

CONNECTING THE EUROPEAN UNION OF SHARED AIMS, FREEDOMS,
VALUES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS VALUES: FREEDOM, SOLIDARITY, DEMOCRACY

Edited by

Agnieszka Kłos, Jan Misiuna, Marta Pachocka, Aleksandra Szczerba-Zawada



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



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The book is published with the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union within the scope of the EUSHARE project – “Connecting the European Union of shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities” (Decision Number: 2016-1675/001-001, Project Number: 575176-EPP-1-2016-1-PL-EPPJMO-SUPPA), and in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland.

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Photo (Graphics) courtesy of: Oliver Cole – Unsplash.com

Cover design: Agnieszka Natalia Bury

DTP: CeDeWu Sp. z o.o.

1st Edition, Warsaw 2020

ISBN 978-83-8102-370-2

EAN 9788381023702

Published by: CeDeWu Sp. z o.o.

00-680 Warsaw, 47/49 Żurawia Street

e-mail: cedewu@cedewu.pl

Publisher’s office: (4822) 374 90 20 lub 22

Economics Bookstore

00-680 Warsaw, 47 Żurawia Street

Tel.: (4822) 396 15 00...01

On-line Economics Bookstore

cedewu.pl

Table of contents

Preface	7
1. Why we could and should discuss about European constitutional law – <i>Adriana Ciancio</i>.....	9
2. Transnational judicial dialogue in case law related to academic freedom – <i>Monika Stachowiak-Kudła</i>	17
3. Harmonization of EU criminal law – issues of implementing EU directives – <i>Karolina Kiejnich</i>	31
4. <i>L'ordre public</i> and the European private international law: Sharia effects on the European family law – <i>Aline Beltrame de Moura, Adrian Mohamed Nunes Amaral</i>	41
5. EU soft power: sharing democratic values – <i>Olga Bogorodetska</i>.....	51
6. The definition of “refugee” in the 1951 Convention: some legal reflections – <i>Denard Veshi</i>.....	61
7. Refugee crisis and the limits of the EU’s human rights norm promotion – <i>Sinem Bal</i>.....	71
8. EU, states, and NGOs – multi-agency response to refugee crisis and its challenges for EU values – <i>Mateusz Krępa</i>.....	85
9. Solidarity in EU asylum policy: perpetual or extraordinary call? – <i>Danai-Georgia Koutsopoulou</i>.....	95

10. Why EU should urgently review its cooperation with Turkey on migration? – Marta Górczyńska	105
11. Working towards inclusion of refugees: NGOs in the Netherlands – the case of the Dutch Council for Refugees – Violetta Gul-Rechlewicz	115
12. The refugee crisis, the illiberal populist challenge and the future of the EU: is illiberal democracy on the march? The case of Hungary – Edina Lilla Mészáros	125
13. Accommodation of non-nationals in Luxembourg – Iwona Wrońska, Elke Murdock	141

Preface

Recent years have seen numerous challenges to the European Union and its functioning. These have concerned both the situation in some Member States but also the relationship between national governments and EU institutions. Much attention has been paid to the issues of border control, migration, and asylum because of the migration situation within the EU and its neighbourhood, as well as to the rule of law, human rights, and the judicial system in member countries.

In dynamic national, regional, and global conditions, it is necessary to discuss the foundations of the European Union and its basic values such as freedom, solidarity, and democracy. Such analysis should be multidimensional, covering both legal and institutional matters at different levels of governance, as well as the implementation of specific practices and policies.

The success of integration processes in Europe is dependent upon the mutual trust built into axiological foundations that allow the EU Member States and their societies to cooperate and the EU to act as a united, although diversified actor. In this context, special attention should be paid to the contribution that academia can make to policymaking to support and protect the shared European values of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law, and respect for human rights—values that represent the foundations of any free and democratic society.

