

Paweł OLBRYCHT 

General Tadeusz Kościuszko Military University of Land Forces, Faculty of Security Studies,  
Wrocław, Poland

## Immigrants in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and Its Public Security

Imigranci w Wielkim Księstwie Luksemburga a jego bezpieczeństwo publiczne

### • Abstract •

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is one of the smallest European countries – both in terms of area and population. As in the case of the so-called European micro-states (with less than 100,000 inhabitants – Luxembourg alone has about 600,000 of them, so also relatively few), it is characterised by a high economic level, especially the living standards of its inhabitants.

As the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's statistical data show (official OECD website), the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is the wealthiest Member State of the European Union in terms of average annual income per capita (gross domestic product per capita). Due to this fact, foreigners-immigrants continuously come to this country seeking better living conditions there. It was, therefore, reasonable to explore how this high proportion of immigrants in Luxembourg's society influences the public security of that country. Luxembourg has one of the highest economic immigration rates in Europe, the number of its citizens is continually growing, and yet the crime rates are among the lowest in the world.

### • Abstrakt •

Wielkie Księstwo Luksemburga jest jednym z najmniejszych państw europejskich – zarówno pod względem powierzchni, jak i liczby ludności. Podobnie jak w przypadku tzw. mikro-państw europejskich (liczących poniżej 100 tys. mieszkańców – sam Luksemburg ma ich około 600 tys., a więc także relatywnie niewiele), charakteryzuje się ono wysokim poziomem gospodarczym, zwłaszcza w kontekście poziomu życia jego mieszkańców. Jak pokazują dane statystyczne Organizacji Współpracy Gospodarczej i Rozwoju (oficjalna strona internetowa OECD), Wielkie Księstwo Luksemburga jest najbogatszym państwem członkowskim Unii Europejskiej pod względem średniego rocznego dochodu na mieszkańca (produkt krajowy brutto per capita). Z tego powodu cudzoziemcy-immigranci nieustannie przyjeżdżają do tego kraju w poszukiwaniu lepszych warunków życia. Dlatego zasadne było zbadanie, jak wysoki odsetek imigrantów w społeczeństwie Luksemburga wpływa na bezpieczeństwo publiczne tego kraju. Luksemburg ma jeden z najwyższych wskaźników imigracji ekonomicznej w Europie, liczba

The article aims to explore the impact of the presence of many immigrants in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on public security of that country. The article focuses on the main threat to public safety, i.e., crime – in the analysed case: the crime committed by foreigners-immigrants.

The main research problem took the form of the question: To what extent does the presence of a significant number of immigrants affect the public safety of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg? The main hypothesis took the form of the assumption that the presence of large numbers of immigrants does not have a significant adverse effect on the public safety of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

The adopted research method was the analysis of statistical data using the technique of content analysis (*desk research*). World Bank statistics were used as the primary source of information, while articles from scientific journals and reports from Luxembourg public administration bodies as supplementary sources.

To deepen the exploration and understanding of the migration conditions of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the article presents its history as well as economic and social characteristics.

The research was carried out as part of the Research Project No. 146/WNB/65/DzS called: “The Migration Policy of the Republic of Poland as an Indicator of Its Internal Security”, carried out at Faculty of Security Studies of General Tadeusz Kościuszko Military University of Land Forces (Wrocław, Poland).

**Keywords:** Luxembourg; immigrants; public security; politics; economics; society; European Union

jego obywateli stale rośnie, a mimo to wskaźniki przestępczości należą do najniższych na świecie.

Celem artykułu było zbadanie wpływu obecności dużej liczby imigrantów w Wielkim Księstwie Luksemburga na bezpieczeństwo publiczne tego kraju. W artykule skupiono się na głównym zagrożeniu bezpieczeństwa publicznego, jakim jest przestępczość – w analizowanym przypadku: przestępczość cudzoziemców-imigrantów.

Główny problem badawczy przybrał postać pytania: w jakim stopniu obecność znacznej liczby imigrantów wpływa na bezpieczeństwo publiczne Wielkiego Księstwa Luksemburga? Główna hipoteza przybrała formę założenia, że obecność dużej liczby imigrantów nie ma znacząco negatywnego wpływu na bezpieczeństwo publiczne Wielkiego Księstwa Luksemburga.

Przyjętą metodą badawczą była analiza danych statystycznych, z wykorzystaniem techniki analizy ich treści (*desk research*). Jako główne źródło informacji wykorzystano dane statystyczne Banku Światowego, natomiast jako źródła uzupełniające – artykuły z czasopism naukowych oraz raporty z badań luksemburskich organów administracji publicznej.

W celu pogłębienia eksploracji i zrozumienia uwarunkowań migracyjnych Wielkiego Księstwa Luksemburga w artykule przedstawiono również jego historię oraz charakterystykę gospodarczą i społeczną.

Badania przeprowadzono w ramach projektu badawczego nr 146/WNB/65/DzS pt. „Polityka migracyjna Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej jako wyznacznik jej bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego”, realizowanego na Wydziale Studiów Bezpieczeństwa Akademii Wojsk Lądowych imienia generała Tadeusza Kościuszki (Wrocław, Polska).

**Słowa kluczowe:** Luksemburg; imigranci; bezpieczeństwo publiczne; polityka; ekonomia; społeczeństwo; Unia Europejska

## Introduction

The history of the Luxembourg nation is one of the oldest in Europe, although it was not until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the country obtained its independence. At that time, its intensive development began, disturbed by the events of World War I and World War II. The Cold War period (the years 1945–1989 and the existing contractual, bipolar division of the world into the American and Soviet spheres of influence) was a period when Luxembourg played an essential role in the economic and political shaping of forces in international relations, which was confirmed by Luxembourg's strong position in the European Union (Harmsen & Högenauer, 2020). On the example of this country (similarly as in the case of the United States, Germany, and France), it can be concluded that it is not possible to build economic power of a given country, both nowadays and in the past, without the participation of economic immigrants (Castles & Miller, 2011). Regardless of the period of history, that was the result of demographic problems related to the under-representation of the number of people in relation to the demand on the labour market and the maintenance of the economic growth trend. In the case of post-war Germany, it was necessary to welcome economic immigrants from Turkey and Yugoslavia as the result of the death (during World War II) of a significant number of people of working age. At the same time, the United States and Canada, from the very beginning of their existence as independent states, consisted of a multinational and culturally diverse population. Therefore, to balance the economic needs and a lack of risk relating to the newcomers, those countries had to pursue an effective migration policy, the models of which could vary considerably (Thomas, Kirov, & Thill, 2019).

