is divided into three parts. Part 8.1. highlights how the findings relate to the context of Luxembourg. The focus of part 8.1. is on three aspects: language, ethnicity and citizenship. Part 8.2. underlines how the findings relate to a wider EU framework. It is necessary to consider the context of the EU as many of the recent citizenship and migration policies which have been implemented in Luxembourg are situated in relation to policies at EU level. In addition to stressing the importance of the findings in the context of Luxembourg and the EU, chapter eight re-emphasises the significance of these findings for wider scholarship in language policy, migration and citizenship studies. For this reason, part 8.3. focuses on the aspects of im-mobility, language testing, the discourse of 'integration' and citizenship.

It is important to refer back to the research questions that were raised in the introduction:

- How do the participants of this study construct their experiences of moving to and from Luxembourg?
- How do they discuss the Luxembourgish language testing procedure, which is part of the 2008 law on Luxembourgish 'nationalité'?
- How is the concept of citizenship understood by the participants?

Framed by these questions, chapters five, six and seven explored how the participants of this study voice a wide range of opinions. The discussion in parts 8.1., 8.2. and 8.3., therefore focuses on what has been learnt from asking these research questions in relation to the case study of Luxembourg and also, what the implications of these findings are for related scholarship focused on other research sites. With reference to specific findings of

this study, this concluding chapter also emphasises what a combined thematic and discourse analytic approach and contribute to future research in the fields of citizenship studies, language policy and migration studies.

8.1. Findings relevant to the Luxembourg context

This thesis has explored the complexities around issues of citizenship, migration and language policy, with a specific focus on the context of Luxembourg. As stated previously, one of the most distinctive characteristics about Luxembourg is that it is one of the smallest states in the EU and has a large number of resident foreigners. They comprise 46 percent of the total population (STATEC, 2015). Another important aspect is that Luxembourg officially recognises three languages through the 1984 language law which marks the legal recognition of Luxembourgish as the national language, whilst declaring French and German as administrative languages. French is designated as the legislative language (Mémorial A, N° 16, 1984, art. 1, 2, 3).

The findings of this study demonstrate that language is an important marker of belonging in Luxembourg. The analysis reveals that the participants make frequent reference to Luxembourg's multilingualism. It also explores the ways in which they position themselves in relation to different languages, while describing their experiences of moving to the country. Furthermore, the findings show that many participants speak Luxembourgish fluently, even though some of them choose to conduct the interview in a different language. Only two out of twenty-seven participants do not speak any Luxembourgish. The study also indicates that the majority of the participants state their eagerness to learn Luxembourgish and attend courses. Many of them discuss their passion for learning the 'national language.' One such example is Birgit who describes Luxembourgish as a 'wonderful language', which she enjoys speaking (see extract 18).

The majority of the participants explain that they want to continue practising Luxembourgish, even after having passed the language test. The findings therefore highlight that the majority of participants who have moved to Luxembourg are willing and eager to learn this language. This is important to emphasise as it is often claimed in popular discourse that many people do not make the effort to learn Luxembourgish when they move to the country.

A related finding concerns the language learning process and learning facilities. In Luxembourg, there is a growing interest in Luxembourgish language courses. This demand originates not only from potential applicants for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’, but also from many other people, some of whom are encouraged to learn it for work purposes. Although many of the participants are eager to learn Luxembourgish, they maintain that language learning is a complex process, which is dependent on many different things such as a person’s social status, financial situation and availability of time. The analysis illustrates that some participants voice concerns about the accessibility of the language courses. These participants state that some people are potentially excluded from attending the language courses as they are either unable to afford them, or their work schedules do not fit around the times when the courses take place. One such example is from an interview with Luisa who explains that, while she was growing up, her mother had no time for Luxembourgish courses, as she had to work and provide for her family during the times in which they took place (see extract 11).

An additional point is that although many participants have learnt Luxembourgish through language courses, they note that the opportunities for practising it are limited. The analysis indicates that they voice concerns about how little Luxembourgish they are able to use in their everyday lives due to the fact that French functions as a lingua franca

for many people residing and working in Luxembourg. As discussed in chapter five, a participant called Manuel describes how he even meets up with a language coach every week to practise Luxembourgish as he has no opportunities to speak it at work, with friends or with neighbours (see extract 13). Another important finding is that some participants wish to progress to a more advanced level of Luxembourgish, but that there is a highly limited availability of appropriate courses and materials. On the whole, the interviews reveal that many of the participants express a desire to progress with learning Luxembourgish, but that there are limited opportunities for doing so.

In addition to the process of language learning, there is the aspect of language testing, which is discussed in detail in chapter six. Part 6.1. illustrates how some of the participants perceive Luxembourgish as becoming an ‘endangered’ language. The analysis shows how they use words such as ‘endanger’, ‘disappear’, ‘cultivate’ and ‘preserve’ to describe how they understand the current and potential future status of Luxembourgish. It furthermore highlights how they discuss the possible consequences of Luxembourgish becoming an ‘endangered language’ and what sort of measures should be taken. One of the ways in which some of them argue this process could be prevented is through the maintenance of Luxembourgish language testing for citizenship.

The findings in chapter six also exemplify that the participants construct the Luxembourgish testing procedure in a variety of ways. Those participants who agree with the procedure discursively frame their arguments in similar ways to that in dominant discourse. One such example is provided from an interview with a participant called Melissa who constructs the 2008 law and language test as a way of ensuring a ‘standard’ is upheld for all applicants (extract 23). Those who challenge the procedure, on the other hand, claim that it is discriminatory and unfair. One of the main arguments against the

current language testing policy is the fact that Luxembourgish is currently the only language that is tested, despite the fact that the country officially recognises three languages. The arguments voiced in part 6.3., where the language testing procedure is contested by participants, signal a challenge to the current citizenship policy that is not frequently visible in the public sphere. The main point arising from these arguments is that language is perceived by some of the participants as a tool for the government to legitimately exclude certain people (see Kremer, 2014; Kremer and Horner, 2016).

The central finding related to language issues entails what the participants perceive to be gaps between language policy and practice. For example, although Luxembourgish is often portrayed in dominant discourse on migration and citizenship as an ‘acultural instrument’ or a language of ‘integration’ and communication readily available to everyone (see Horner, 2009b, 2015), it is regarded by some of the participants as a language that one is able to learn by attending a beginner’s course, but has yet to be transformed into a language that can be practised in everyday activities in Luxembourg, or even learnt at more advanced levels. Further, the analysis importantly shows that some of the participants challenge the idea of Luxembourgish being a language of ‘integration’ by claiming that this language is not equally accessible and available to everyone, everywhere (see Horner and Kremer, 2016 for an in-depth discussion on linguistic authority in the context of Luxembourg). The analysis is thus able to successfully highlight salient examples of how participants perceive discrepancies between the official language policy and language practice in everyday situations.

In addition to language, the aspect of ethnicity warrants discussion. The findings demonstrate that the participants negotiate ethnicity in a variety of ways. The analysis in part 5.1. highlights how some participants narrate experiences of exclusion. Two

participants, Angela (extract 6) and Isabel (extract 7), state that have been categorised as ‘foreigners’ by others because of the ‘foreignness’ of their names, which results in them being positioned as ‘foreigners’ by others. The analysis furthermore shows that even though both women describe these instances as negative experiences, this does not prevent them from constructing group belonging on their own terms. The analysis also highlights that other participants state that they do not consider themselves ‘real’ Luxembourgers. One such example is Nuno, who declares that he ‘feels more Portuguese than Luxembourgish’ because his parents are Portuguese. He also explains that he cannot describe himself as a ‘real Luxembourger’ (see extract 37). These findings are comparable to a study by Williams (2013), who has conducted interviews with second generation young adults with an immigrant background in Germany. Williams (2013) finds that the participants attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship and ‘Germanness.’ Williams (2013) demonstrates that some the participants report tensions in the ways in which they view themselves and how they think other people view them. He discusses extracts from interviews in which some participants reveal their experiences of having been called ‘foreigners’ in Germany, despite the fact that they grew up there. He also notes that although some of the participants identify as culturally German (e.g. feeling ‘at home’ in Germany), none of them identify as solely German. Those who identify as ‘German’ emphasise that they do not see themselves as ‘real’ Germans. He concludes that ‘Germanness’ has multiple dimensions for his participants, one cultural and achievable and the other ethnoracial and ascribed.