The complexity of the European Union is reflected in the variety of topics addressed in the presented book from an interdisciplinary perspective. Among the contributing Authors are researchers from Poland and abroad who approach the subject matter from their backgrounds in law, political science, international relations, and others. The issues they explore were discussed at the PECSA International Conference “Connecting the European Union of shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities” on 5 December 2019 at SGH Warsaw School of Economics (Poland). Both the conference and this book were prepared with the support of the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union within the scope of the EUSHARE project “Connecting the

European Union of shared aims, freedoms, values and responsibilities”, which was implemented by the Polish European Community Studies Association (PECSA). This was only possible thanks to fruitful cooperation between many institutions and exceptional people. Therefore, we would like to express our very great appreciation to all of them, believing that this book is an important voice in the discussion on the EU today and in the near future.

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Aleksandra Szczerba-Zawada*

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13.

Accommodation of non-nationals in Luxembourg

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, within its current borders, was established in the end of the 19th century. In the space of less than 150 years, the population of this state more than doubled, which is largely attributable to immigration. Today, 45% of the population are foreigners. We would like to argue that the current immigration policy of Luxembourg is based on a strategy of accommodation. We can identify three major pillars of this strategy. The first pillar creates conditions favourable to adaptation with the host society. The second pillar brings liberal provisions for naturalization, and the third offers an open and generous admission of refugees.

13.1. The strategy of accommodation

Already in the 19th century, John Stuart Mill acknowledged that there are benefits to social diversity, but that these depend on the existence of a fundamental consensus. He wrote that the only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing one's own goal in one's own way, so long as one does not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to

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achieve them (Mill 1859, 16). As Jason Tyndal argues, a Millian society could be composed of numerous cultural groups – each offering its set of values and goals – that constitute a single political community, which means that cultural heterogeneity is compatible with political homogeneity (Tyndal 2013, 103). This indicates that the accommodation of social diversity is possible and beneficial for the host society, but it requires a consensus.

Thanks to immigration, many European states have become more socially diverse. The share of immigrants has increased, especially during the last 50 years. Host societies perceive differently the economic and social consequences of immigration, applying diverse policies toward immigration. They can be inclusive, exclusive, based on empathy or hostility, but to a great extent, immigration policies in democratic states are more open and generous.

Canadian psychologist John W. Berry distinguishes four strategies of acculturation¹, which are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation (Berry 1997). These strategies can be applied to identify the types of migration policies adopted by a state. Based on these distinctions, one can identify policies that emphasize separation by introducing a mechanism of ghettoization. Most countries employ policies leading to assimilation. Two approaches emerge in this category: voluntary assimilation (Melting Pot) and forced assimilation (Pressure Cooker). Marginalisation is a rarely chosen option (Berry 1997). An integration policy can only be “freely chosen” and successfully pursued by nondominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry 1991). Therefore, mutual accommodation is required for integration to be achieved. The nondominant group should adopt the basic values of the host society while the host society adapts its state institutions to the needs of the new group. As Berry points out, this strategy can only be introduced in multicultural societies which accept the value of cultural diversity, which means that they demonstrate a low level of prejudice, accept different cultures and identify with the larger society (Berry 1997, 11). Arend Lijphard used the term of “accommodation of differences” in his 1968 analysis of Dutch democracy. He emphasized a peaceful coexistence of differences within a common and shared entity. The concept of accommodation can be linked to the idea of mutual accommodation as one of the strategies of acculturation.

¹ Acculturation is defined as the process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with one another.