Therefore, the cited historical examples show that apart from the undoubted benefits, migrations and their adverse effects may pose a potential threat to security, including public security. In the context of public security, in addition to crime and a terrorist threat (e.g., from members of ISIS organisations residing permanently in Europe) generated by immigrant foreigners, migration, mostly from developing countries, is an opportunity for illegal earnings for organised crime groups that derive significant profits from trafficking in human beings and their illegal transport across borders.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is an example of a country with a migration policy that is unique in its effectiveness worldwide. The Duchy is also one of the wealthiest countries worldwide in terms of per capita income, with almost half of its population made up of foreigners, and yet it is also one of the countries with the lowest threat to public security.

It is one of the four components of internal security, which is related to providing a given entity with internal stability and protection against threats whose source lies within its borders – apart from social, universal and systemic security. Z. Ścibiorek, B. Wiśniewski, R.B. Kuc, and A. Dawidczyk define it as general conditions and institutions working to protect the health, life, public property, the system and sovereignty of states against phenomena that threaten the legal order and the functioning of society (Ścibiorek et al., 2015).

It is, therefore, appropriate to analyse this migration policy over the years, with a focus on the aspect of relatively low-security risk, despite many immigrants and the simultaneous steady economic growth thanks to their significant participation.

### **History of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in the Context of Immigration to Its Territory**

The origins of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg date back to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when, due to the exchange of land, its later territory (Lucilinburhuc) was purchased by Count Siegfried from the Trier's abbey in Sainte-Maxime. Count Siegfried acquired a fortress located on a rock in the Alzette valley, also known as the Bock promontory. The territory owned by successive Luxembourg counts was steadily expanding and, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, spread over the lands between the two rivers: Meuse and Moselle. At the same time, the Luxembourg dynasty itself was also growing in strength. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Count Henry VII was elected the German king by the Princely Electorate and the Holy Roman Emperor by the papal legate. In later years, his successors also became sovereigns, i.e., Czechia (John of Bohemia), and they also sat on royal or even imperial thrones. In 1354, by the decision of Charles IV, the County of Luxembourg was transformed into Duchy existing until the present day.

G. Hausemer points out that the first immigration movements in the history of Luxembourg date back to the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, due to merchants and workers that came from Italy, and Austrian masons and architects in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hausemer, 2008).

In 1795, in the effect of the domestic political revolution in France, the Duchy ceased to be part of the Netherlands becoming part of the newly formed French First Republic as the Department of Forêts (in French: *Département des Forêts*). The crisis and the final collapse of the First French Empire (proclaimed in 1804) was a factor for the Vienna Congress to be convened in 1814–1815. The French First Republic was established in 1799 as the result of the so-called French Revolution,

following the coup d'état by Napoleon Bonaparte. It was then transformed into the Consulate (Napoleon simultaneously accepted the title of First Consul) and, in 1804, into the First French Empire. However, the period of existence of the Empire in France was not long, because it was as early as 1815 when the Republican form was restored after the defeat of Napoleon's troops (and his internment) in the battle of Waterloo against the United Kingdom. One of its resolutions established the Kingdom of the Netherlands and transferred the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg to its jurisdiction while preserving its autonomy. From that moment, the then King of the Netherlands – Wilhelm I of the Orange-Nassau dynasty – was also the Grand Duke of Luxembourg. At the same time, part of the Duchy was integrated into the German Confederation and the Prussian garrison was stationed there.

In 1830, in a protest against the Dutch government, part of Luxembourg's population took part in the Belgian national uprising (Belgian Revolution). A year later, those actions were successful in the form of the establishment of the Kingdom of Belgium, but no similar effect was achieved regarding Luxembourg's lands. A landmark in the history of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was April 19, 1839, when the Duchy was divided into Belgian and Dutch parts, under the Treaty of London. This date is considered to be symbolic attainment of independence (in Luxembourg, the independence day was not formally established) and national borders defined at that time have remained unchanged until the present day.

Two years later, the first constitution (one of the oldest in Europe; successive constitutions were passed in 1848, 1856, and 1868) was adopted. It defined the institutional foundations (the constitutional monarchy system – distinguished from the parliamentary monarchy [e.g., in the United Kingdom] by the fact that the ruler of the country has full freedom in appointing the prime minister and other members of the government, without delegating full powers to the national parliament in this respect) and the scope of civil right and liberties. In 1842, however, Luxembourg concluded a customs union (*Zollverein*) with Germany to increase its economic development (Harmsen & Hoegenauer, 2020). The beginnings of the development of local patriotism and a sense of national identity date back to the 1830s. At that time, the first works of Luxembourg's culture – in the form of patriotic songs and literary works written in the mother tongue – began to be created (in Luxembourg, in addition to Luxembourgish, German and French are official languages). The mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was also the beginning of the economic development of the Duchy, where the process of mining and exporting the local coal resources began. The growing needs were also associated with the first mass influx of economic immigrants in Luxembourg's history.

In the context of migration, the 19<sup>th</sup> century meant the development of heavy industry (mining and metallurgy) for Luxembourg, which was associated with a significant increase in the demand for migrant workers (Pauly, 2010). Then, the largest immigrant population in Luxembourg were Italian citizens (Valentova & Berzosa, 2012). Their number multiplied and by 1910 they constituted 15.3% of the population, which at that time numbered 260,000 inhabitants. Almost 60% of all steel industry workers came from abroad while generating an increase in the number of inhabitants by 40 thousand (Hausemer, 2008).

Another landmark date in the history of the Duchy was 1867 when (under the London Treaty of 1867) the country was widely recognised as neutral (and non-militarised). It was connected to the leaving of the Prussian army, which has stationed there for many years.

