Mobilities and Transnationalism in the 21st Century
University of Iceland
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Elke Murdock,
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Parallel Sessions 4: 30.04.2019
Inclusive society on the margins

Multicultural society –
multiple ways to negotiate identity
Elke Murdock
Outline

- Macro  Preamble
- Meso  Multi-cultural context of Luxembourg
- Micro  Experiential level – selected findings from 3 empirical studies focussing on different aspects of national identity construal in the multicultural society of Luxembourg.
  - Study 1) Bicultural identity in multicultural context
  - Study 2) Friendship networks in a multicultural context
  - Study 3) Ingroup - Hierarchy of authenticity?

- Summary and conclusion
Preamble

- Florian Illies – 1913
- End of an era – new era?
  - Stefan Zweig – End of the era of stability
  - Robert Musil – Begin of the era of haste
  - Being ruled by the watch – technology/ electricity dictate pace of life
  - Questioning of values
    - Desorientation and Stress
    - outbreak of “Neurasthenie”

- Uncertainty
Themes - Super-diversity

- Complexification, acceleration of changes and increased fluidity of societies:
  - Diminishing role of coherent cultural systems and traditional institutions, important for the maintenance of social order and cohesion e.g.
    - Conventional family
    - Life-long socio-occupational roles
    - Institutionalized religion
  - Globalisation, interconnectedness and transnationalism
  - Rapidly rising inequalities and changing demography

Meso: Luxembourg

- Territorial dimensions: 82 km (N-S), 57 km (E-W)
- Population: 614000 (1/2019)
  - Foreign population: 47.5%
- Tri-lingual (LU, FR, DE)
- Current borders established 1839
- Rapid change from being a country of *emigration* to a target country for *immigration*
Immigration rate per 1000 inhabitants:

Immigrants, 2017

Source: eurostat – migration and migration population statistics, March 2019
Luxembourg Population Split 2018

Source: Statec 2018
Demographic Profile

- Immigration waves: 2\textsuperscript{nd} generation and recent migrants
- Daily commuters (approx. 120,000)
- Regional variations in terms of demographic make-up
- Older more homogeneous group versus younger more heterogeneous group
- Increasingly complex biographies (offspring of mixed national parents)
- **Super-divers** (Vertovec, 2007)

Outline

- Macro - Preamble
- Meso - Multi-cultural context of Luxembourg

- **Micro - Selected findings - empirical** studies focussing on different aspects of national identity construal in the multicultural society of Luxembourg.

- Summary and conclusion
Study 1) Organization & experience of nationalities in MC context

- N = 204 students at European School II, Luxembourg
- Questionnaire study
  - n = 110 Male, n = 91 Female
  - $M_{Age} = 15.2$ years; $SD = .84$
  - Strong Language Focus: min = 3; Mean No: 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Birth Mother/Father:</th>
<th>Country of Birth Student</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>same</td>
<td>LUX 46</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not LUX 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>different</td>
<td>LUX 51</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not LUX 47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Count 97</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of Total 48%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where do they come from?

Country of Birth - Mother
No of countries: 44

- IT: 17%
- DK: 13%
- BE: 6%
- EL: 6%
- DE: 6%
- EN: 6%
- FR: 3%
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Self-Definition measure:

- When people ask you *What is your nationality?* How do you answer the question?
  
  I am .................................

- Completed by ALL N = 204 students
Results: I am ...

- Monocultural: N = 105 (Greek, Tchèque ...)
- Multicultural: N = 99:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories:</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Examples:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;and&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>English and Danish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greek and a little bit Australian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%age</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2/4 Luxemburger, 1/4 Deutscher, 1/4 Italiener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>halb Deutsche, halb Italienerin (manchmal umgedreht, je nach Situation, Ort und Person, mit der ich spreche)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Francaise (50%), Italiene (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;stroke&quot;</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Portugais - Coréen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Franconéerlandaise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality plus reference to Luxembourg:</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Danish, but I live in Luxembourg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from Malta, but I live in Luxembourg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to origin other than Luxembourg:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>English, sometimes I mention I'm French, but rarely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welsh, descendent from Scotland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Multicultural group:

- High Blendedness: Consider themselves as a *mixture* of nationalities
- High **Pride** in having > than 1 nationality
- Being pluricultural is considered an **advantage**:

  I think being multicultural or growing up in a multicultural environment brings an extra quality, opportunities, dimensions. I feel myself, because of this, open-minded to people form other countries, cultures. A very positive fact, about being in a multicultural school is, that you don't fear to speak to people from different nationalities and have the reflex to start the conversation in English. **It doesn't mean, that you loose your culture, but don't exclude each other, you are simply open-minded to others.** German/ French student
Nationality plus Lux – most conflicted group cont.:

- Emotion: strong experience of never belonging («always the foreigner»):

  *Both my parents are Danish, but I'm born here in Luxembourg, so Denmark is not really my home, neither is Luxembourg.* Danish student

  *Ich bin immer der Ausländer.* *(I am always the foreigner).* Austrian/ Iranian student

  *I know that living in another European country is an advantage for my future and my opportunities, but I can't identify myself anywhere. I never know where I belong.* Italian student
Being Bicultural? I am fine your problem!

My mother is German, my father British, I was born in England, but I grew up in Luxembourg. You decide!

