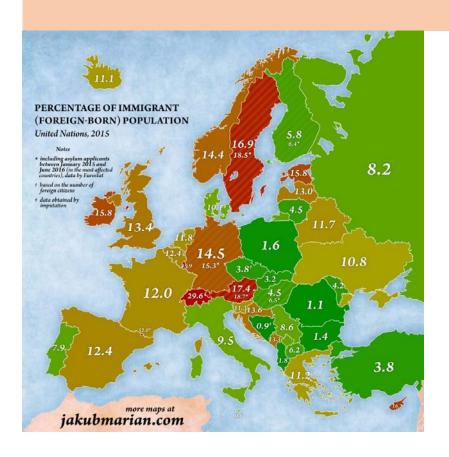
The Challenges of Immigration in a Small European State

Anna-Lena Högenauer

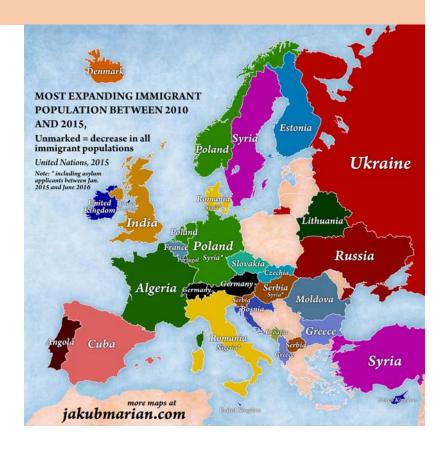
Map



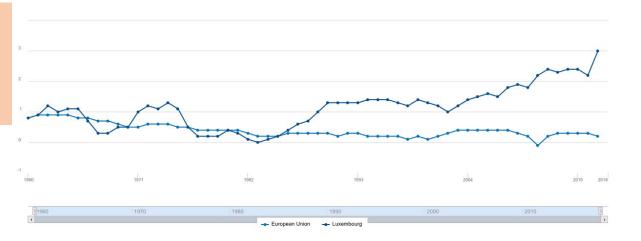


Map

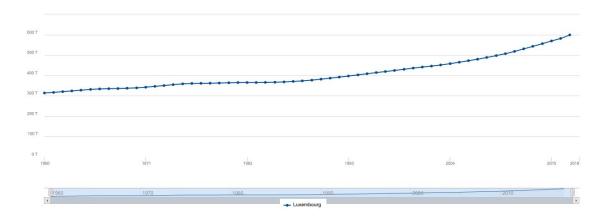




Population Trends



Series : Population growth (annual %) Source: World Development Indicators Created on: 04/01/2019



- Between 1841 and it is estimated that 72,000 (out of a total population of 212,800 inhabitants in 1891)
 left the country (http://luxembourg.public.lu)
- In the 20th century the population almost doubled from 260.000 to 500.000.
- This reflects the rise and fall of the steel industry (Luxembourg was at times the 8th largest steel producer in the world).
- In more recent decades, it reflects the rise of the banking, funds and insurance sector as well as activities that require highly specialized labor (e.g. IT sector).

Population Dynamics I

	1981	1991	2001	2011	2019	
Total population (x1000)	otal population (x1000) 364,6		439,5	512,4	613,9	
Luxembourgers	268,8	271,4	277,2	291,9	322,4	
Foreigners 95,8		113,0	162,3	220,5	291,5	
From: - Portugal	29,3	39,1	58,7	82,4	95,5	
- France	11,9	13,0	20,0	31,5	46,9	
- Italy	22,3	19,5	19,0	18,1	22,5	
- Belgium	7,9	10,1	14,8	16,9	20,0	
- Germany	8,9	8,8	10,1	12,0	13,0	
- UK	2,0	3,2	4,3	5,5	5,8	
- Other EU	10,6	6,6	9,2	21,5	38,2	
- Others		9,2	22,5	28,7	45,4	
Foreigners in %	26,3	29,4	36,9	43,0	47,5	

Based on Statec: https://statistiques.public.lu

Population Dynamics II

- The share of foreign residents has increased almost every year in recent decades and is almost at 50%. It decreased in 2018 by 0.5%. Why?
 - An increasing number of foreigners obtains the Luxembourgish nationality
 - This process has been facilitated by a recent change in the law (2017) that has reduced residency and language requirements
 - Brexit does not have much of an impact
- The vast majority of foreign residents come from Europe, although the share of non-Europeans is growing.
- In addition to the foreign residents almost 200.000 'frontaliers' who live in the surrounding countries work in Luxembourg.