In 1890, after the death of King William III, the last king of the Orange-Nassau dynasty, the personal union with the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg was discontinued, giving rise to the reign of the first, fully Luxembourgish, Nassau dynasty under Duke Adolf. Despite assurances of respect for Luxembourg's policy of neutrality, German forces entered the country during World War I in 1914. However, the occupation was connected only with the military sphere, not a political one, since the then Grand Duchess Marie-Adélaïde and the government remained in power. After the German troops withdrew from Luxembourg at the end of the war and social protests concerning passivity of the authorities towards the occupation, Grand Duchess Marie-Adélaïde abdicated and was replaced by her sister Charlotte, who ruled until 1964. One year later, due to the complicated political situation, it was decided to hold a nationwide referendum on the state system (maintaining the constitutional monarchy or transition to the republican system) and the economic model after the customs union with Germany collapsed (*Regulation of 13 September 1919...*). The population favoured maintaining a monarchy and establishing a customs union with France. The latter withdrew from the agreement as early as 1921. Because of this fiasco, in 1922, Luxembourg decided to conclude a similar cooperation agreement with Belgium, accepting the Belgian franc (next to the Luxembourgish franc) as the second national currency. From an economic perspective, this decision has proved to be the right one, as it has resulted in subsequent economic growth. In the following years, despite its neutrality in international relations, Luxembourg took part in the works of the League of Nations.

In 1940, after the outbreak of World War II, Luxembourg was again under German occupation. This time, contrary to events from the previous global conflict, the then authorities were forced to flee, and the local population was persecuted for manifestations of patriotism. Occupational propaganda, however, convinced the

local population to the rightness of Luxembourg's integration into the Third Reich. Young Luxembourgers were forcibly conscripted into the German army, and only the German language was recognised as the official language. However, the sense of national identity was so strong that it resulted in the origin of local resistance movements and a movement founded by Luxembourg war refugees in the United Kingdom. The American army finally liberated Luxembourg on September 20, 1944. The Luxembourg armed forces were formed at that time. Duchess Charlotte and members of the government returned to the country. In the years 1944–1945, in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, one of the key battles (of the Ardennes) took place, ended with the defeat of the German army. In total, between 5.000 and 6.000 Luxembourgers (ca. 2% of population) – mainly people conscripted into the German army (Frumkin, 1951) – died during World War II, and the country's infrastructure was severely damaged. The country was rebuilt in a relatively short time, enabling to restore the Luxembourg export market, thanks to the Marshall Plan<sup>1</sup>.

The events of the Second World War led to the deportation of undesirable foreigners from occupied Luxembourg, which brought their number down to just 10% of the population, from 18% in the interwar period (Hausemer, 2008).

In the 1960s, the banking sector became prevalent in the Luxembourg economy; hence the demand for foreign workers – in this case, highly qualified people – arose again. At that time, the dominant group of immigrants were people speaking German and French (the languages in force in Luxembourg) – Germans, French, and Belgians. Since 1986, the Portuguese have consistently been the most numerous foreigner group in Luxembourg (Beirão, 1999). Although Portuguese immigration to Luxembourg could already be observed in the period of the 1960s (including people from Cape Verde – the Portuguese colony until 1975), the accession of Portugal to the European Community just in 1986 had undoubtedly a direct impact on the increase in its scale (Marques, 2019).

The experience of World War II forced Luxembourg's authorities to redefine the security policy, which was associated with a departure from neutrality. Compulsory military service was introduced for men, and the Duchy itself became one of the creators of post-war European international integration, both in the military

---

<sup>1</sup> The concept of financial aid for European countries destroyed during World War II, conceived by the US Secretary of State – Gen. George Marshall. The program, with political disapproval of the Soviet Union, was not used by the countries of the so-called Eastern Bloc, including Poland. It is estimated that this fact is the main reason for the economic disproportion between Western European countries (which, thanks to the Marshall Plan, recorded significant economic growth) and Eastern European countries, which is still visible today.

and economic spheres. Luxembourg was one of the founding members of international organisations, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Council of Europe, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC, headquarters in Luxembourg) and the European Economic Community (EEC).

In 1992, under the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union (EU) – of which Luxembourg was one of the founding members, was established. It has also become the headquarters of some of the bodies that were part of the new organisation, such as the European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Court of Justice, and private banking. Luxembourg is undoubtedly one of the most critical players in the European Union, as evidenced by the election of the country's long-time Prime Minister, Jean-Claude Juncker. Previously that role was played by other former Luxembourg prime ministers, namely Gaston Thorn (1981–1985) and Jacques Santer (1995–1999) as the President of the European Commission (unofficially considered to be the most critical EU body of the organisation's "government") in 2014.

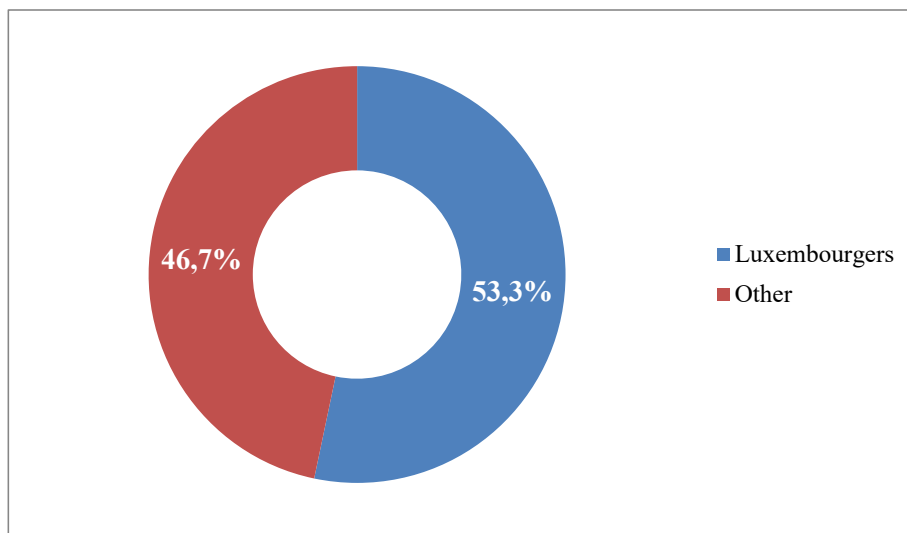
## **Social and Economic Structure**

As already mentioned, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is one of the leading European countries regarding foreign policy-making and the balance of power. Due to this aforementioned economic development after World War II, it reached a high economic level. Currently (as of January 2021), it is the second (after Qatar) most prosperous country in the world in terms of average income per capita (gross domestic product – GDP per capita) – \$112,045 (data comes from the website of the International Monetary Fund). For comparison, the same rate in the United States amounts to \$67,426, and the wealthiest European country in terms of national income – Germany – amounts to \$55,306. The primary sources of Luxembourg's income are services (nearly 70%, mainly from the banking sector), the industry (one of the world's largest steel producers), agriculture, and tourism.