In this context, the work of Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004) as well as Jenkins’ (2008) is useful for elucidating the findings from both Williams’ (2013) and this study. As discussed in part 3.2., Jenkins (2008, p. 55) argues that ethnicity is always socially

constructed but that this interactional feature entails what he calls ‘internal’ (instances when members of a group indicate to other group members who they are) and ‘external’ (instances when a set of persons defines the other as something else) definitions. In part 3.2., Jenkins’ (2008) work is compared to Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004, pp. 20-21), who similarly note that there are different ‘types’ of identities: ‘imposed’ identities (which are not negotiable in a particular time and place), ‘assumed’ identities (which are accepted and not negotiated) and ‘negotiable’ identities (which are contested by groups and individuals). Blackledge and Pavlenko (2004, p. 20) furthermore explain that the negotiation of identities is an ‘interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups.’ The analysis thus highlights participants’ experiences of instances when other people have ‘imposed’ an identity onto them (e.g. ‘foreigner’). The analysis also illustrates the ways in which they resist these ‘imposed’ identities with which they cannot identify, and in doing so, it is possible to explore the different ways in which the participants attempt to negotiate ‘Luxembourgishness.’ In addition to issues pertaining to language and ethnicity, citizenship constitutes a key concept in relation to the findings, which demonstrate that the participants attach a wide range of meanings to this notion. The analysis in part 7.1. illustrates that some of the participants construct Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as linked to individual rights and responsibilities. One such example is from an interview with Birgit, who argues that she wants to become a citizen, ‘to be responsible, to have a voice, rights and responsibilities like all Luxembourgers’ (see extract 34). The language test is understood by many participants as a key part of these individual efforts which need to be fulfilled in order to be able to apply. The analysis in part 7.3. reveals that other participants view the 2008

law on Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as potentially excluding certain people from accessing legal citizenship rights. One such example is from an interview with a participant called Julia who regards the current legislation, which involves the formal testing of Luxembourgish, as a way for the state to exclude certain people. In this context, she argues that the government aims to demonstrate its power by granting citizenship to only those people who are able to pass the Luxembourgish language test (see extract 43).

The findings reveal that some participants understand citizenship more in ethnic terms (citizenship by common descent), whereas others do in civic terms (citizenship by birth right). The analysis highlights how some participants discursively construct the aspects of language and culture as central to Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ One participant called Filipe notes that to be a Luxembourger, one has to know ‘the culture and especially the language of the country’ (see extract 35). The analysis also shows that some participants challenge the idea that Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ is dependent on being able to prove knowledge of Luxembourgish through a language test. It furthermore underlines the ways that some participants consider Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ as linked to ‘political rights.’ Some of them argue that citizenship should be de-coupled from the ethnic sense of nationality. One such example is from an interview with a participant called Julia, who employs two different words, namely the Luxembourgish word ‘Nationalitéit’ and the French word ‘citoyenneté’, to signal her wish for citizenship to be de-coupled from the ethnic sense of national group membership. By employing the French word ‘citoyenneté’ to refer to legal, political rights, she is able to distinguish between these two different ideas (see extract 44). This example highlights the importance of paying attention to the different words participants use, which, as argued in the methodology chapter, is one of the aims of this study. The method chapter postulates

that certain words such as French ‘nationalité’/ ‘citoyenneté’ or the English ‘nationality’/ ‘citizenship’ are important for the analysis, which is why they should not be translated. Translating these words would potentially change the meaning or detract from the participant’s original intention. Julia’s example clearly demonstrates the value of taking a discursive approach to the construction of citizenship as it highlights the way in which she argues for a decoupling of citizenship from an ethnic sense of national group membership, which she argues, potentially facilitates people’s access to these political rights.

A final point worth raising in this section is the explicit attempt that some participants make to distance themselves from nationalism. One such example is from an interview with a participant called Bruno, who claims to identify more with the term ‘patriot’ than ‘nationalist’ (see extract 36). This is comparable to Billig’s (1995, pp. 55-57) discussion of the tendency for ‘patriotism’ and ‘nationalism’ to be seen as two separate things, which was discussed in part 3.2. of chapter three. ‘Nationalism’ is often seen as threatening and irrational, whilst being juxtaposed with ‘patriotism’ which tends to be perceived more positively. As discussed in the theoretical framework of this study, Nic Craith (2004, pp. 290-291) echoes this point by stating that a distinction is often made between ‘ethnic’ and civic’ nationalism. France is often cited as a country with ties to ‘civic’ nationalism meaning that it adheres to the principle of ‘culture-blind’ citizenship or citizenship by birth right. Germany tends to be perceived as the example of ‘ethnic’ nationalism and citizenship by common descent. Nic Craith (2004, pp. 290-291) argues that while these two ‘types’ of nationalism and understandings of citizenship are theoretically often considered as separate entities, they do not correspond to the reality of modern nation-states (Nic Craith, 2004, pp. 291-292). Drawing upon this scholarship, this

study has aimed to distance itself from distinguishing between different ‘types’ of nationalism. It has shown how the participants understand the word nationalism and how they position themselves different understandings of this notion.

8.2. Findings relevant to the European context

As mentioned in chapter two, Luxembourg was one of the founding members of the EU, which has undergone a wide range of transformations since its establishment. There have been various treaties such as the Maastricht Treaty and the Amsterdam Treaty, which have co-ordinated policy on different levels. In part 3.3., it was noted that many EU countries have implemented language and/or ‘integration’ tests as a means of creating transparency and uniformity in migration policies across Europe since the turn of the 21st century (van Avermaet, 2009, p. 15). These developments should be considered in the context of an emerging European public sphere and a growing consciousness of ‘Europeanness’, which are processes linked to globalisation (Delanty and Rumford, 2005, p. 9). Just as the concept of national identity is important for delineating the boundaries between Luxembourg and its neighbouring countries, European identity can be seen as a ‘generalised mode of self-understanding through which groups, whole societies and individuals define themselves and their relation to others’ (Delanty and Rumford, 2005, p. 55). Therefore, the main focus in this part is on mobility within the EU and the concept of EU citizenship, which illustrate how issues such as language and residency are central to the experiences of people affected by policy.

Chapter five in particular highlights how some participants reveal issues which influence their ability to move around as freely as others. In this context, a participant called Manuel explains how a variety of issues are impacting his ability to move. Although Manuel is a resident of Luxembourg, his narrative illustrates how his move to

Luxembourg triggered a lack of recognition of his educational achievements obtained in a non-EU country, thus resulting in him having to work shifts in a factory instead of putting his degree into practice. Moreover, his difficulties with learning Luxembourgish have barred him from passing the language test, which in turn would give him access to Luxembourgish 'nationalité' (see extracts 12 and 13). The analysis emphasises that the concept of the 'freedom of movement' is not equally distributed amongst those currently residing in the EU. For some people, the skills, languages or degrees that are regarded as prestigious in their countries of origin are not transferable to a new context. This, in turn, influences how quickly people are able to adapt to new countries. The findings provide important insight into how some people construct their experiences of mobility in the EU context.

Moving to new places not only brings expectations from those physically relocating. It also affects those who see themselves as established members of these places, as expectations are directed at the people moving into them. It is for example often anticipated that people should learn the national language or should behave according to certain standards. Language is one of the main tools with which countries are aiming to restrict people's movement within the EU. In addition to language, the concept of residency is important. Being able to prove official residency in the country is for example, one of the requirements for applying for Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' The participants of this study had to demonstrate legal residency in Luxembourg for seven consecutive years before lodging their application. For some participants these requirements were straightforward as they have secure jobs and have been living in the country for a longer period. For others, this aspect of residency is more complicated. One of the participants, called Paola (extract 41), explains that her son moved to another EU

country to study and work which means that he had to de-register with the authorities in Luxembourg and become an official resident in another EU member state. Paola states that her son's official residency registration in another EU country is now obstructing his application for Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' Another participant called Manuel explains that he cannot look for work in other EU member states as he needs to accumulate the seven consecutive years of residency in Luxembourg to have the right to apply for Luxembourgish 'nationalité.' He states that he eventually wants to move to other countries such as the U.K. for work, but cannot do so momentarily because he needs to stay in Luxembourg as a legal resident until his application has been approved (see extract 12). These examples highlight the reality of movement sometimes being discouraged due to policies at the level of individual states, despite the fact that movement is often encouraged beyond the borders of EU member-states. The findings of this study therefore indicate that there is a discrepancy between policy at the level of the EU and policies that are implemented on the national level.