One of the means of accommodation is the inclusion of non-nationals in the political decision-making process. As Tomas Hammar (1990, 12-14) rightly noted, a new status group – denizens – has emerged who are not full members of the society they reside in because of their lack of citizenship. Additionally, as Carlos Flores Juberias and Pedro Ten Alonso (2008, 158) argue, not recognizing the right to political participation of a large percentage of individuals in full possession of their civil rights questions the legitimacy of power. There are two main ways to secure political representation for immigrants. The first is to provide foreign nationals with voting rights, the second is a liberalization of the naturalization procedure. The former model of providing national enfranchisement of foreign residents is rather limited², but it was introduced on the local level in the EU, as an important part of integration. The second way of providing political rights to non-nationals is the naturalization procedure. Citizenship allows an individual to be a member of a political unit with the right to participate in political processes. Citizenship, recognized as an irreversible process of increasing inclusion, is acquirable by descent (*jus sanguinis*: right of blood), by an individual's place of birth or adoption (*jus soli*: right of the soil), or a combination of the two. Most European states use *jus sanguinis* as the principle for determining citizenship. Each state defines a set of conditions for acquiring citizenship. The criteria are usually specified by naturalization laws that vary from country to country. Data indicate that immigrants who are citizens appear to have more favourable labour-market outcomes than immigrants who are not. Generally, immigrants who have acquired citizenship have higher employment rates, a greater likelihood of working in a higher-status occupation, and higher earnings (Picot, Hou 2011).

13.2. The population of Luxembourg

Luxembourg or the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is one of the smallest European countries, with an area of 2,586 sq. km and 619 thousand inhabitants, among them 280 thousand foreigners (Le portail des statistiques 2019). Within its current borders, this state was established at the end of

² According to MIPEX, only four countries, Chile, Malawi, New Zealand and Uruguay, grant equal voting rights to foreigners.

the 19th century. Prior to becoming a sovereign state, Luxembourg was a separate political entity, assigned to the king of the Netherlands. It was a poor agricultural region struggling to feed its growing population. This triggered several waves of emigration. From 1825 onwards, Luxembourgers emigrated first towards Brazil and Argentina, and then primarily to the United States of America. Between 1841 and 1891, approximately 72 thousand Luxembourgers left their country, amounting to approximately a third of the total population at the time. This all changed when iron ore was discovered in the south of the country. From 1870 onwards, large-scale steel works were erected. This led to a transformation of Luxembourg from an agrarian state to a coal and steel region. A great number of foreign workers arrived, mainly from Germany and Italy. Numerous industrial sites contributed to the development of the economy and the wealth of the country (Kreins 2015). During the 20th century, immigrants, predominantly from Italy and Portugal, contributed to the economic development of Luxembourgian industry (Murdock 2016, 34). After the oil crisis of 1973, Luxembourgian economy turned to services, especially in the financial sector. Now it is one of the major international centres of banking, investment fund, private-asset management and insurance sectors. Additionally, due to the stability, security and quality of life in Luxembourg, more international companies have been settling in the country. Moreover, there are quite a few European institutions located in Luxembourg.

Due to the economic transformation, Luxemburg has undergone a tremendous social change. The industry sector required a foreign workforce. Part of the demand for labour has been supplied by the neighbouring countries (*frontalier*), and part of it through immigrants to Luxembourg. Later, the financial sector became appealing to international specialists. The European institutions located in Luxembourg additionally influence the flow of population³.

Today, nearly half of the population is foreign-born in Luxembourg. Additionally, this country recorded the second highest number of immigrants per capita in the EU: 40.9 immigrants per 1,000 persons (Eurostat Database). Most of the foreign-born inhabitants of Luxembourg come from another EU country. Portuguese nationals represent the largest foreign-born nation

³ Around 10,000 international EU civil servants work in Luxembourg, and they constitute more than 5% of the resident working population.

represented in Luxembourg (15.5%), followed by the French, Italians and Belgians (Table 13.1). Portuguese workers were invited to Luxembourg during the boom in the steel industry. Most of them settled in the country. The other EU nationals work predominantly for the European institutions and in the banking sector.

Table 13.1. Luxembourgish population by nationality, January 1, 2019

Nationality	Number	Percent
Luxembourgish	322,000	52
Portugal	96,000	15.5
French	47,000	7
Italians	23,000	3.5
Belgians	20,000	3.5
Germans	13,000	2
British	6,000	1
Other EU citizens	42,000	8
Non-EU	45,000	7.5
Total population	614,000	100

Source: Le portail des statistiques 2019.