Had it not been for the participation of economic immigrants, the creation of the economic power of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg would not have been possible. The country is inhabited by only 594,130 persons, which constitutes the 171<sup>st</sup> place in the world. To at least maintain (or even increase) its economic level, such a small country is forced to find workforce outside. As mentioned before, the first mass waves of immigration to Luxembourg took place at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, like nowadays, they were related to the need to "fill" the labour market

to raise the economic level. As the level grew, the number of economic immigrants increased in Luxembourg gradually and, in 2017, almost half of the inhabitants of this country were foreigners, as shown in Figure 1.

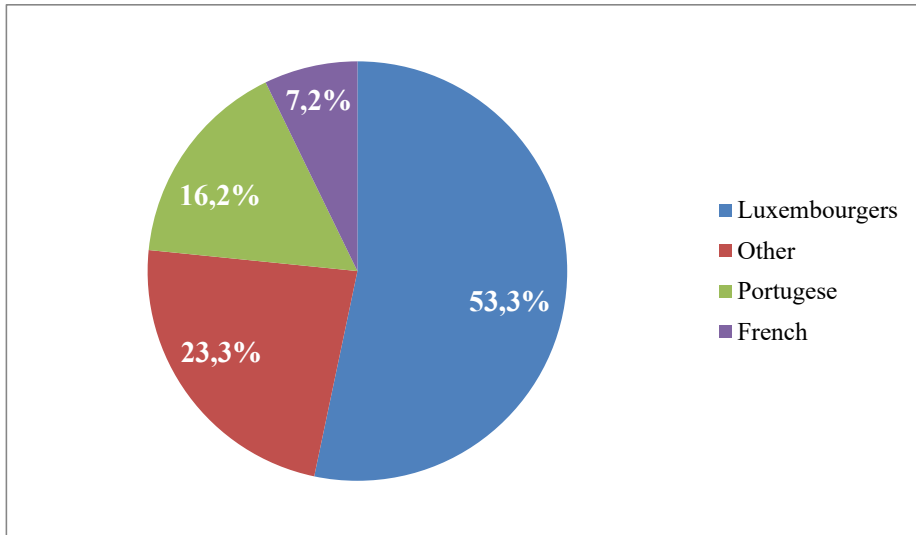
Figure 1. National Structure of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg



Source: developed based on the CIA Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/lu.html>.

Figure 2 displays the precise percentage of the dominant national minorities in Luxembourg in 2017, where 594,130 = 100%. The data presented in the diagram, referring to national minorities, concern 46.7% of Luxembourg's population (people of foreign origin).

Figure 2. National Structure of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg by Nationality



Source: developed based on the CIA Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/lu.html>.

The present form of Luxembourg's migration policy was shaped by the Immigration Act of 1972 (Kollwelter, 2007). It was then that the first-ever normalisation of the rules concerning arrival and settlement of immigrants took place. That was also due to the population decline in Luxembourg, at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s. That situation resulted in a shortage of workers, which, in the long term, could lead to a reduction in economic growth. It was then that a bilateral agreement was signed with the Government of Portugal on the economic migration of Portuguese citizens to Luxembourg for a limited period, mainly in the industrial and agricultural sectors (Karl, Ramos, & Kühn, 2017). The government of the Duchy committed itself to provide newcomers with fair working conditions, housing, social protection, etc. However, the policy contained restrictions on the social profile of these people, in terms of education (direction of work), religion (preferred Catholics, because of this predominant religious denomination in Luxembourg), and potential security threat. One of the most important provisions of the new act was the requirement of paying foreign employees by the employer, not by the public administration. It implied that only the employer could indicate candidates for work in a given company, not vice versa (employees were looking for a job by themselves). Besides, each economic immigrant had to be insured by their employer. This mod-

el of immigration policy aimed to select strictly the foreigners that could take up employment in Luxembourg, to receive only the most qualified people, potentially not having problems with assimilation (due to relatively small cultural differences) and not generating social problems (requesting social benefits instead of taking up employment). Many Portuguese newcomers have decided to settle in Luxembourg permanently (previously legally bringing their family to the country). As a result, they account for the largest national minority, which represented 16.2% of the total population in 2017. The successful bilateral migration policy model concerning cooperation with the Government of Portugal (from where people arrived) resulted in the decision of the Government of Luxembourg (the 1980s) to enter into a similar agreement with the French Government. Now the French minority accounts for 7.20% of the total population in the country under review. In their case, an additional element facilitating assimilation was the absence of a language barrier (especially in the southern part of Luxembourg, where French is the dominant language).

The restrictive migration law has remained unchanged after the ratification of the Schengen Agreement (the name derives from the Luxembourgish city where it was signed) in 1986 and the establishment of the European Union (of which Luxembourg was a co-founder). Under the Schengen Agreement, the so-called “Schengen Area” was created, within which border control at internal borders of its parties have been abolished. Apart from Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, France and the Federal Republic of Germany signed the Agreement. In its history, the Duchy has also distinguished itself by providing assistance to people fleeing from the effects of wars and armed conflicts. An example of that was the reception (and granting them refugee status<sup>2</sup>) of the citizens of Yugoslavia (especially Bosnians and Kosovars) during the civil war in the 1990s. In April 1996, the Luxembourg Parliament passed a law on the regulation of the political asylum application process (Kollwelter, 2007). It gives applicants the right to use the resources of local social policy, employment, and opportunity to apply for citizenship within five years of permanent residence. Nonetheless, it should be noted that, in the case of refugee policy, the actions of the Luxembourg public administration were restrictive, as only 4% of the applicants were granted refugee status during the cited period

---

<sup>2</sup> Under Art. 1 of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Polish Journal of Laws of 20 December 1991). A person may be named ‘refugee’ when, due to a threat to life (caused by an ongoing armed conflict or persecution on religious, political, or ethnic grounds), they were forced to leave their former place of residence. Such a person may apply for refugee status (and thus political asylum) in the country of their nationality or arrival (Art. 12). An immigrant is a person who leaves the place of permanent residence for economic reasons.

(Kollwelter, 2007). However, most of those people, unlike immigrants from Portugal and France, decided not to stay in Luxembourg permanently.