Population Dynamics III

Naturalisations de la nationalité luxembourgeoise selon la nationalité d'origine 2010 - 2018	Total*
2010	4 311
2011	3 405
2012	4 680
2013	4 411
2014	4 991
2015	5 306
2016	7 140
2017	9 030
2018	11 885

Based on Ministère de Justice and Statec: https://statistiques.public.lu

*The largest groups of applicants are the French, Belgians and Portuguese

Population Dynamics IV

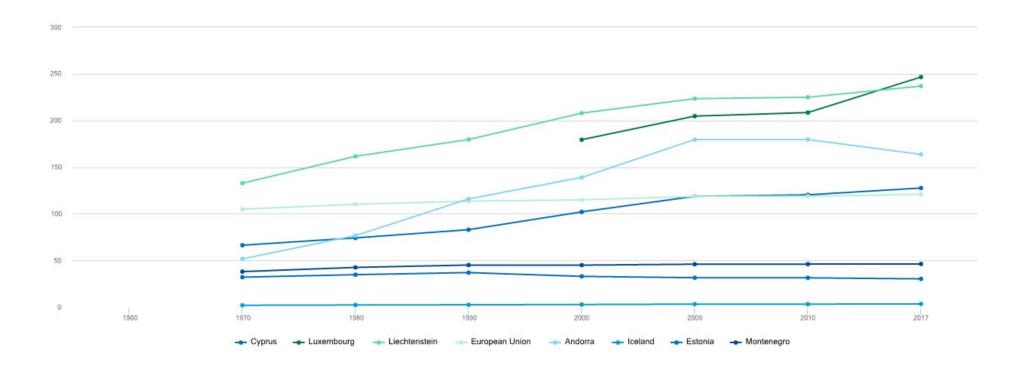
B3107 Travailleurs frontaliers occupés au Luxembourg selon la résidence et la nationalité (en 1 000 personnes) 1974 - 2017												
	1974	1980	1990	2000	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Résidence												
Belgique	5,7	7 5,7	7 12,3	3 25	38,4	39,4	40,1	40,7	41,5	42,6	43,6	44,9
France	4,4	4,7	7 16,6	3 48,3	75,1	77,5	78,7	79,7	82,2	85,9	89,9	94,6
Allemagne	1,3	3 1,5	5 6,4	17	38,4	39,7	40,3	40,9	41,6	42,6	43,7	45,1
Nationalité												
Belgique	5,3	3 5,2	2 10,8	3 22,8	34,2	35,1	35,3	35,4	35,6	36,1	36,4	37,2
France	4,1	1 4,5	5 15,7	45,7	71	73	73,9	74,4	76,2	79,1	82,1	85,6
Allemagne	1,3	3 1,5	5 6	16,1	34,6	35,6	36	36,1	36,4	36,8	37,2	38
Portugal					2,9	3,1	3,4	3,9	4,3	4,9	5,5	6
Autres	0,1	0,	1 1,7	4	3,7	4,1	4,5	4,8	5,4	6,1	6,7	7,5

Types of Immigration

- Most immigration to Luxembourg is employment-related. The economy has outgrown the national supply of employees for decades.
- In the first half of the 20th century and until the steel crisis, the steel industry was one of the major pull-factors and fuelled particularly Italian and Portuguese immigration.
- After the steel crisis, family reunification and the presence of a large minority still acted as pull factors for Portuguese migration.
- From the 1980s onwards, the financial sector and later the IT sector fuelled demand for high-skilled workers from around the world.
- Many immigrants from the early waves remained in Luxembourg, but the migrant population is nevertheless in considerable flux. Thus, in 2018, 24.644 people arrived in the country. But 13.985 left.

