**Migration Patterns in Luxembourg**

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, European countries are receiving increasing numbers of migrants from many different origins. Luxembourg hosts a growing number of people of foreign background, including 1st and 2nd generation immigrants, expatriate employees with temporary working contracts, international students, and daily commuters from the neighboring countries who are employed in Luxembourg (Eurostat, 2011). It is estimated that Luxembourg hosts a much higher proportion of foreigners in its population than any other European country (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2003). Immigrants are coming from 170 different European and non-European countries (see figure 1). According to statistics, the country has a foreign population percentage of 48% within a total population of 602,005 inhabitants. Forty-eight percent of the inhabitants do not have Luxembourgish citizenship although the number of foreigners who obtained the citizenship through naturalization has greatly increased. In 2017, 4980 residents of foreign origin applied for the Luxembourgish citizenship (STATEC, 2018).

Luxembourg has not always been a target country of migration. In the past, it used to be a country of emigration and foreign sovereignty. Before the 19th century, it was a poor agricultural country with undefined territorial borders (Murdock, 2016). Its economic development was highly dependent on the neighboring sovereign states. The situation changed significantly after the Treaty of London, in 1839, when the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg became a sovereign state for the first time with a population of 170,000 inhabitants. Sovereign independence together with the development of the steel industry created new opportunities for economic growth. As a result, an unprecedented flow of migrants started arriving in the country during the 19th century.

Over the years, the country has experienced different waves of migration, which can be distinguished by ethnic origin, purpose of migration, length of stay, and professional qualifications (Murdock, 2016). Specifically, two different types of migration were observed: 1) economic migration and recently 2) forced migration, which was the outcome of conflict or disaster induced displacement.

**Economic migration.** During the 19th century, several groups of immigrants arrived in Luxembourg to work for different types of industries. It was estimated that in 1910, immigrants already made up 15.3% of the country’s population (Government Brochure, 2008).The majority of them were of European origin.The first wave of immigrants arrived inthe early 19th century and consisted of Italian and German temporary labor workers who were recruited to work as farmers or in the iron industry.

The second migration wave was observed after the Second World War and characterized by more permanency (Murdock, 2016). Foreigners of Italian origin working on the iron and steel industry and Portuguese construction workers constituted the vast majority of this migrant population. A large number of Italian immigrants had arrived in the country by 1970 and up until the decline of the steel production but after some years the percentage of Italian immigrants living in Luxembourg decreased. The onset of Portuguese migration in Luxembourg dates back to the 1960s (Turner, 2015). The main motive for migration was economic. Portuguese migrants were offered guest worker agreements to stay with their families in Luxembourg. In addition, Cape Verdean citizens were able to immigrate in Luxembourg under a Portuguese passport, before their country gained independence. Immigrants of Portuguese origin were mainly employed in the construction industry in the beginning. The number of Portuguese immigrants gradually increased and they are still the principal migration group, with a population percentage of 37%. They represent more than a third of the total non-national population (Zahlen, 2016).

During the twentieth century and after Luxembourg entered the European Union, different migration waves arrived in the country. These migration waves are characterized by semi-permanence residence. Some of them were expatriate employees from European countries, mainly employed in the financial sector, who would stay until the end of their contract but also employees residing in the neighboring countries France, Belgium, and Germany who only spend their working day in Luxembourg. However, the demographic composition of the immigrant population is constantly changing. Since 1981, many non-European migrants from both highly developed and developing countries in Asia, Africa, and America started seeking employment in Luxembourg. Between the years 1981 to 2011 the percentage of non-European working immigrants has risen to 13% (STATEC, 2015).

**Forced migration** is a rather recent phenomenon. In the early 1990s, 2,000 asylum seekers mainly from Bosnia Herzegovina entered the country. Ever though there was no official asylum legislation at this time, they were allowed to stay and seek employment with the possibility to become permanent residents eligible for naturalization after 5 years (Kollwelter, 2017). After the Kosovo war Luxembourg received many applications for asylum from citizens of Balkan countries. Some of them were granted permission to stay Luxembourg. In 2001, a new campaign was launched to legalize asylum seekers that have been previously rejected. A number of 2,007 asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia were granted permission to stay while other asylum seekers and undocumented migrants were requested to leave the country (Kollwelter, 2017). In this case financial compensation was given. The number of refugees and asylum seekers entering the country has increased again after 2013. Since the beginning of the refugee crisis in Europe, more refugees from non-European countries (e.g. Syria, Irak) started arriving in Luxembourg. **The Immigrant Population Today**

Nowadays, Luxembourg is one of the most important investment fund centers in the world and the financial sector is a major source of economic growth, attracting a large number of employees with migratory background. The number of people employed at the financial sector rose to 44,9993 by the end of 2015 (CSSF, 2016, annual statistics). The foundation of European institutions (i.e. European Parliament, European Commission) has attracted several highly educated expatriate employees who work within the legal field, in translations, information and communication technology, managerial, and administrative positions. In addition, the University of Luxembourg which was founded in 2003 has offered employment in foreign researchers from various fields and attracted a large number of international students. Today, around 6,366 students from all over the globe attend university programs and 850 scientific and research staff members are employed at the University supporting 242 professors and lecturers in their teaching.