Despite having lived in the Duchy for many years, most immigrants are not citizens of this country. That is due to the overly restrictive conditions to be met, such as the renunciation of the citizenship of the former home country (Luxembourg law does not allow to combine the Luxembourgish citizenship with another one), five years of documented residence and payment of taxes, as well as proficiency in three official languages, documented by a state examination. An additional factor hindering a foreigner from permanently staying in Luxembourg is the extremely high cost of living (despite high earnings), which is another “selection” factor for potential immigrants. Despite these difficulties, the current migration balance (the annual difference between the number of emigrants and the number of immigrants) in Luxembourg, amounting to 15.50, is large and is the third-highest in the world (data comes from Statista.com database).

Luxembourg is also one of the authors of the concept of relocation (headed by the Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker) of people arriving in the European Union (gathered mainly in Greece, Italy, and Hungary) on the wave of the 2015 migrant crisis (these people reach Europe mainly from conflict-stricken Muslim countries in North Africa and the Middle East). In its framework, the country has received about 400 people, which accounted for 0.07% of the total population.

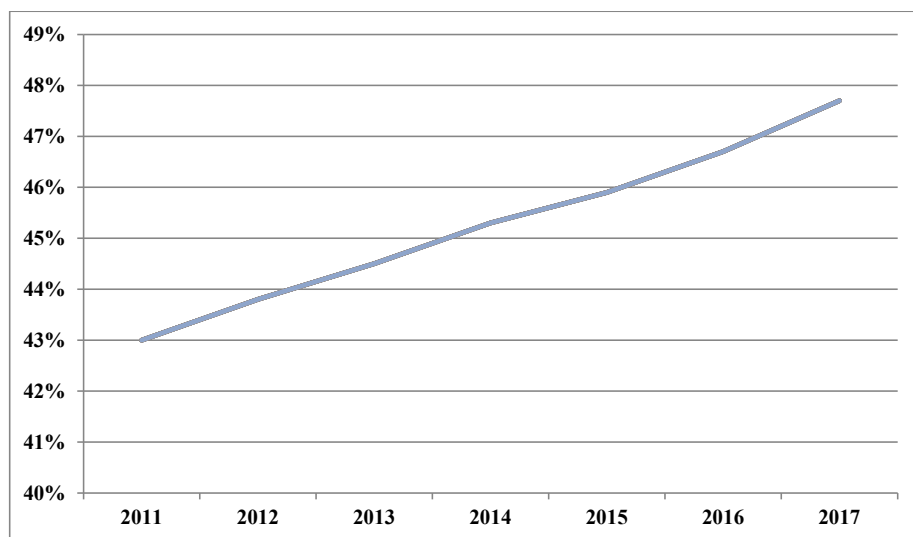
### **Impact of Immigrants on the Public Security Level of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on the Example of Crime**

In countries considered to be “migrational” (i.e., with a high percentage of national and ethnic minorities in society), such as the United States, there is the general-public opinion about the correlation between the number of immigrants and the crime rate (as a threat to public security). These opinions assume that with increasing inflows of immigrants (or refugees), the crime rate grows at the same time. For this article, the example of crime as the most common threat to public security was used to examine its impact on public security in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

As already mentioned, foreigners account for almost half of Luxembourg’s population nowadays. These statistics do not include the so-called frontier workers, i.e., people commuting every day to work from Germany and France but not resident in the Duchy – these persons account for nearly 44.5% of the total workforce in

Luxembourg. The upward trend has been observed in the last ten years, especially since 2011, as shown in Figure 3.

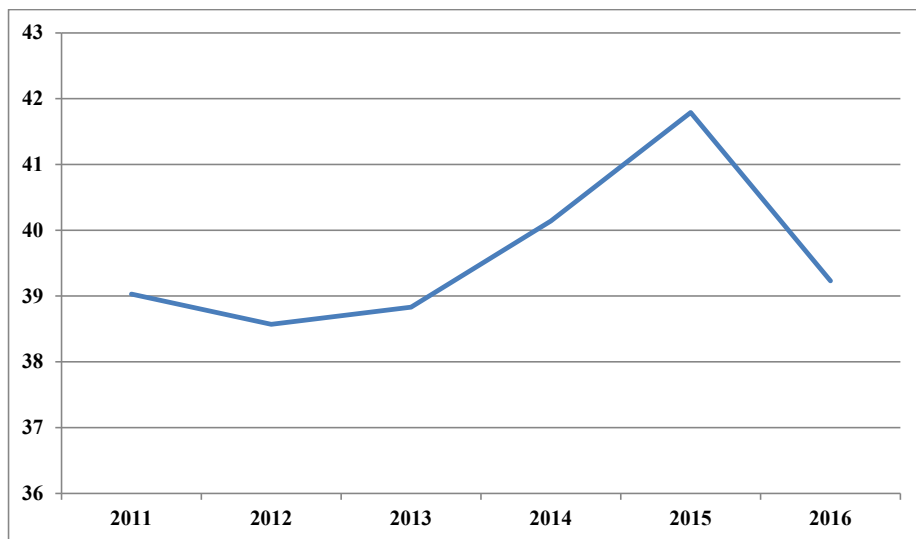
Figure 3. The Proportion of Foreigners in Luxembourg's Society



Source: developed based on Statista.com Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/584938/foreigners-in-luxembourg/>.

Simultaneously, despite a steady increase in the proportion of foreigners in Luxembourg's society, the immigration rate changed in the same period, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Luxembourg's Immigration Rate in the Years 2011–2016 (per 1000 Inhabitants)



Source: developed based on Statista.com Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/594779/immigration-rate-in-luxembourg/>.