Challenges to Immigration (1)

- Economic growth and population growth led to a high density of population and high property prices.
- A growing number of Luxembourgers now move to the surrounding countries and commute to Luxembourg (from 3.300 in 2010 to 7.800 in 2017).
- For a number of decades, governments have failed to plan ahead and upgrade infrastructures (road, rail) and ensure an appropriate increase in the available housing. Thus, the main problems associated with migration lie in the socio-economic domain.



Series: Population density (people per sq. km of land area)

Source: World Development Indicators

Created on: 04/02/2019

Challenges to Immigration (2)

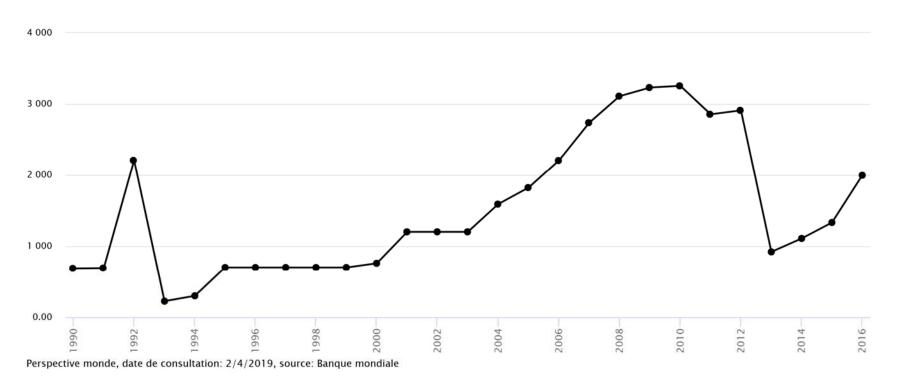
- Despite the high proportion of migrants and frontalier workers, the population coped with migration relatively well. This is probably due to the fact that many migrants come from culturally similar environments.
- The vast majority of migrants are European and for many decades were catholic -> the main change in this respect is that Luxembourg is also experiencing a decline in religiosity
 - According to a study by the PEW Research centre, in 2010, 70.4% of the population consider themselves Christian, 26.8% unaffiliated and 2.3% Muslim.
- However, the almost 50% of foreign residents combined with the almost 200.000 cross-border workers have led to fears that Luxembourgish (the first language of most Luxembourgers) might become marginalized.

Responses to Immigration

- On the one hand, the state relaxed the law on citizenship to make it easier for foreign residents to obtain Luxembourgish citizenship. This included lower language requirements for proficiency in Luxembourgish.
- On the other hand, in order to encourage better integration and to alleviate fears that
 Luxembourgish might become marginalized, the state has also expanded the provision of
 language courses through the Institut National des Langues, the Communes and private actors.
- The use of Luxembourgish in playschools and kindergartens has been strongly encouraged to facilitate the integration of the children of migrants, as well as the teaching of Luxembourgish in European and international schools.
- After decades of ignoring the consequences of population growth surpassing the growth in the housing sector and its impact on infrastructures (e.g. streets, public transport etc.), the state has tried to increase the availability of housing to counteract the steep increase in property prices and rents. But so far this has not prevented a rapid growth in property prices.
 - In the last national elections (2018), demands for less economic growth were made by several parties in response to concerns that the housing sector and infrastructural investments could not keep up with population growth.

- Many of the events and crises that may have impacted the migration policies of other countries were not as noticeable in Luxembourg.
- As the number of Muslims in Luxembourg is small and most migrants are European, the war against terror after 9/11 did not lead to changes in migration policies.
- Similarly, debates on integration and multiculturalism tend to be more about the question of language than the question of religion.
- During the Eurozone crisis, the Luxembourgish economy did briefly stagnate and the unemployment rate rose, but as the economy soon returned to a growth pattern, this did not turn into a major political challenge.
- Even the 2015 asylum crisis only had a moderate impact (cf. following slides)

Population de réfugiés (pays d'accueil), Luxembourg





https://www.worlddata.info/europe/luxembourg/asylum.php

The blue line represents asylum applications, the red line decisions to reject and the green line decisions to recognize the applicants as refugees

- Many applications for refugee status resulted from the Yugoslav and Kosovo wars, and applications continued throughout the 2000s.
 Applications from Kosovo, Bosnia, Montenegro and Serbia were the most common applications until 2015.
- In 2017 in response to a new rise in applicants from the Balkans, an ultra-accelerated procedure was introduced for this group of applicants, to deter applications. Applications from these countries now normally result in rejections (this is reflected in the numbers for 2010 onwards, cf. graphs).