In addition to the issues of language and residency, the aspect of European identity warrants consideration and is discussed briefly in part 7.2. A participant called Carol considers herself more 'European' than 'Luxembourgish' or 'British' (see extract 39). Her reluctance to identify with any of these 'national' labels is comparable to some of the other participants, who voice similar concerns. The findings of this study therefore also show that some participants prefer to position themselves as belonging to Europe, rather than identifying with the nation-state. In this context, Favell's (2008) work is a useful resource for explaining why some of the participants portray themselves as 'European.' In Favell's (2008, p. 103) research, which focuses on ethnographic observations and interview material with people whom he refers to as 'Eurostars', he explains that the

participants from his study use the term ‘European’ as a way of distancing themselves from the term ‘migrant.’ The latter term often acts as a discursive marker, which tends to be bound up with negative or unfavourable connotations.

The findings of this study corroborate Favell’s (2008) research, in that they illustrate how people discursively position themselves in different ways. Although the participants are not asked if they consider themselves ‘migrants’ (as opposed to Favell who asks his participants if they would describe themselves in that sense), identifying with the term ‘European’ emerges as an important marker of belonging. It can for example indicate membership in a post-national space, something that according to Favell (2008, pp. 17-18) is what the European Union is based upon: transcending the nation can be seen as part of the guiding ideal with the ‘trajectory of European modernity—the legacy of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism’ which means becoming post-national.

The debates on mobility, residency, language requirements and identity in the European Union point to the ways in which EU citizenship is a multi-layered concept. As discussed in chapter three, in theory, any person who has citizenship of an EU country is automatically an EU citizen. On paper, EU citizenship officially confers individuals with a number of rights including the right to move and reside freely within the EU, to vote for and stand in as a candidate in European Parliament and municipal elections, to be protected by the diplomatic authorities of any other EU country and to petition the European Parliament and complain to the European Ombudsman (EUROPA, 2015). Some scholars argue that the idea of EU citizenship should be viewed in relation to processes of ‘Europeanisation’ (Delanty and Rumford, 2005, p. 9). Other scholars see the idea of EU citizenship as a right conferred solely to those people who are paid workers within the EU. Weiler (1998, p. 13) suggests that the right to move freely, which is one

of the more important rights, is commonly only granted to individuals if they are paid workers, and not solely on the basis of being an ‘EU citizen.’ Parker and Catalán (2014, p. 381) maintain that the movement of people beyond the borders of the nation-state is not equal for all EU citizens. By focusing on ‘Roma EU citizens’ in France and Spain, Parker and Catalán (2014, p. 381) demonstrate that these people are often restricted in their movements. They claim that the granting of EU citizenship rights is therefore often dependent on the perceived ‘desirability’ of individuals. Building on the works of Weiler (1998) and Parker and Catalán (2014), the interviews analysed in this study reveal widely varying experiences of movement and mobility as well as access to citizenship. By applying a combined thematic and discourse analytical approach to in-depth interviews with people affected by policy, this study is therefore able to explore some of the discrepancies surrounding certain aspects of EU policy.

8.3. Summary of findings

The final part of this chapter discusses this study’s findings on mobility and immobility, language testing, the discourse of ‘integration’ and citizenship in relation to broader scholarship on these topics.

As argued in the theoretical framework, this study positions itself within scholarship which focuses on empirically analysing the complex and diverse ways in which people experience mobility and immobility. Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013, p. 190) for example argue that instead of referring to mobility as the freedom of movement, it should be considered rather as a series of ‘regimes of mobility’, which sees it as a potential ‘aspect of new confinements and modes of exploitation.’ On immobility, Mata-Codesal’s (2015, p. 2279) proposition to detach it from a passive decision which is forced upon individuals by considering the possibility that people might actively and deliberately

choose to be ‘immobile’, has also been influential in relation to the findings of this study. Chapter five in particular shows how people narrate experiences of the tensions between mobility and immobility through the topics of internationalism, work, travel, home/holiday. Central to the extracts discussed in chapter five is the aspect of choice, which is actively voiced by some of the participants in relation to their decision to ‘stay’ in Luxembourg as they enjoy living in the country (extracts 1 and 2). Chapter five also illustrates how other participants discuss the negative aspects concerning their lack of choice, indicating their feelings of powerlessness (extract 12). In highlighting these different complex aspects of how people discuss mobility and immobility, this study is able to contribute to empirically orientated scholarship on this topic, which has similarly suggested that these notions are experienced in multi-faceted ways by individuals.

The second point is related to language testing in the context of citizenship and migration policy. A central finding is that there is a variety in perceptions on the language testing measures. Part 6.2 illustrates how some participants support these measures in relation to gaining access to Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’. In this context, the analysis shows that some participants construct language testing as a ‘fair’ and ‘normal’ procedure. Part 6.3. highlights how other participants challenge these measures by describing them as ‘unfair’, ‘discriminatory’ and ‘socially selective.’ Furthermore, these findings are compared to the wider body of scholarship, which looks at different aspects of this specific manifestation of language policy. For example, Shohamy (2006, p. 55) maintains that language testing can be looked upon as a form of what she calls ‘language policy mechanisms.’ Scholars who analyse the concept of language testing focus in particular on the issues of validity and fairness. Tests are usually constructed as symbols of ‘success, standards, objectivity and merit’ and provide a way of perpetuating

dominance through ‘symbolic violence.’ In Bourdieu’s definition, symbolic violence is ‘the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate’ (Bourdieu in Jenkins, 1992, p. 104). It is argued that those subjected to the tests may trust and respect them as they have internalised the power they convey. In this context, Shohamy (2006, p. 55) suggests that these ‘language policy mechanisms’ often act as ‘powerful tools’ for influencing people’s behaviour, which are not challenged and resisted by individuals. In other words, she claims that individuals often comply unquestioningly with the demands of these ‘policy mechanisms.’ However, the findings of this study demonstrate that it is possible to highlight the complexities of how language policy is perceived by social actors. The findings saliently demonstrate that language policy affects people’s lives in many different ways, both positively and negatively. They also illustrate that there is both compliance and resistance to ‘language policy mechanisms’ such as language testing for citizenship.

The third aspect is related to the discourse of ‘integration’. Some scholars note that this word is used arbitrarily in dominant discourse on issues of migration and citizenship to encourage the normative behaviour of individuals. ‘Integration’ is often employed as the key to the solution concerning the ‘migrant problem.’ Blommaert and Verschueren (1998, p. 112) argue that ‘migrants’ are often implicitly characterised as ‘outsiders’, even if they have been living in the country for decades, or were born and raised there. Framed by this discourse, the only valid entry into the society is through a process of ‘integration’, controlled (and imposed) by the dominant group. The social dominance of groups is not only enacted individually by members of this group but is often also legitimated by laws, imposed by the police and perpetuated by the media. In

relation to the wording of ‘integration’, the findings demonstrate that the participants do not widely employ it. In fact, only four out of twenty-seven participants mention the word ‘integration’ or the verb ‘to integrate.’ Three of these four participants employ it as a way of portraying themselves as complying with the requirements for acquiring Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ One such example is from an interview with a participant called Birgit, who uses the verb ‘to integrate’ to portray herself (as the ‘outsider’) as having the ‘duty’ to conform in order to gain access to Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ (see extract 34). Only one participant called David employs the word ‘integration’ in a different sense. He uses the words ‘integration politics’ to describe what he perceives as the government’s ‘one size fits all’ policy, which requires individual applicants for Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ to learn Luxembourgish and pass a language test (see extract 30). In David’s extract, ‘integration politics’ is thus used as a way of criticising current citizenship policy. The findings therefore suggest that the participants use the word ‘integration’ and the verb ‘to integrate’ in two ways: first, as a way of complying with the dominant discourse of ‘integration’, and secondly, as a way of challenging it.

The fourth point of discussion pertains to citizenship. The analysis in part 7.1. illustrates that some participants understand citizenship according to individual responsibilities and duties. Gaining access to Luxembourgish ‘nationalité’ through a language test is perceived as part of this process. Part 7.3. emphasises how other participants discuss the fact that not everyone has equal access to the processes of acquiring Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ An important point underlined in part 7.3. is that the participants argue that current citizenship policy limits certain people from accessing their rights. On this note, it is helpful to return to the idea of ‘enacted’ citizenship (Isin and Saward, 2013), which was discussed in part 3.3.