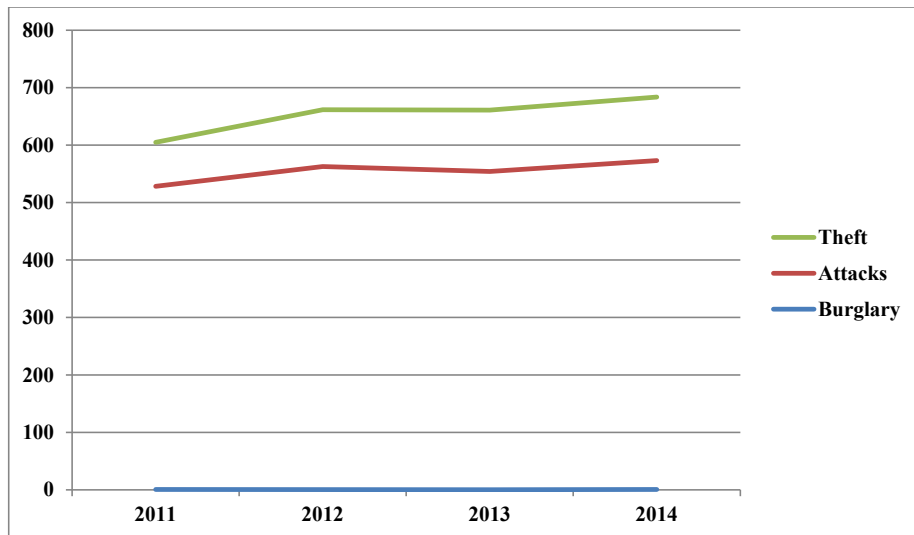
The reason for this discrepancy is the change in the ratio between the number of births and deaths in a given calendar year in Luxembourg's society.

Hypothetically, if in 2012 (a year with a downward trend), with an equal number of Luxembourgers and foreigners (1000 people can be taken as an illustration), where  $1000 = 100\%$ , 6 out of 10 deceased persons had Luxembourg citizenship, the percentage of foreigners in the total population (1000 people in this case) would increase without immigration from outside.

The highest growth of immigration rate in the analysed period could be observed in the years 2013–2015. The year 2015 was the culmination point associated with the beginning of the aforementioned migration crisis in the European Union. The decrease in the immigrant inflow after that year was the result of the relative crisis stabilisation and, above all, the authorities' response to its occurrence through tightening, for security reasons, control over the hitherto flow.

As can be seen from the analysis of statistical data, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a relatively safe country in terms of threats to public security, as shown in Figure 5, referring to the number of the most frequently committed crimes, such as thefts, assaults, and murders.

Figure 5. Crime Rates in Luxembourg in the Years 2011–2014 (per 1000 Inhabitants)



Source: developed based on Knoema.com Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: <https://knoema.com/atlas/Luxembourg/Homicide-rate>.

That is also confirmed by the 2017 report of the Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), which is part of the United States Department of State. This document presents, among others, a low level of the terrorist threat and serious crimes (e.g., murders), as displayed in Figure 5.

The low crime rate in Luxembourg is undoubtedly influenced by the small size of its territory and the small number of its citizens.

As J. Tourbeaux notes, another significant factor of the low crime rate of foreigners in Luxembourg (and thus the impact on public security) is their high degree of integration with the local community (also thanks to the immigrant associations' activities, see: Gerstnerova, 2016). That is possible due to their relatively high standard of living, as is repeatedly quoted, which should not theoretically determine crimes motivated by, for example, difficult financial situation (Tourbeaux, 2012).

In the context of crime in Luxembourg, it should also be noted that, as shown by statistical data, foreigners are also victims, which is evident, for example, in the crime of human trafficking. However, this practice does not affect the state public security, as it occurs on average in several cases per year (Nienaber, Jacobs, & Sommarribas, 2016).

When studying the impact of foreigners on the crime rate, one should take into account the previously analysed social structure, where foreigners, in the case of the Duchy, account for almost half of it. According to a report on crime in this country, immigrants commit most of them (Michels, 2012). That is also confirmed by the fact that foreigners account for more than 70% of all prisoners in Luxembourg's prisons (there is only one prison in the whole country) (World Prison Brief Website data). These statistics could indicate that immigrants represent a severe threat to the public security of Luxembourg. However, it should be considered that these figures may not reflect reality without in-depth analysis. As has been mentioned above, the vast majority of foreigners living in the Duchy are not its citizens. Therefore, it means that hypothetical crimes perpetrated since the 1970s and 1980s by the Portuguese and the French living in Luxembourg fall into the category of crimes committed by foreigners, even though a significant proportion of such persons may spend most of their lives in Luxembourg. Besides, as is evident from the statistical data analysis, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is considered the safest country in the European Union and one of the safest countries in the world, precisely because of the low crime rate (the main threat to public security).

The combination of these two extreme rates (the overall crime rate and the theoretical participation of foreigners in crimes) allows the conclusion that contrary to, e.g., Germany, which is adjacent to the Duchy and where the increasing number of immigrants directly determines the increasing crime rate, immigrants in Luxembourg do not significantly impact the public security level, as the statistics could theoretically indicate.

The tendency can be observed following the analysis of World Bank statistical data presenting the crime rate in the European Union countries per 100 thousand residents. When comparing statistical data for individual countries (in this case concerning crime), the statistical context should be considered regarding the number of inhabitants and not the total number of crimes since countries differ in terms of population and there will always be more crimes committed in total in a country with a larger population than with a smaller one. The data are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The Crime Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants in the Member States of the European Union Together with the Percentage of Foreigners in Their Societies

No.	Country	Crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants	Percentage of foreigners (according to CIA Factbook)
1.	Lithuania	4,5	16%
2.	Latvia	4,2	38%
3.	Hungary	2,5	14%
4.	Estonia	2,2	31%
5.	Belgium	1,7	25%
6.	Slovakia	1,5	19%
6.	Bulgaria	1,5	23%
6.	Romania	1,5	17%
9.	France	1,3	no data
10.	Finland	1,2	no data
10.	Denmark	1,2	14%
12.	Croatia	1,1	10%
12.	Sweden	1,1	19%
14.	Germany	1	13%
15.	Slovenia	0,9	17%
15.	Ireland	0,9	18%
15.	Malta	0,9	10%
18.	Netherlands	0,8	23%
18.	Poland	0,8	3%
20.	Austria	0,7	19%
20.	Greece	0,7	8%
20.	Spain	0,7	14%
20.	Portugal	0,7	no data
20.	Italy	0,7	no data
25.	Czech Republic	0,6	36%
26.	Cyprus	0,6	1% (applies to the Cyprus part)
27.	Luxembourg	0,3	46.7%

Source: developed based on the World Bank Website. Retrieved January 18, 2021 from: [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?end=2018&most\\_recent\\_year\\_desc=false&start=2018&view=bar](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?end=2018&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=2018&view=bar).

As can be seen in Table 1, Luxembourg is a country with by far the highest percentage of foreigners in its society in the entire European Union, amounting to nearly 50% (Latvia, the second one, has less than 40%). At the same time, it has the lowest crime rate per 100,000 residents. For Luxembourg, these proportions evidence no influence of a significant number of foreigners and a high degree of crime, and thereby they have no significant impact on public security.