13.3. The policy of accommodation in Luxembourg

The number of foreigners living in Luxembourg has grown steadily since the 1970s. They have been greatly contributing to Luxembourg's economic success. First of all, due to the net migration and natural increase of younger foreigners, Luxembourg has experienced a very healthy population growth of around 2.0% yearly since 2010, in stark contrast to other European countries (Le portail des statistiques 2019). Secondly, foreigners significantly prevail in private economy sectors, so they contribute greatly to sustaining the Luxembourgian socioeconomic model.

Generally, the integration of new immigrants has not been a political issue in the country and Luxembourg's main political parties have a generally welcoming approach towards immigrants. The government of Luxembourg recognizes and acknowledges foreigners' input to the economy. The business-friendly legislation and administration and the country's multilingualism create favourable conditions for foreign workers. Those with citizenship

in the EU and EEA countries, as well as Switzerland, do not need a work permit or work visa to work or apply for jobs in Luxembourg⁴. Non-EU nationals coming to Luxembourg for employment, self-employment, study, research, or joining a family member for longer than 90 days require a residence permit. It can be issued on the basis of potential employment. Multi-lingual work environments are common, and French, German, Luxembourgish, and English are the languages of business correspondence. Additionally, Portuguese language is also present.

Until the 21st century, despite the sizeable presence of foreigners, few decided to naturalize, because of restrictions to the access to Luxembourgish citizenship. One of the barriers reducing access to this citizenship was active knowledge of Luxembourgish. Additionally, the lack of recognition of double citizenships was a major obstacle. In 2009, this obstacle was eliminated. Allowing for the principle of dual citizenship can be considered a profound change compared to previous legislation, and a factor conducive to developing a more consolidated foreigner accommodation policy. Consequently, there was a rise in the acquisition of Luxembourgian citizenship.

Nevertheless, with the beginning of the 21st century, the stronger migratory flows contributed to widening the gap between the number of inhabitants of the country without political rights and the number of its citizens. This noticeable contradiction between using the potential of non-nationals on the labour market while excluding them from participation in democracy was articulated by various organizations⁵. The government acknowledged it and supported the idea of voting rights expansion for non-nationals. As the prime minister of Luxemburg, Xavier Bettel pointed out that “no other country in the world, apart from Dubai has our level of democratic deficit” (The Telegraph 2015). The government determined that granting non-nationals the right to vote required strong public support. It called a national consultative referendum. In the national referendum, Luxembourgers voted against granting foreign nationals full voting rights. The failure of the referendum put pressure on the government to further liberalize the naturalisation law in order to address the “democratic deficit” emphasised during the referendum debates.

⁴ Some restrictions apply to Croatian nationals.

⁵ Association de Soutien aux Travailleurs Immigrés (ASTI); the Luxembourg Chamber of Commerce; the Greens Party; Democratic Party (DP).

Consequently, a revision of the law on Luxembourg nationality entered into force in April 2017 (Loi du 8 mars 2017). The aim of the bill, as Justice Minister Félix Braz advocated, was to grant access to Luxembourgian nationality in a fair manner that encourages changes to social cohesion. (Luxembourger Wort 2016). First of all, it simplified and harmonised the naturalization process.⁶ Secondly, the new provisions have fundamentally changed the naturalization process by applying rules of *jus soli*, enabling people born in Luxembourg to non-native parents to obtain Luxembourgian nationality when they turn 18, provided they have resided in Luxembourg for at least five years before their 18th birthday (Loi du 8 mars 2017, Art. 30). Children born to foreign parents but who have one parent who was born in Luxembourg will automatically have access to Luxembourgish nationality.