Isin and Saward (2013) employ the term ‘enacted’ citizenship to underline how dominant constructions of citizenship are enacted and contested by individuals. They argue that a focus on individual discourses opens up opportunities to query the assertions of the courts and governments as the only claimants and driving forces in defining citizenship (Isin and Saward, 2013, pp. 9-11). As suggested by Isin (2013, p. 22) the ‘enactments’ can then be considered as ways for people to ‘perform their right to have rights by asking questions about justice and injustice.’ Isin and Saward’s (2013) work resonates with the findings of this study, as the analysis similarly illustrates how the participants ‘enact’ and challenge dominant constructions of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ By looking at citizenship ‘from below’, this study has been able to explore the different meanings that individuals, who are directly affected by policy, attach to it. This study suggests that citizenship should be seen as being ‘enacted’ in many different ways. Individual responsibilities such as learning a ‘national’ or ‘official’ language are just some of the aspects of ‘enacted’ citizenship. Through the analysis of interviews with people who have been directly affected by policy, this study demonstrates the heterogeneity and complexity of the ways in which citizenship is ‘enacted.’

A final key finding is the fact that some participants call for a separation of legal citizenship and ethnically informed interpretations of Luxembourgish ‘nationalité.’ Part 7.3. shows how they argue that the current conflation of citizenship and nationality potentially discriminates against certain people, as they are unable to access legal citizenship rights. The findings are comparable to Williams’ (2013) findings. Williams (2013), who has conducted interviews with second generation young adults with immigrant backgrounds in Germany, discovers that the participants similarly attach a wide range of meanings to citizenship. His findings also demonstrate that some the

participants suggest that citizenship should be separated from the ethnic sense of nationality. A comparison of both studies therefore shows that there are similar patterns in how the participants perceive citizenship and to what extent they differentiate it from nationality.

Through the analysis of interview material gathered from people who have been affected by policy, this study illustrates that the participants attach a range of meanings to citizenship. In addition to responding to the call for scholarship focused on perspectives on migration, citizenship and language policy ‘from below’, the study has applied a fine-grained discourse analytical approach combined with thematic analysis. This two-pronged approach to exploring issues of citizenship, migration and language policy productively contributes to the existing body of scholarship in multiple respects, as discussed in the context of this study. By taking such an approach, this thesis offers important insights into the complexities of how policy affects people’s lives and underlines the importance of combining observations from the areas of migration studies, citizenship studies and language policy.

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Appendix 1: Information Sheet

Appendix 1.1: Information Sheet English



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk
Date: 3rd November 2012

Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read this sheet and discuss it with me, Joanna Kremer, if you have any questions via email at: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

-What is the project's purpose?

This project aims to look at some of the issues of the 2008 law entitled 'loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise' which included the introduction of a Luxembourgish language test and dual citizenship. In the context of this law the project will ask the following questions: how do recent applicants feel about the legislation? About the language test? What effect does the legislation have on people's daily lives? And in their opinion, what does it mean to be a 'Luxembourger'? This study will ask recent applicants how they feel about the procedure and will analyse the interviews of those directly affected by this law.

-Who can take part?

If you are a recent or current applicant for Luxembourgish citizenship (since the introduction of the 2008 law) and are over 18. You don't have to have done the Luxembourgish language test since there are some exemptions. Furthermore, if you have been unsuccessful with your application and would like to take part you are welcome to do so. This project aims to interview 30 people between January 2013 and April 2014.

-What will happen if I take part?

You will be asked to participate in a 1-2 hour interview and might be asked for a follow up interview. The interviews will take place in either Luxembourgish, French, English or German. Joanna Kremer will do everything possible to keep the information gathered from you confidential. This includes choosing a pseudonym for each participant, anonymising date of birth, workplace, school attended and any other information that could be linked to the participant. If you do decide to take part you will be given a copy of the information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form before the interview starts. You will have the right to decline any uncomfortable questions and can withdraw from the interview at any time without having to give a reason and any negative consequences. The project leader is unable to provide remuneration for the interview or transport.

The interview will take place in a neutral environment easily accessible via public transport and will be agreed upon at a later stage between the participant and Joanna Kremer. The interview will be recorded with a voice recorder and the data will be stored on Joanna Kremer's university password protected computer. By signing the consent form you will be giving Joanna Kremer the permission to work with your anonymized data for transcription, analysis, presentations at conferences, teaching and publications. It is hoped that this study will shed new light on the citizenship debate and help understand the impact of this legislation on people's lives. If for any reason, you would like to make a complaint about the interviewing procedure please contact my supervisor, Dr. Kristine Horner, directly: k.horner@shef.ac.uk or +44 (0) 114 222 4909.

Appendix 1.2: Information Sheet French



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk
Date : 3. novembre 2012

Fiche informative

Vous êtes invité(e)s à participer à une étude. Avant de décider il est important de savoir de quoi il s'agit et pourquoi l'étude est si importante. Veuillez prendre le temps de lire cette page et si avez des questions, contactez-moi à l'adresse : jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

Les objectifs du projet:

L'objectif principal du projet est d'analyser les problématiques de la 'loi du 23 octobre 2008 sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise', qui comprend l'introduction d'un test de la langue luxembourgeoise et la double nationalité. En ce qui concerne cette loi, ce projet veut explorer les questions suivantes : comment les candidat(e)s récent(e)s considèrent-ils (-elles) la nouvelle législation? Comment les candidats jugent-ils (-elles) le test de langue luxembourgeoise? Quels effets cette loi a-t-elle sur la vie quotidienne des candidat(e)s? Selon les candidat(e)s, qu'est-ce-que cela signifie d'être un(e) 'luxembourgeois(e)'? Ce projet veut donc découvrir comment la procédure de demande est vécue et veut analyser les histoires de ceux et celles qui sont directement touché(e)s par cette loi.

-Qui peut participer?

Vous pouvez participer si vous êtes un(e) candidat(e) récent(e) de la procédure (à partir de l'application de la loi de 2008) et vous êtes majeur(e). Avoir fait le test de la langue luxembourgeoise n'est pas une exigence pour la participation, vu que certain(e)s candidat(e)s en sont dispensé(e)s. Même si vous n'avez pas réussi votre candidature, vous êtes invité(e)s à participer. Ce projet vise à interroger 30 personnes pendant la période de janvier 2013 à avril 2014.

-Qu'est-ce qui va se passer si vous décidez de participer?

Vous serez invité(e)s à participer à un entretien (1-2 heures) et il se peut qu'on vous demande de faire un deuxième entretien. Les entretiens se feront dans la langue de votre choix: luxembourgeois, français, allemand ou anglais. Joanna Kremer va faire tout son possible de garder vos informations confidentielles. Les mesures suivantes seront prises par Joanna Kremer: elle choisira un pseudonyme pour chaque participant et elle rendra anonyme la date de naissance, l'école visitée, le lieu de travail et toutes autres informations qui pourraient être reliées à vous. Si vous décidez de participer, vous recevrez cette page informative et on vous demandera de signer un formulaire de consentement avant de commencer l'entretien. Vous aurez le droit de refuser de répondre à des questions que vous considérez inconfortables et vous pourrez vous retirer de l'interview à tout moment, sans explication. Le chef de projet ne peut pas vous garantir de rémunération ni pour l'entretien ni pour le transport. Les entretiens seront organisés dans un endroit neutre, facilement accessible par le transport public et seront déterminés à une date ultérieure. L'entretien sera enregistré par un enregistreur vocal numérique et sera conservé sur l'ordinateur universitaire personnel de Joanna Kremer. Votre signature du formulaire de consentement donne la permission à Joanna Kremer d'utiliser vos données rendues anonymes pour la transcription, les analyses, leur illustration pendant des présentations de conférence, l'enseignement et les publications. Ce projet vise à éclairer le débat récent et à préciser les conséquences de la nouvelle législation. Si vous n'êtes pas satisfait de la façon dont nous avons conduit l'interview, veuillez vous adresser directement à ma directrice de thèse, Dr. Kristine Horner: k.horner@shef.ac.uk ou au numéro: +44 (0) 114 222 4909.