When using the method of statistical data analysis for exploring a given phenomenon, it should be remembered that formulating conclusions from comparing numerical values alone is insufficient and requires examining their reasons.

Given the subject of this article, it should be noted that each case of examining the relationship between the number of foreigners and the scale of crime (and thus public security) should be analysed separately as in each case the tendency of such dependence may have other reasons. Based on the analysis of statistical data contained in Table 1, it can be observed on the example of the aspect of population and wealth of countries.

One could make a cursory conclusion that the low crime rate only results from a small population in this country. However, as can be exemplified by other relatively small European Union countries, such as Lithuania and Latvia (2,731,464 and 1,881,232 inhabitants, respectively) (the CIA Website), this tendency is opposite to that in Luxembourg and despite a small population, in these countries statistically most crimes are committed per 100,000 inhabitants in the European Union. Latvia and Estonia face a diametrically different trend than Luxembourg, concerning a high percentage of crime with a simultaneous high percentage of foreigners in society. The reasons should be seen in the difference between foreigners living in Luxembourg and those in Latvia and Estonia. In the case of these two countries, they are mostly not economic immigrants or their descendants, but representatives of national minorities created after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, of which Latvia and Estonia, as socialist republics, were part of, but not as independent states. One should bear in mind that the then Soviet Union was inhabited by representatives of a dozen or so nationalities, diverse in terms of culture, language, and religion. It often happened that societies of other nationalities inhabited the territories of individual republics. However, this was not a significant problem, as they all constituted one country. The situation changed with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Luxembourg, on the other hand, foreigners are mostly economic immigrants or their descendants (e.g., Italian, Portuguese, or French). Thus, it shows that the genesis of the foreigners' presence and their socio-demographic characteristics are varied in the examples provided, despite similarities in quantity (the percentage of foreigners in society).

The second cursory conclusion might assume that the low crime rate in Luxembourg is due to the economic level, which, due to the massive financial outlays for this sector, translates into high-level activity carried out by law enforcement authorities (e.g., the police). However, as can be seen from the analysis of the statistical data in Table 1, in countries with a relatively high economic level, such as France or Belgium, that additionally have a large proportion of economic immigrants, the crime rate is relatively high. On average, these immigrants differ in socio-demographic characteristics from those living in Luxembourg, which stems from differences in their migration policies, including the “selection” of immigrants. In the case of Luxembourg, it is a model of complementary policy (Kaczmarczyk & Okólski, 2008), consisting in accepting the minimum necessary number of immigrants intended to work in sectors where there is a demand for them. Therefore, it means that the Luxembourg authorities are only interested in immigrants that will have a positive impact on the local labour market, which will translate into the entire state’s economic potential. Historical conditions made France and Belgium adopt a model of colonial and humanitarian policy. It is applied by countries that were colonisers in the past, assuming a liberal approach to the citizens of states that constituted their colonies and a specific fulfilment of obligations towards them. Nevertheless, in the case of such countries, the criterion of a given immigrant’s suitability for the national economy is not the only factor determining its admission, which often translates into the arrival of many unskilled people, including those who primarily benefit from social welfare.

The examples as mentioned above show that in the context of reconciling a high percentage of foreigners with the lack of a significant threat to public security, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a unique example and none of the European Union countries with similar economic and social indicators (population and a high percentage of foreigners) has similar success. The reasons for that, however, are complex and not solely dependent on the wealth of the state. They should be considered in the context of historical, social, cultural, and political factors.

From the historical perspective, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a country with a rich migration tradition, as indicated already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of foreign immigrants in the local society is a known and accepted phenomenon for a long time, and to a large extent, these immigrants have built and continue to maintain a high economic potential of the state; hence, their presence in Luxembourg is somewhat indispensable.

From the social (sociological) perspective, it should be remembered that a significant part of the immigrants in Luxembourg is representatives of the elite, which include, among others, students, managerial staff (e.g., from the private banking

sector) or employees of the above-mentioned international organisations. As indicated by C. Hartmann-Hirsch and F. Amétiépé, the percentage of unskilled people among immigrants is less than 4% of the population (Hartmann-Hirsch & Amétiépé, 2010). Thus, the socio-demographic feature of most immigrants in Luxembourg, namely a high level of education, theoretically does not determine the propensity to pathological behaviour, including criminal activity.

From the cultural perspective, it should be noted that it is related to the previously analysed historical and social factor. Despite the significant national diversity, no disputes on this background are observed in the Luxembourgish society both between individual national groups and between them and the Luxembourgers, as indicated, among others, by research conducted by M. Valentova and G. Berzosa (2012).

In the cultural context, it is undoubtedly significant that despite the high degree of cultural diversity, the vast majority of people living in Luxembourg (including people of other nationalities) are followers of the dominant religion in this country – Roman Catholicism (70%) (the CIA Website).

The political perspective is related to the previously mentioned model of the complementary migration policy adopted by the Luxembourg authorities. When considering the presence of many foreigners in the country, one can assess the system as highly effective based on the analysis of economic indicators and crime rates. It allows, in the local realities, maximising profits for the state, resulting from the presence of immigrants, as well as minimising potential threats, e.g., increase in crime rates. An example of the effective implementation of the assumptions of the adopted migration policy model is the fact that Luxembourg is a Member State of the European Union with the lowest rate of non-community immigration – citizens of the European Union Member States constitute almost 90% of all immigrants (Thill-Ditsch, 2010). Thus, it clearly illustrates how state authorities control the movement of foreigners, in accordance with the criteria they have adopted, regarding the preference for admitting people primarily from European Union Member States, which theoretically is to prevent cultural disputes.

## Conclusions

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a country with a complicated history. During the period of its existence, Luxembourg's authorities changed many times, and independence was obtained only at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, geopolitically, its territory has always been important for the European balance of pow-

er (especially in the western part of the continent) because of its geographical location. With the moment of obtaining independence, its economic growth and growing importance in international relations began, interrupted by the period of World War I and World War II, when Luxembourg was under German occupation. The culmination point of the current level of development was the end of World War II and the departure from then existing policy of neutralism. Luxembourg, as a founding country of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Alliance and then the European Union, had become a significant player on the international scene, despite its small territorial size. The Luxembourg economy gained momentum at that time, notably using natural resources (iron ores) and the specialisation in the banking sector.