If not any of those, then Luxembourgish

British-German student.
Study 2) Friendship networks – class composition

- $N = 86$ students attending 4 different classes at a Secondary School in Luxembourg
  - $n = 46$ (54%) male
  - $M_{AGE} = 16.45$, $SD = 1.09$ (min = 14, max = 18)
  - $n = 68$ (80%) born in Luxembourg
    - Country of births others: 12 in Portugal, rest in France, Albania, Serbia
Nationalities - students

First nationalities \((n=85)\)

- PT: 28%
- LUX: 51%
- Montenegro: 4%
- Montenegro: 1%
- Kosovo: 1%
- SWE: 1%
- Albania: 1%
- NL: 1%
- UK: 1%
- FR: 1%
- IT: 6%
- GRO: 5%

Second nationalities \((n=24)\)

- PT: 12
  - Montenegro: 3
  - FR: 2
  - LUX: 1
  - IT: 1
  - PL: 1
  - NL: 1
  - Kosovo: 1
  - Serbia: 1
  - Uruguay: 1
## Migration Status - Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lux</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>FR</th>
<th>Monténégro</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>Kosovo</th>
<th>SWE</th>
<th>Albania</th>
<th>Bosnia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>1st Generation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Generation</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total in %</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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</table>
## Acculturation – Enculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents:</th>
<th>Migration Status</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native</td>
<td>2nd Generation</td>
<td>1st Generation</td>
<td>1 Parent</td>
<td>Lux</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mono LUX</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mono</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
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Language competence

Luxembourg language

- 33% very poor
- 21% poor
- 45% good

Mother tongue

- Mother tongue 1
- Mother tongue 2 (n = 17)

Categorical data for language competence and mother tongue.
Language spoken with parents

[Bar chart showing the percentage of parents speaking different languages with their children. The chart includes languages such as Lux, Lux/FR, Lux/Serb, Lux/Fr/De, PT, PT/FR, PT/Lux, PT/Fr/Lux, PT/Fr/Sp, Serb, Sp, Alb, Bos, Ft, Fr/Cro, Fr/PT, Mont, Mont/Lux, Mont/De, Jugo, Jugo/Lux, Kos, NL, IT, Dei/Lux, En/It/Lux.]

Lux: 23%
Lux/FR: 30%
Lux/Serb: 30%
Language spoken with friends:

Language spoken with best friend

- Lux only n = 54
- Lux plus 1 other
- Lux plus 2 other
- non-Lux n = 5
## Language use & Migration Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migrant Status</th>
<th>Language spoken with friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lux only</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Generation</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Generation</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
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Conclusions Study 2:

- Multicultural context – *experiential* reality for adolescents growing up in Luxembourg
- “Natives” in the minority – dominant immigrant group plus heterogeneous immigrant group
- Minority – Majority fluid – depending on criteria
- **Unifying role of Luxembourg language**
- Heritage languages – (still) spoken at home
Study 3) Hierarchy of authenticity?

- To what extent do lineage based factors (*ius sanguinis*) versus residence based factors (*ius soli*) play a role in defining a “typical Luxembourger”?

- **Hypothesis:**
  - Luxembourgers with migration background place less importance on lineage based factors.

Study 2) Luxembourg Identity – lineage versus life

- **Sample N = 313**
  - $M_{Age} = 25.4$ \(SD_{Age} = 9.5\)
  - 64% female

- **Measures:**
  - Typically Luxembourgish?
  - 15 items – Likert Scale 1 – 5
  - Lineage
  - Active life (school, language(s) etc.)
  - Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 Groups in Lux based on:</th>
<th>CoB Participant</th>
<th>CoB Parent 1</th>
<th>CoB Parent 2</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st}) Generation</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>2(^{nd}) Generation</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>other</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Not-Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td>Lux</td>
<td></td>
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- **9 Vignettes:**
  - Country of birth of person
  - Country of birth of parents
  - Current country of Residence
Results: Typically Luxembourgish Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Speaking Luxembourgish fluently</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>0.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Living in Luxembourg and having obtained Lux citizenship</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>1.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Gone to school in Luxembourg</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>1.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Fluency in Lux, DE, FR</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td>5. Being born in Lux</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>1.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Living in Lux and getting involved politically</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Move abroad, get experience and come back</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>1.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Living in Lux and get involved in Clubs etc.</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Having at least one Lux parent</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Both parents born in Lux</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Working in Lux</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.41</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Being born in Luxembourg, but living abroad</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Living in Luxembourg without Luxembourg citizenship</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>1.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Having a Lux partner</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>1.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Having never left Luxembourg</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>1.04</td>
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Typically Luxembourgish – differences between the 4 groups:

- Parents born in Lux
- At least one parent born in Lux
- Living in Lux and getting involved in clubs
- Living in Lux and being politically active
- Having a Lux partner
Summary: Ius sanguinis versus Ius soli?

- Individual experience influences perception of “typical Luxembourgish identity”:
  - For natives, lineage is more important to define the “typical Luxembourger” than for the 2nd generation.
- Hierarchy of criteria: In the absence of other information – lineage is used to rank “typicality”
- Importance of language for Luxembourg identity:
  - Luxembourgish
  - Fluency in the 3 national languages
Super-diversity – demographic reality

- Binary Language of using minority/majority; us/them; dominant/non-dominant => Not appropriate
- Absence of coherent majority culture
- Complex biographies
- Challenge of diversity:
  - Context that allows inclusive identities
  - Functional challenge: Housing, Schooling, Employment
- Importance of variables such level of education, language, gender, legal status, length of stay

Final Conclusions:

- Receiving society: (multi-)cultural composition is constantly changing.
- Culture contact: Questioning of “national identity” and “typicality” and “who we are”. Multicultural societies continuous challenge to the comfort zone. Work!
- National identity construal – primordial or socially constructed? Lineage (exclusive category) – used in absence of other orientation.
- Individual’s *experiences* guide national identity construal – influences the criteria used for the hierarchy of authenticity
- Luxembourg – specific: central role of Language
  - Luxembourgish
  - Multilingualism
Thank you for your attention!

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