Appendix 1.3: Information Sheet German



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk
Datum : 3. November 2012

Informationsblatt

Sie sind eingeladen an einem Projekt teilzunehmen. Bevor Sie sich entscheiden mitzumachen ist es wichtig zu verstehen, um was es bei diesem Projekt geht. Bitte nehmen Sie sich Zeit um dieses Blatt zu lesen und eventuelle Fragen mit mir, Joanna Kremer, per Email zu besprechen: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

-Ziel des Projektes:

Dieses Projekt wird die Problematik des in 2008 festgelegten Gesetzes 'loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise' die die Einführung des luxemburgischen Sprachtests und der doppelten Staatsangehörigkeit enthielt, analysieren. Das Projekt will die folgenden Fragen stellen: Wie fühlen sich aktuelle Bewerber(-innen) im Bezug auf dieses Gesetz? Was denken Bewerber(-innen) vom luxemburgischen Sprachtest? Welche Auswirkungen hat dieses Gesetz auf das alltägliche Leben der Bewerber(-innen)? Was bedeutet es für die Bewerber(-innen) ein(e) 'Luxemburger(-in)' zu sein? Dieses Projekt wird die Meinung der Bewerber(-innen) zu dem aktuellen Bewerbungsverfahren fragen und ihre Geschichten analysieren.

-Wer kann mitmachen?

Sie können bei diesem Projekt mitmachen wenn Sie vor kurzem den Bewerbungsprozess für die luxemburgische Staatsbürgerschaft absolviert haben (seit der Einführung des neuen Gesetzes in 2008), oder gerade dabei sind und über 18 Jahre alt sind. Sie müssen nicht unbedingt den luxemburgischen Sprachtest gemacht haben, da es viele Ausnahmen gibt. Sie können auch bei einem negativen Ergebnis Ihrer Bewerbung mitmachen. Ziel des Projektes ist 30 Interviews von Januar 2013 bis April 2014 zu führen.

-Was wird bei der Teilnahme passieren?

Sie werden zu einem 1-2 Stunden dauernden Interview eingeladen und werden vielleicht zu einem weiteren Gespräch gebeten. Die Gespräche werden auf Luxemburgisch, Französisch, Englisch oder Deutsch stattfinden. Joanna Kremer wird die bestmöglichen Maßnahmen treffen um Ihre Informationen vertraulich zu behandeln. Diese Maßnahmen sind u.a. den Gebrauch von Pseudonymen und die Umbenennung von Ihrem Geburtsdatum, Ihrem Arbeitsplatz, Ihrer besuchten Schule und allen anderen Informationen die mit Ihnen in Verbindung gebracht werden könnten. Bei einer Teilnahme werden Sie eine Kopie des Informationsblatts bekommen und werden zur Unterschrift einer Einverständniserklärung vor dem Gespräch gebeten. Sie haben das Recht auf den Verzicht von möglicherweise unangenehmen Fragen und können jederzeit ohne negative Konsequenzen und ohne Angabe eines Grundes abbrechen. Es kann keine Vergütung des Gesprächs oder für Reisekosten angeboten werden. Die Gespräche werden in einem mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln einfach erreichbaren, neutralen Ort stattfinden und werden an einem späteren Zeitpunkt festgelegt. Das Gespräch wird mit einem Aufzeichnungsgerät aufgenommen und wird auf dem Universitätscomputer von Joanna Kremer gespeichert. Die Unterschrift der Einverständniserklärung gibt Joanna Kremer die Erlaubnis Ihre anonymisierten Daten zur Umschreibung, zur Analyse, für die Darstellung bei Konferenzpräsentationen, im Unterricht und für Publikationen zu benutzen. Es wird erhofft, dass dieses Projekt neues Licht auf die Staatsangehörigkeitsdebatte wirft und einen Beitrag zum Verstehen der Auswirkung der Legislatur leistet. Wenn Sie nicht zufrieden mit dem Vorgehen des Gesprächs sind, können Sie sich an meine Doktormutter, Dr. Kristine Horner, wenden: k.horner@shef.ac.uk oder +44 (0) 114 222 4909.

Appendix 1.4: Information Sheet Luxembourgish



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk
Datum: 3. November 2012

Informationsblatt

Dir sidd ageluede bei engem Projet matzemaache. Éier Dir Iech entscheed matzemaache, sollt Dir genau wëssen ëm wat et geet a firwat dës Studie esou wichteg ass. Huel Iech Zäit dëst Blatt ze liesen a wendt Iech bei Froen per Email u mech, dem Joanna Kremer: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

-D'Zil vum Projet:

Dëse Projet wert d' Problematik vum Gesetz vun 2008 'loi sur la nationalité luxembourgeoise', déi d' Aféierung vum lëtzebuergesche Sproochentest an der duebler Nationalitéit mat sech bruecht huet, analyséiere. De Projet wert ënnert anerem dës Froe stelle: Wéi fillen sech nei Kandidat(-inne) géigeniwwer vun dësem Gesetz? Wat denken d'Kandidat(-inne) vum lëtzebuergesche Sproochentest? Wat fir Auswirkunge huet dat neit Gesetz op d'Liewe vun de Kandidat(-innen)? An wat bedéit et fir d'Kandidat(-innen) e(-ng) 'Lëtzebuenger(-in)' ze sinn? Dëse Projet wert d'Meenung vun de Kandidat(-inne) zur Prozedur froen an d'Geschichte vun deene déi direkt vun der Legislatur betraff sinn analyséieren.

-Wie ka matmaachen?

Dir kënnst bei dësem Projet matmaache wann Dir firu kuerzem/oder nach amgang sidd d'lëtzebuenger Nationalitéit unzufroe (säit der Aféierung vum Gesetz vun 2008) an iwwer 18 sidd. Dir musst net onbedéngt de Sproochentest gemach hu, well et verschidden Ausnahmen ginn. Dir kënt och matmaache wann Dir bei Ärer Bewerbung net erfollegräich wart. D' Zil ass et fir 30 Leit vum Januar 2013 bis Abrëll 2014 z' interviewen.

-Wat geschitt beim Matmaache?

Dir gidd fir en 1-2 Stonnen Interview agelueden a gidd villäicht fir en zweeten Interview gefrot. D' Gespréicher sinn op lëtzebuergesch, franséisch, englesch oder däitsch. D' Joanna Kremer wert déi beschtméiglech Moosname huelen fir Är Informatiounen anonym ze halen. Dës Moosname sinn ë.a. d' Benotze vu Pseudonymen fir all Kandidat an d'Ëmbenennung vun Ärem Gebuertsdatum, der Aarbeschtsplatz, d'Schoulen an all aner Informatiounen déi mat Iech a Verbindung gesat kéinte ginn. Beim Matmaache kritt Dir eng Kopie vum Informationsblatt a gidd virum Gespréich gefrot d'Averständniserklärung z' ënnerschréiwen. Dir hutt d'Recht op onangenehm Froe ze verzichte a kënnst all Moment ouni negativ Konsequenzen an ouni Grond d'Gespréich ofbrieche. De Projetsresponsable ka keng Rémuneration fir den Interview oder den Transport ubidden. D'Interviews ginn op enger, vum öffentlechen Transport einfach ereechbarer, neutraler Platz organiséiert a gi méi spéit festgeluecht. D' Gespréich gëtt vun engem Ophuelgerät opgeholl a gëtt um privaten Universitëtskomputer vum Joanna Kremer gespeichert. D' Ënnerschrëft vu der Averständniserklärung gëtt dem Joanna Kremer d' Erlaabnis Är anonym Date fir d'Ëmschréiwung, der Analys, d'Duerstellung op Konferenze, beim Ënnerrichte an bei Publikatiounen ze benotzen. Et gëtt sech erhofft dat duerch dëse Projet d' Debatt kann anescht gesi ginn an dass e gréissert Versteesdemech vun den Auswirkunge vun dëser Legislatur erreecht gëtt. Wann Dir net mam Oflaf vum Gespréich zefridde sidd, kënnst Dir Iech direkt u meng Doktorsarbechtchefin, dem Dr Kristine Horner, wende: k.horner@shef.ac.uk oder um +44 (0) 114 222 4909.

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Appendix 2.1: Consent Form English



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

Consent Form

Project topic: Language, Citizenship and Identity in Contemporary Luxembourg

Name of Researcher: Joanna Kremer

Participant Identification Number:

Please initial box:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 3rd November 2012 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that Joanna Kremer will protect my privacy in every way that she can and she will keep my responses confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials because Joanna Kremer will take the following steps: choose a pseudonym for me and anonymise my date of birth, my workplace, my school attended and any other information that could be linked to me.

4. I give Joanna Kremer the permission to work with my anonymised data for transcription, analysis, presentations at conferences, teaching and publications.

5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher

Date

Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Copies:

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form and the information sheet. A copy of the signed and dated consent form will be placed in Joanna Kremer's main record, which will be kept in a secure location.

This project has been ethically approved via the School of Languages and Cultures ethics review procedure.