- After the rise in asylum applications in 2015/2016, the discourse briefly switched to crisis mode mostly in Terms of finding accommodation and managing the rise in applications.
- However, in recent years, the number of accepted applications for refugee status has increased sharply, as the biggest applicant groups are now from Syria, Iraq and Eritrea.
- However, compared to the total number of incoming persons (24.644 for 2018), the number of applicants for refugee status is not that high (around 10% of the total) and the number of accepted applications is lower.

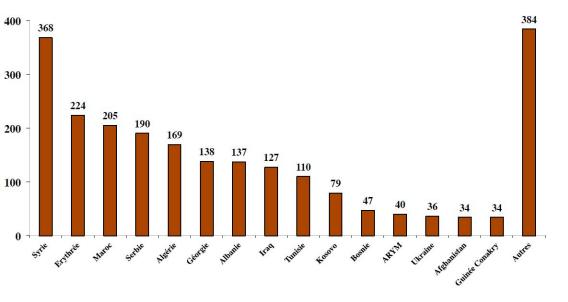
- Since 2016, the focus lies on longer-term integration measures and policies.
- In this regard, the national agency responsible for the reception and integration of foreigners (OLAI) introduced Guided Integration Trail (parcours d'intégration accompagné - PIA). It is compulsory for all adult applicants for international protection and has a linguistic and civic component.
- Although increasing housing capacities for the reception of applicants for international protection was a priority, it was also a challenge.
 - lack of affordable housing on the private
 - Increasing numbers of beneficiaries
 - Persons who had been issued a return decision remained housed in structures of OLAI.
- Plans to construct modular housing (e.g. Container villages) met with the resistence of residents who appealed to Luxembourg's First Instance Administrative Courts to annul the land-use plans related to the projects.

- In April 2017, a 'semi-open return structure was put in place, from which people are transferred to the member states where they asked for asylum, in accordance with the Dublin regulation. Due to home custody (assignation à résidence), it is an alternative to detention by national authorities. Parts of civil society reacted critically
- Public outcry during the adoption the Law of 8 March 2017, which extends the permitted period of detention of adults or families with children from 72 hours to 7 days, in order to improve the organisation of the return.
- Luxembourg's National Employment Agency (ADEM) set up a "cellule BPI" (beneficiaries of international protection cell) in its Employer Service in early 2017 to support employers in hiring recognized refugees.

- The government's intention to legislate on face concealment also led to public debate. Bill n°7179 aims to modify article 563 of the Penal Code and to create the prohibition of face concealment in certain public spaces. The debate focuses among other things on the need for legislation, as there are very few cases of face concealment in Luxembourg.
- As the trilingual environment is a challenge for migrant children, the education authorities continued to diversify Luxembourg's offer in education and training, e.g. by offering more alphabetisation courses or basic instruction courses. The Minister for National Education has increased the international and European school offer.

Demandeurs de protection internationale

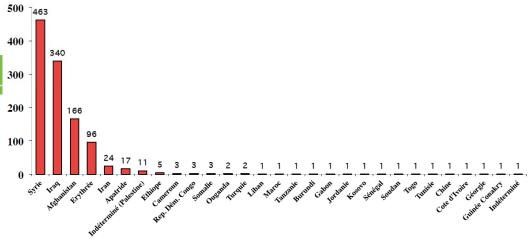
Pays de provenance des DPI au cours de l'année 2017



Source: Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Direction de l'Immigration © CEFIS

Demandeurs de protection internationale

Détail par nationalité des personnes ayant bénéficié du statut de réfugié au cours de l'année 2017



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Conclusion: Prospects

- As long as economic growth continues, Luxembourg is likely to rely on high levels of immigration.
- This will continue to put pressure on infrastructures, transport and the housing market.
- It will also increase the pressure on the education system and fuel the language debate.
- One growing challenge is that the proportion of non-European migration increases, and thus there may be new cultural challenges arising in the future.