Overall, the law gives everyone a chance to apply for Luxembourgian nationality provided that they have lived in Luxembourg for the past five years, passed a Luxembourgian language test and passed the course “Living together in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg”. The law also simplified application procedures, especially for those who resided legally in Luxembourg for at least 20 years (Loi du 8 mars 2017, Art. 28). Additionally, citizenship can be acquired through marrying a Luxembourger or having studied at a state school in Luxembourg for at least seven years, while residing in Luxembourg. It also upholds the principle of dual nationality, meaning that receiving Luxembourgian nationality does not require the renouncement of one’s nationality of origin. Refugees, stateless people and anyone with subsidiary international protection may also apply, if they resided legally in Luxembourg for at least five years, passed the language test and completed course on the knowledge of Luxembourg (Loi du 8 mars 2017, Art. 31).

The 2017 revision further enhanced the number of acquisitions of Luxembourgian citizenship. According to figures provided by Statec⁷, a total of 11,876 people acquired Luxembourgish citizenship in 2018, compared to 9,030 in the previous year. Portuguese citizens accounted for the largest

⁶ Naturalization became an administrative procedure rather than a legislative one. It is more transparent, and in case of denial, applicants have the right to appeal. A timeframe of eight months for the decision by the Minister of Justice has been set. The cost of the procedure is minimal and amounts essentially to the cost of official stamps (EUR 12).

⁷ Statec is the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg which produces statistics. Data are available through Le portail des statistique – <https://statistiques.public.lu/fr/index.html>.

share, followed by French, British, Italian and Belgian citizens (Le portail des statistique 2019). In 2017 Luxembourg had the highest naturalisation rate in the EU (Eurostat Database).

The government of Luxembourg also generously fulfils its obligations towards refugees. It ratified the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and acceded to both Protocols of 1967 and 1971. In 1996 the law regulating asylum was introduced⁸. Today beneficiaries of international protection in Luxembourg receive an “international protection” residence permit with a 5-year validity. They have access to social security benefits, accommodation, education and health care. They have also the right to work and access to employment training.

Luxembourg accepted several thousand refugees since the 1990s. The first large wave of refugees originated from the Balkans. The refugee crisis of 2015 made Luxembourgian government officials and NGOs more active in accommodating refugees. Since then Luxembourg has been receiving around 2,000 asylum applications per year (MAEE 2019, 3). Most of the applications are submitted by Eritrean, Syrian and Iraqi individuals. According to the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs a total of 3,792 positive decisions granting the applicants their protected status were issued from 2015 to 2019. (MAEE 2019, 7). Overall, Luxembourg has one of the highest admission rates of refugees per capita. (Eurostat Database). Currently, there are around 3,000 refugees residing in Luxembourg (RTL Today 2019).

Additionally, Luxembourg has consistently been one of the countries willing to accept refugees in order to lessen the burden on those countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Since the summer of 2018, Luxembourg has taken in 41 migrants who were rescued by NGO ships (Everling 2019).

* * *

Today, the phenomenon of migration has intensified. This process is evident in the so-called “old European Union” and applies particularly to Luxembourg. This country has the most demographically mixed society, with almost half of the population being foreign born. As indicated above, in Luxembourg, the dynamics of the migration process interacted with political, economic and

⁸ Droit d’asile, Memorial, Recueil de legislation A-N 30, 7 mai 1996.

social development towards a more inclusive conception of accommodation based on three major interrelated pillars. The first one creates conditions favourable to adaptation to the host society, the second introduces legislation that significantly eased the naturalisation requirements, and finally, the third pillar offers open and generous admission of refugees.

Abstract

In the space of less than 150 years, the population of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, more than doubled, which is largely attributable to immigration. Today, almost half of the population are foreigners. The authors argue that the current immigration policy of Luxembourg is based on a strategy of accommodation. They identify three major pillars of this strategy. The first pillar creates conditions favourable to adaptation with the host society. The second pillar brings liberal provisions for naturalization, and the third one offers an open and generous admission of refugees

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