Appendix 2.2: Consent Form French



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

Formulaire de consentement

Thème du projet : Language, Citizenship and Identity in Contemporary Luxembourg

Nom de la coordinatrice de projet : Joanna Kremer

Numéro d'identification:

Paraphez, s.v.p.

1. Je confirme que j'ai lu et compris la fiche informative datée le 3 novembre 2012 expliquant ledit projet et que j'ai eu l'opportunité de poser des questions.

2. Je comprends que ma participation est volontaire et que je suis libre de retirer ma participation quand je veux sans indiquer une raison et sans conséquences négatives. Je peux refuser de répondre à des questions que je considère comme étant inconfortables.

3. Je comprends que Joanna Kremer va faire tout son possible de garder les données tirées de cette enquête confidentielles. Je comprends que mon nom ne sera pas mis en relation avec les données du projet parce que Joanna Kremer prendra les mesures suivantes : elle choisira un pseudonyme pour moi et elle rendra anonyme ma date de naissance, mon école visitée, mon lieu de travail et toutes autres informations qui pourraient être reliées à moi.

4. Je donne la permission à Joanna Kremer d'utiliser mes données rendues anonymes pour la transcription, les analyses, leur illustration pendant des présentations de conférence, l'enseignement et les publications.

5. Je confirme ma participation au projet décrit ci-dessus.

Nom du (de la) participant(e)

Date

Signature

Nom de la coordinatrice du projet

Date

Signature

Signé et daté en présence du participant

Exemplaires:

Le/la participant(e) doit recevoir une copie datée et signée du formulaire de consentement et une copie de la fiche informative. Une seconde copie datée et signée du formulaire de consentement sera gardée par la coordinatrice du projet dans un espace sécurisé. Ce projet a été approuvé par le conseil éthique de la School of Languages and Cultures.

Appendix 2.3: Consent Form German



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

Einverständniserklärung

Thema des Projektes: Language, Citizenship and Identity in Contemporary Luxembourg

Name der Projektleiterin: Joanna Kremer

Identifikationsnummer des (der) Teil-nehmers, -nehmerin:

Bitte ankreuzen:

1. Ich bestätige, dass ich das Informationsblatt vom 3. November, worin das Vorgehen dieses Projektes erklärt wird, gelesen und verstanden habe. Ich habe auch Gelegenheit gehabt weitere Fragen zu stellen.
2. Ich verstehe, dass meine Teilnahme freiwillig ist und dass ich jederzeit ohne Grund und ohne negative Konsequenzen aus dem Interview scheiden darf. Ich darf auch Fragen ablehnen, wenn ich diese als unangenehm empfinde.
3. Ich verstehe, dass Joanna Kremer die bestmöglichen Maßnahmen treffen wird um meine Informationen vertraulich zu behalten. Ich verstehe, dass mein Name nicht mit den Materialien der Forschung liiert wird, da Joanna Kremer diese Maßnahmen treffen wird: sie wird ein Pseudonym für mich aussuchen und mein Geburtsdatum, mein Arbeitsplatz, meine besuchte Schule und alle anderen Informationen die mit mir in Verbindung gebracht werden könnten umbenennen.
4. Ich gebe Joanna Kremer die Erlaubnis meine anonymisierten Daten zur Umschreibung, zur Analyse, für die Darstellung bei Konferenzpräsentationen, im Unterricht und für Publikationen zu benutzen.
5. Ich gebe meiner Teilnahme die Zustimmung.

Name, Vorname

Des (der)Teil-nehmers, -nehmerin

Datum

Unterschrift

Name, Vorname
der Projektleiterin

Datum

Unterschrift

Unterschrieben und mit Datum versehen in der Anwesenheit des (der) Teil-nehmers, -nehmerin

Kopien:

Der/die Teilnehmer(-in) muss unverzüglich eine signierte und mit dem Datum versehene Kopie der Einverständniserklärung und eine Kopie des Informationsblatts erhalten. Eine weitere Kopie der signierten und mit dem Datum versehenen Einverständniserklärung wird in den Akten der Projektleiterin gelagert.

Dieses Projekt wurde von der Ethik-kommission der School of Languages and Cultures akzeptiert.

Appendix 2.4: Consent Form Luxembourgish



Joanna Kremer
Postgraduate Student
Department of Germanic Studies,
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: jkremer1@shef.ac.uk

Averständniserklärung

Thema vum Projet: Language, Citizenship and Identity in Contemporary Luxembourg		
Numm vum Projetsresponsablen: Joanna Kremer		
Identifikatiounsnummer:	Är Inizialen w.e.g.:	
1. Ech bestätigen dass ech d' Informatiounsblat vum 3. November, wou dëse Projet erklärt gëtt, gelies a versta hunn. Ech hat och d'Geleegeheet Froen ze stellen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	
2. Ech verstinn dass ech fräiwëlleg matmaachen an dass ech zu all Moment ouni negativ Konsequenzen den Interview oofbriechen darf. Ech darf och desagreabel Froen verweigeren.	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3. Ech verstinn dass d' Joanna Kremer déi beschtméiglech Moosname wert huele fir meng Äntwerte anonym ze halen. Ech verstinn dass mäi Numm net am Zesammenhang mat de Materiale vun dësem Projet gesat gin well d'Joanna Kremer déi folgend Moosname hält: Si benotzt e Pseudonym fir mech an ännert mäi Gebuertsdatum, meng Aarbeschtsplatz, meng besichte Schoulen an all aner Informatiounen déi mat mir a Verbindung gesat kéinte ginn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4. Ech ginn dem Joanna Kremer d'Erlaabnis meng anonym Date fir d'Ëmschréiwung, der Analys, d'Duerstellung op Konferenze, beim Ënnerriichte an bei Publikatiounen ze benotzen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	
5. Ech ginn d'Erlaabnis fir mäi Matmaachen bei dësem Projet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	
_____	_____	_____
Numm, Virnumm vum (vun der) Kandidat (-in)	Datum	Ënnerschrëft
_____	_____	_____
Numm, Virnumm vum Projetsresponsable	Datum	Ënnerschrëft
<i>Ënnerschriwwen an datéiert an der Präsenz vum (vun der) Kandidat (-in)</i>		
<i>Kopien:</i>		
<i>De (d') Kandidat (-in) muss eng signéiert an datéiert Kopie vun der Averständniserklärung an eng Kopie vum Informatiounsblat kréien. Eng weider Kopie vun der signéierter and datéierter Averständniserklärung gëtt beim Projetsresponsable klasséiert.</i>		
<i>Dëse Projet gouf vun der Ethik-kommissioun vun der School of Languages and Cultures akzeptéiert.</i>		

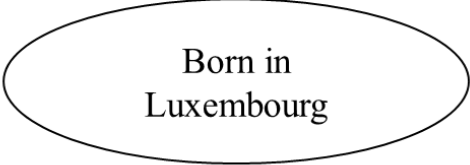
Appendix 3: Interview questionnaires

Appendix 3.1: Interview questionnaire English

1. Life history/getting to know the participant:

- What made you participate in the project?
- Where and when were you born? Where did you grow up?
- Did you go to school there? Work there?
- What do you do now? Work? Where do you go to school? Are you retired?
- Describe a typical day at work, at school, at home.
- -What are your responsibilities? What languages do you use?

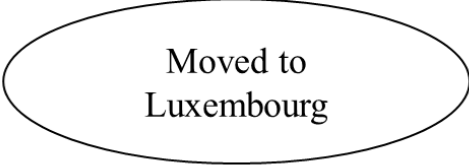
2. Life in Luxembourg



Born in
Luxembourg



- When did you move to Luxembourg? Why did you move? Did you move alone or with your family? Wife? Husband?
- How was this for you?
- How would you describe Luxembourg when you first moved here?
- How would you describe the country you were born in? Or the country you grew up in?
- How have these countries changed?
- How would you describe your life in Luxembourg compared to what it was like when you first moved here?
- How would you describe Luxembourg today?



Moved to
Luxembourg



- How would you describe growing up in Luxembourg?
- How would you describe your parents' background? Where did they come from? When did they come to Luxembourg?
- Do you ever visit your parents' country of origin(s)? What are your relations with people there? How does this compare to Luxembourg?
- Can you tell me about your experience of being in school? Finding a job?
- Do you think Luxembourg has changed compared to when you were in school?
- How would you describe Luxembourg today?