Due to the small population and simultaneously growing needs related to employment policy, the country was forced to allow economic immigrants to enter the labour market. The number of foreigners has been increasing over the years. Nowadays, the foreigners account for almost half of Luxembourg's population, although the migration policy of Luxembourg has always been restrictive in terms of the criteria to be met by potential newcomers. It has been agreed that these people must be able to assimilate with the local population as quickly as possible, and this was to be ensured by minor cultural and religious differences. The immigrants could not either constitute a threat to public security (mainly by crime activities) of the Duchy; hence, only people who had not been convicted of severe crimes in the past could settle there. Despite this, Luxembourg also helped victims of war by granting them refugee status, although the level of restrictiveness was as considerable as that for economic immigrants. The example of the Portuguese and French minorities proves that Luxembourg's migration policy model continues to deliver the intended results as this country is still developing economically and immigrants make a significant contribution to the country without generating any significant security threat. Although the majority of prisoners in Luxembourg's prisons are foreigners, it can be concluded that with a low crime rate (in particular, the rate for most serious crimes), immigrants do not significantly affect the level of state public security. Nonetheless, it does not mean that this situation will never deteriorate, because as history shows, the relative stability and prosperity of a country can be reversed at virtually any time, whether through a build-up of problems over the years (i.e., snowball effect) or a one-off, albeit significant, incident.

The efficient migration policy conducted by the authorities of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and the historical, social, and cultural factors led to the absence of a significant threat to public security from the high percentage of immigrants. It should be borne in mind that no model is perfect, and it does not mean that if an-

other country met the same conditions, they would have achieved the same success in the analysed context.

## References:

- Beine, M., & Souy, B. (2016). *The Evolution of Immigration and Asylum Policy in Luxembourg: Insights from IMPALA*. CREA Discussion Paper 2016-02, Economics. Luxembourg: Center for Research in Economics and Management, University of Luxembourg.
- Beirão, D. (1999). *Les Portugais au Luxembourg*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Castles, S., & Miller, M.J. (2011). *Migracje we współczesnym świecie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Frumkin, G. (1951). *Population Changes in Europe since 1939*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley.
- Gerstnerova, A. (2016). Migrant Associations' Dynamics in Luxembourg. *Ethnicities*, 16(3), 418–431. DOI: 10.1177/1468796814564627.
- Harmsen, R., & Högenauer, A.L. (2020). Luxembourg and the European Union. In: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of European Union Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1041.
- Hartmann-Hirsch, C., & Amétépé, F. (2010). *Integration in the System, Social Integration and Economic Performance: The case of Luxembourg*. Conference: Chaire Quetelet. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Hausemer, G. (2008). *à propos... du Luxembourg multiculturel*. Luxembourg: Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.
- Kaczmarczyk, P., & Okólski, M. (Eds.) (2008). *Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudnienia i ograniczania bezrobocia*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Wydziału Nauk Ekonomicznych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Karl, U., Ramos, A.C., & Kühn, B. (2017). Older Migrants in Luxembourg – Care Preferences for Old Age between Family and Professional Services. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(2), 270–286. DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1238909.
- Kollwelter, S. (2007, March 1). *Immigration in Luxembourg: New Challenges for an Old Country*. Retrieved from: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/immigration-luxembourg-new-challenges-old-country>.
- Marques, J.C. (2019). Entrepreneurship Among Portuguese Nationals in Luxembourg. In: C. Pereira, & J. Azevedo (Eds.). *New and Old Routes of Portuguese Emigration: Uncertain Futures at the Periphery of Europe* (pp. 171–189). New York: Springer Open.
- Michels, T. (2012). *Crime and Victimization in Luxembourg: Results of the European Crime and Safety Survey*. EU ICS Working Paper Series. Retrieved from: <http://wp.unil.ch/icvs/files/2012/11/Crime-and-Victimization-in-Luxembourg.pdf>.
- Nienaber, B., Jacobs, S., & Sommarribas, A. (2016). *Migration Internationale au Luxembourg: Système d'observation permanente des migrations OCDE*. OLAI.

- Pauly, M. (2010). Le phénomène migratoire: une constante de l'histoire luxembourgeoise. In: M. Pauly (Ed.). *ASTI 30+: 30 ans de migrations, 30 ans de recherche, 30 ans d'engagements* (pp. 62–75). Luxembourg: Binsfeld.
- Regulation of 13 September 1919 determining the date on which the political referendum provided for in the Law of 3 April 1919 is to be held and the economic referendum enacted by the Law of 4 July 1919.*
- Ścibiorek, Z., Wiśniewski, B., Kuc, R.B., & Dawidczyk, A. (2015). *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne. Podręcznik akademicki*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- The 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* (Polish Journal of Laws of 20 December 1991).
- The Schengen Agreement*. OJ L 239, 22/09/2000 P. 0013 – 0018.
- Thill-Ditsch, G. (2010). *Regards sur la population par nationalités*. Luxembourg: STATEC.
- Thomas, A., Kirov, V., & Thill, P. (2019). Luxembourg: An Instance of Eroding Stability? In: Müller, T., Vandaele, K., & Waddington, J. (Eds.). *Collective Bargaining in Europe: Towards an Endgame. Vols. I, II, III, and IV* (pp. 403–421). Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Tourbeaux, J. (2012). Intégration et frontières sociales au Luxembourg. *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, 50(2), 115–145.
- Valentova, M., & Berzosa, G. (2012). Attitudes toward Immigrants in Luxembourg. Do Contacts Matter? *International Review of Sociology*, 22(2), 341–363. DOI: 10.1080/03906701.2012.696976.

### Internet Sources:

- CIA Website. Retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/lu.html>.
- Knoema.com Website. Retrieved from: <https://knoema.com/atlas/Luxembourg/Homicide-rate>.
- OECD Website. Retrieved from: <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm>.
- OSAC Website. Retrieved from: <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=21130>.
- Statista.com Website (1). Retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/584938/foreigners-in-luxembourg/>.
- Statista.com Website (2). Retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/594779/immigration-rate-in-luxembourg/>.
- World Bank Website. Retrieved from: [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?end=2018&most\\_recent\\_year\\_desc=false&start=2018&view=bar](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/VC.IHR.PSRC.P5?end=2018&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=2018&view=bar).