The number of foreign residents is increasing every year. During 2017 the country received 24,379 more immigrants from European (43.1%) and non-European countries (4.8%). (STATEC, 2018). The foreign residents are younger than the local citizens. The average age of foreign women is 37 years while for Luxembourgish women is 42.8 years. The average age of foreign men is 36.9 while the average age of Luxembourgish men is 40.3. Since 2014, the majority of incoming immigrants is from France (18.6%), followed by Portuguese who still form the biggest immigrant community in Luxembourg, representing 16% of the immigrant population. The percentage of Italian immigrants arriving in the country has also increased to 9.9%. Belgians and Germans represent two other dominant immigrant groups. In 2017, the estimated immigration rate for Belgian nationals was 5.7% while for Germans was 2.8%.

In total, 281,497 foreign residents are currently living in Luxembourg and 240,290of them are European nationals from countries within the European Union (Luxembourg Portal, 2017). The rest of the European immigrants (15,400 people) are coming from countries outside the European Union. Asian and African immigrants represent a 4% and a 3% of the immigrant population respectively (11,164 immigrants are coming from Asian countries and 8,321 from African countries, including 2,855 from Cape Verde). There are also 5,714 immigrants from North, South, and Central America, representing 2% of the immigrant population (1,968 of them are coming from the USA). An additional number of 193 immigrants are coming from countries of Oceania.

The municipalities with the highest immigrant population are the City of Luxembourg and the surrounding area (e.g. Esch-sur-Alzette) with a foreign population percentage of 70.7%, the municipalities in the southern part of the country, and the municipalities of Echternach, Beaufort, Wiltz and Larochette. The number of immigrant residents is significantly lower in the northern part of the country. In most of the northern municipalities, the foreign population percentage is between 19.3% and 35.7% (Luxembourg Portal, 2017).

It is evident that Luxembourg is a country characterized by cultural diversity and multilingualism, with an increasing number of foreign people arriving every year. The country has three official languages: German, French, and Luxembourgish and English are widely spoken in the public sphere. Daily interactions in various social contexts facilitate intercultural contact. A wide range of ethnic communities are active, organizing cultural events. These culture contact situations have created new opportunities for professional and personal development but also challenges that need to be addressed. Given the circumstances, research into attitudes towards multiculturalism and diversity has grown in importance.

**Multiculturalism**

Muliculturalism is a braod, mulifaceted concept that can be interpreted in different ways. It can be described as a political ideology that refers to acceptance and support for a culturally plural society. It has been also used to describe approaches to deal with cultural diversity in various social contexts. In the literature, multiculturalism can refer to three different aspects: the demographic, policy, and psychological aspect (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). The demographic aspect refers to the plural composition of a population, The policy aspect refers to government or organizational policies aiming to improve intercultural communication and integration of minority groups within a multicultural context. The psychological aspect refers to attitudes and behaviors that support cultural diversity at the individual level (Celenk & Van de Vijver, 2014).

Self-report questionnaires are the most frequently used measures in the assessment of multicultural ideologies. One example is the Multicultural Ideology Scale (MIS; Berry & Kalin, 1995, α = .688) that assesses attitudes towards a culturally plural society. This scale was initially developed in Canada and validated in different cultural contexts, demonstrating good psychometric properties. The MIS questionnaire covers 3 domains: 1) attitudes towards diversity, 2) acculturation strategies by minorities (assimilation vs. cultural maintenance), and 3) acculturation preferences of majority members (e.g. “A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur”). Participant responses are recorded on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree). The Multiculturalism Attitude Scale (MAS; Breugelmans & van de Vijver, 2004) and [the Munroe Multicultural Attitude Scale (Munroe & Pearson, 2006) are some other questionnaires that have been used for this purpose in cross-cultural research. These scales aim to investigate attitudes towards cultural diversity but also behavioral intentions associated with these attitudes. The first scale includes items that assess (dis)approval of diversity, minority and majority acculturation strategies, and equal social participation in public life. The second scales draws on a transformative approach about multiculturalism and assesses awareness of cultural differences between groups, intercultural sensitivity, and involvement with actions that support diversity (Munroe & Pearson, 2006). To date, fewer studies have looked at the psychometric properties of these scales.](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0013164405285542)

Research findings from studies conducted in different European countries suggest that attitudes towards multiculturalism represent a unidimensional construct but support for multiculturalism can vary across different life domains among minority and majority group members (Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). Minority

members express more positive attitudes but make a distinction between private and public domains while majority members expect assimilation of immigrant groups in all life domains. Highly educated individuals tend to endorse multiculturalism more strongly while personality factors and ethnic identification also play a role (Verkuyten, 2009). Other studies provide evidence for gender differences, with women expressing more positive attitudes (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2003).

Findings from multicultural Luxembourg indicate that support for multiculturalism varies across schools with different demographic composition and between participants with different migratory background. Endorsement of multiculturalism rises in school contexts that provide more opportunities for intercultural interactions (Stogianni & Murdock, 2018). In previous studies, it was observed that support for societal participation of minority groups was higher than support for multiculturalism in other domains. Personal values, like self-transcendence and culture contact with outgroup members were associated with positive attitudes towards multiculturalism in different age groups (Murdock, 2016).