Let's talk about something new:

- Are you aware of the campaign 'Making Luxembourg'? (note to self: If not, show them a picture of the website and describe what it's about but explain that I am not connected to it)
- How would you describe your identity? (If the participant finds this hard: Could you describe your identity with three different words like in the campaign?)
- Do you feel Luxembourgish? Would you describe yourself as a Luxembourger?
- When you moved to Luxembourg, did you feel like people accepted/not accepted you either in Luxemburg/country of origin(s)?
- (If you do not consider yourself a Luxembourger, who is? Why?)
- According to you, what does it mean to be a Luxembourger?
- Are there times when you feel more ... than others?
- Is this something you have decided or has someone else told you so?)

3. Application procedure:

- Let's talk about the law of 2008, what do you think of it?
- At what point in your application are you?
- How long did it take to go through the procedure?
- Can you describe the steps to me?
- Did you have to complete a Luxembourgish language test? Or did you have to get any other special forms or attend any classes?
- If you had to complete the test, how was this experience for you?

- How do you feel about the fact that the Luxembourgish language test is part of the procedure?
- (Tell me about your experience of learning Luxembourgish)
- (How would you describe your Luxembourgish? How important is it to you to be able to speak and understand Luxembourgish?)

4. Citizenship:

- Why did you apply for Luxembourgish citizenship?
- Why did you apply now?
- What do you think citizenship means to others? What does citizenship mean to you?
- Do you think that it means different things to different people?
- Did citizenship mean something different to you before and after your application?
- Do you feel like being a Luxembourgish citizen has changed your life?
- What were your expectations before the application procedure? After?
- What has changed? Do you think this could change in future?
- Do you think that you are accepted as part of Luxembourg society now that you are a Luxembourgish citizen?
- Why not? Who influences this?
- Are there any aspects of the 2008 law that you would suggest changing?

Appendix 3.2: Interview questionnaire French

1. Questions à propos de vos origines:

- Quelle a été votre motivation pour participer à ce projet?
- Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e)? Pourriez-vous m'indiquer votre date de naissance approximative? Où est-ce vous avez grandi?
- Où est-ce que vous avez été scolarisé? Dans quel pays ou ville avez-vous travaillé?
- Est-ce que vous avez une occupation en ce moment? Ou est-ce que vous faites des études?
- Pourriez-vous me décrire une journée typique? (du matin au soir)
- Quelles sont vos charges au travail? Quelles langues parlez-vous au travail?
Dans la vie de tous les jours?

2. Vie au Luxembourg:

Déménagé (e) au
Luxembourg



- Dans quelle année êtes-vous venu(e) au Luxembourg?
- Pour quelles raison(s)? (famille, mari, femme?)
- Comment avez-vous vécu cette expérience? Et vos sentiments en ce moment-là?
- Comment décririez-vous le Luxembourg au moment où vous-vous êtes installé (e)s ici? Est-ce que vous avez remarqué des différences entre le Luxembourg et votre ou vos pays d'origine(s)?
- Comment décririez-vous le pays dans lequel vous êtes né(e)s? Ou le pays dans lequel vous avez grandi?
- Comment ces pays ont-ils changé depuis?
- A quoi ressemble votre vie au Luxembourg maintenant en comparaison avec votre vie à votre arrivée?
- Comment décririez-vous le Luxembourg d'aujourd'hui?

Né (e) au
Luxembourg



- Comment décririez-vous votre enfance au Luxembourg?
- Pourriez-vous me parler un peu de vos parents et leurs origines? Quand est-ce qu'ils sont venus au Luxembourg? Pour quelle raison?
- Est-ce que vous visitez le(s) pays d'origine de vos parents? Quel rapport avez-vous avec ce/ces pays? Est-ce qu'il y a des différences entre ce rapport et celui que vous avez avec votre famille au Luxembourg?
- Est-ce que vous pourriez me raconter vos expériences à l'école au Luxembourg?
- Est-ce que vous pensez que le Luxembourg a changé depuis votre enfance? Comment?
- Comment décririez-vous votre vie aujourd'hui?
- Comment décririez-vous le Luxembourg d'aujourd'hui?

Parlons d'autre chose:

- Vous avez peut-être vu la nouvelle campagne au Luxembourg qui s'appelle 'Making Luxembourg' où les habitants s'identifient en quelques mots.
- Est-ce que vous pourriez vous caractériser en 3-4 mots aussi? Comment voyez-vous votre identité?
- Est-ce que vous vous sentez luxembourgeois(e)? Décrivez-vous comme luxembourgeois(e)?
- Dans quelle mesure sentiez-vous vous luxembourgeois(e)?
- Quand vous-vous êtes installé(e)s ici, est-ce que vous aviez eu des expériences qui vous ont fait sentir que vous n'étiez pas acceptées?
- Si vous ne vous considérez pas comme luxembourgeois, qui est?
- Qu'est-ce que c'est pour vous, être luxembourgeois(e)?
- Est-ce que vous avez des moments où vous vous sentez plus ou moins ... ?
- Est-ce que c'est vous qui le décide ou c'est quelqu'un d'autre?

3. Demande:

- Parlons de la loi de 2008, qu'en pensez-vous? Comment trouvez-vous cette loi?
- Dans quelle phase de la demande êtes-vous?
- Depuis quand êtes-vous dans la procédure?
- Pourriez-vous me décrire les étapes différentes de votre demande?
- Est-ce que vous avez passé le test de langue luxembourgeois?
- Est-ce que vous avez suivi des cours pour apprendre le luxembourgeois?
Pourriez-vous me raconter votre expérience?
- Racontez-moi s.v.p. votre expérience de l'apprentissage du luxembourgeois.

- Quel est votre opinion sur le fait qu'un test de langue fait partie de la procédure?
- Comment décririez-vous le luxembourgeois que vous parlez? Pourquoi est-ce que c'est important pour vous d'apprendre luxembourgeois?

4. Citoyenneté:

- Pourquoi avez-vous fait une demande? Et pourquoi maintenant?
- Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire la nationalité ou 'la nationalité luxembourgeoise'?
Et pour vous? Et selon vous, qu'est-ce que cela veut dire la citoyenneté?
- C'est quoi exactement la citoyenneté/la nationalité?
- Est-ce que vous pensez que la citoyenneté/nationalité avait d'autres connotations avant votre demande? Et après?
- Est-ce que votre vie a changé depuis que vous êtes devenu un citoyen (une citoyenne) luxembourgeois(e)?
- En quoi votre vie a changé?
- Est-ce que vous vous attendiez à de tels changements? Avant votre demande?
Ou après?
- Est-ce que vous attendez encore les changements à l'avenir?
- Est-ce que vous pensez que vous êtes plus accepté(e)s au Luxembourg maintenant que vous êtes un citoyen (une citoyenne) luxembourgeois(e)?
- Pourquoi pas? Qui est-ce qui décide?
- Si vous pourriez, est-ce que vous proposeriez des changements à la loi de 2008?

Appendix 3.3: Interview questionnaire German

1. Kennenlernen des Teilnehmers/ Lebensgeschichte:

- Wo und wann sind sie geboren? Wo sind sie aufgewachsen?
- Haben Sie dort die Schule besucht? Oder gearbeitet?
- Wo arbeiten Sie jetzt? Wo gehen Sie zur Schule?
- Könnten Sie einen ganz normalen Tag beschreiben? ‚Von morgens... bis abends.‘
- Was sind Ihre Verantwortungen auf der Arbeit? Zu Hause? Welche Sprachen benutzen Sie?

2. Das Leben in Luxemburg:

Nach Luxemburg gekommen

- Wann sind Sie nach Luxemburg gekommen? Warum? Sind Sie alleine oder mit ihrer Familie gekommen? Mann? Frau?
- Wie war das für Sie?
- Wie würden Sie Luxemburg beschreiben als Sie hierhergezogen sind?
- Wie würden Sie das Land beschreiben in dem Sie geboren sind? Oder das Land in dem Sie aufgewachsen sind?
- Wie haben sich diese Länder verändert seit Sie hier sind?
- Wie würden Sie Luxemburg heute beschreiben, jetzt wo Sie hier schon seit ... Jahren wohnen?

In Luxemburg geboren

- Wie würden Sie Ihr Leben in Luxemburg beschreiben als Sie aufgewachsen sind?
- Wie würden Sie den Hintergrund Ihrer Eltern beschreiben? Von wo kommen Ihre Eltern? Wann sind sie nach Luxemburg gekommen?
- Waren Sie schon im Herkunftsland/ in den Herkunftsländern Ihrer Eltern? Wie würden Sie Ihre Beziehung zu diesem Land/den Menschen dort beschreiben? Wie würden Sie es mit Luxemburg vergleichen?
- Könnten Sie mir von Ihrer Erfahrung in der Schule erzählen? Auf dem Arbeitsmarkt?
- Würden Sie sagen dass Luxemburg sich verändert hat seitdem Sie in der Schule waren?
- Wie würden Sie Luxemburg heute beschreiben, jetzt wo Sie hier schon seit ... Jahren wohnen?

Kommen wir auf ein anderes Thema:

- Haben Sie schon von der Kampagne ‚Making Luxembourg‘ gehört?
- Wie würden Sie Ihre Identität beschreiben? (Könnten Sie mir in drei oder vier Wörtern Ihre Identität beschreiben wie in der Kampagne?)
- Fühlen Sie sich luxemburgisch? Würden Sie sich als Luxemburger beschreiben?
- Als Sie nach Luxemburg gekommen sind, hatten Sie Erfahrungen wo Sie sich von anderen nicht akzeptiert gefühlt haben? Oder in Ihrem Herkunftsland/Ihren Herkunftsländern?
- (Wenn Sie sich nicht als Luxemburger (-in) fühlen, wer ist ein (-e) Luxemburger (-in)? Warum?
- Was denken Sie macht einen zum Luxemburger, zur Luxemburgerin?
- Gibt es Moment in denen Sie sich mehr Luxemburgisch fühlen als andere?
- Wann nicht?
- Kam/ kommt das von Ihnen, oder haben Sie das Gefühl, dass andere es beeinflussen?)

3. Prozedur:

- Lassen Sie uns jetzt über das Gesetz von 2008 reden, was ist Ihre Meinung dazu?
- An welchem Punkt der Bewerbung sind Sie? Wie lange hat es gedauert?
- Könnten Sie mir die verschiedenen Stufen erläutern, die Sie bisher durchlaufen sind?
- Könnten Sie mir mehr von Ihrer Erfahrung mit diesem Bewerbungsprozess erzählen?
- Mussten Sie einen Sprachtest machen? Oder haben Sie vielleicht Kurse besucht?

- (Haben Sie Luxemburgisch gelernt? Wie und wann?)
- (Wie würden Sie Ihr Luxemburgisch beschreiben? Wie wichtig ist es für Sie Luxemburgisch zu sprechen?)

4. Citizenship:

- Warum haben Sie sich beworben?
- Warum erst nach 2008? Gibt es spezielle Gründe?
- Was bedeutet (zum Bsp) Staatsangehörigkeit? Was bedeutet es für Sie? (Oder im Luxemburgischen Kontext: ‚Nationalité‘?)
- Denken Sie, dass es verschiedene Begriffserklärungen dafür gibt?
- Denken Sie, dass es für Sie jetzt eine andere Bedeutung hat wie vor ihrer Bewerbung? Früher?
- Hat Ihre Bewerbung Ihr Leben verändert? Könnten Sie vielleicht ein Beispiel aus Ihrem täglichen Leben beschreiben und wie es sich verändert hat?
- Hatten Sie Erwartungen vor dem Bewerbungsprozess? Haben sich diese Erwartungen erfüllt?
- Denken Sie, dass Sie in Zukunft Ihre Meinung ändern könnten?
- Denken Sie dass Sie jetzt mit der luxemburgischen Staatsangehörigkeit mehr akzeptiert werden?
- Wenn nicht? Wer beeinflusst das?
- Was würden Sie an dem Gesetz von 2008 ändern, wenn Sie die Möglichkeit hätten?

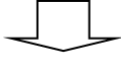
Appendix 3.4: Interview questionnaire Luxembourgish

1. Kenneléieren, d'Liewensgeschicht:

- Wou an wéini sidd Dir gebuer? Wou sidd Dir opgewues?
- Sidd Dir och do an d'Schoul gaang? Oder hudd Dir do geschafft?
- Wat maacht Dir am Liewen elo? Schafft Dir? Gidd Dir nach an d'Schoul? Sidd Dir an der Pensioun?
- Beschreift w.e.g. en typeschen Dag (vu moies bis owes...)
- Wat sinn Är Responsabilitéiten? Wéi eng Sprooche benotzt Dir?

2. D' Liewen zu Lëtzebuerg:

Op Lëtzebuerg geplënnert



- -Wéini sidd Dir op Lëtzebuerg komm?
Firwat? Sidd Dir alleng komm oder mat der
Famill? Mann, Fra?
- -Wéi war dat fir Iech?
- -Wéi géng Dir Lëtzebuerg beschreiwen wéi
Dir fir d'éischt heihi geplënnert sidd?
- -Wéi géng Dir dat Land beschreiwen wou
Dir gebuer sidd?
- -Wéi hunn sech Ärer Meenung no dës
Länner verännert seitdem Dir hei wunnt?
- -Wéi géngt Dir Lëtzebuerg haut
beschreiwe lo wou Dir scho ... Joer hei
wunnt?

Zu Lëtzebuerg gebuer



- -Wéi géng Dir Ärt Liewe zu Lëtzebuerg
beschreiwe wou Dir opgewous sidd?
- -Wéi geif Dir den Hannergrond vun Ären
Eltère beschreiwe? Vu wou komme si?
Wéini si si op Lëtzebuerg komm?
- -Wart Dir schon am Land vu wou Är Eltere
hirkommen? Wéi géif Dir Är Bezéihung zu
dësem Land/ den Menschen do beschreiwe?
Wéi géng Dir et mat Lëtzebuerg
vergleichen?
- -Wéi géngt Dir Är Erfahrungen an der
Schoul beschreiwe? Beim Job sichen?
- -Fannt Dir dass Lëtzebuerg sech verännert
huet seitdem Dir an der Schoul wart?wéi?
- -Wéi géngt Dir Lëtzebuerg haut
beschreiwe lo wou Dir scho ...Joer hei
wunnt?

Let's talk about something new:

- Kennt Dir d' Kampagne déi ‚*Making Luxembourg*‘ heescht?
- (Note to self: If not, show them a picture of the website and describe what it's about but explain that I am not connected to it)
- Wéi géing Dir Är Identitéit beschreiwen? (an 3-4 Wieder)
- Füllt Dir Iech Lëtzebuergesch? Géing Dir Iech als Lëtzebuurger(-in) beschreiw?
- (Wou Dir op Lëtzebuerg komm sidd, hat Dir jeemols eng Erfahrung wou Dir d' Gefill hat dass een Iech net akzeptéiert huet?)
- Wann Dir Iech net als Lëtzebuurger fillt, ween ass Ärer Meenung no e Lëtzebuurger?
- Wat heescht et Ärer Meenung no e Lëtzebuurger ze sinn?
- Ginn et Momenter wou Dir Iech méi ... fillt wéi aner Momenter?
- Ween décidéiert dat? Dir?)

3. Demande:

- Komm mir schwätzen iwwert dat neit Gesetz vun 2008, wat ass Är Meenung dozou?
- Wéi wäit sidd Dir mat Ärer Demande?
- Wéi lang huet et gedauert?
- Kënnt Dir mier déi verschidden Etappen erklären?
- Erzielt mir w.e.g. vun Ärer Erfahrung domat.
- Hutt Dir missten e Sproochentest machen, oder aner Dokumenter ofroen? Wéi war dat fir Iech?

- Wéi denkt Dir iwwert den Sproochentest? Fannt Dir et gudd dass dat gesetzlech festgeluecht ass?
- Erzielt mir vun Ärer Erfahrung mam Lëtzebuergesch léieren.
- Wéi géing Dir Ärt Lëtzebuergesch beschreiwen? Wéi wichteg ass et fir Iech Lëtzebuergesch ze schwätzen?

4. Citizenship:

- Firwat hutt Dir eng Demande gemach?
- Firwat elo?
- Wat bedeit Nationalitéit fir aner Leit, fir Iech? Huet et Ärer Meenung no verschidde Bedeitunge?
- Ärer Meenung no huet Nationalitéit elo eng aner Bedeitung wéi virun Ärer Demande?
- Huet dat Ärt Liewe verännert? Oder och net?
- Hat Dir Iech méi Verännerungen erwart?
- Mengt Dir dass Dir elo méi akzeptéiert gidd zu Lëtzebuerg?
- Firwat net? Ween seet dat?
- Wann Dir d'Méiglechkeet hätt fir d' Gesetz z'ännere, wat géing Dir ännere?