

Migration Narratives in Europe

A Social Media Intelligence Study

Country report for the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg



A Bakamo Public  **Project for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung**

- 2019 -

Context of the migration discourse in Luxembourg



- **The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg** is a small landlocked country (about 2 600 square km) in western Europe with a **population of 562,958** in 2015.
- At its peak, official **asylum seekers in the country made up 0.23% of the population**.*
- **Public social media conversation in Luxembourg** around migration in one year consists of **~ 7,235,696 posts**. Compared to population size, **the conversation on migration in Luxembourg is the 27th largest in the EU**.
- Overall, Luxembourgers are **welcoming to refugees and migrants** and tend to express **sympathy and support for migrants** on public social media platforms. However, the increasing volume of migrants seeking homes in Luxembourg **threatens stability**, especially in those sectors involving **infrastructure** and **housing**.
- Nonetheless, Luxembourg is generous with its own resources and **actively seeks to assist as many migrants as possible** locally while also **advocating for a cohesive international response** to address the larger issues driving migration.



*Source: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu>



Key Findings | LU

How and where do Luxembourgers discuss migration in the social media space?

Size of Pan-European Narratives

Humanitarianism is the strongest narrative in Luxembourg, with a dominantly pro-migrant approach, which reflects Luxembourgers' **openness to migrants**. **Security** and **identity and customs** are also widely discussed.

EU & Domestic Politics

The **demographic** narrative contains significantly more references to European politics. This reflects the demographic makeup of Luxembourg: there are many **recent EU migrants in Luxembourg** who are still **invested in their native country's migration debate**.

Discussion Tone

The tone is mainly **conversational**. People communicate in a factual manner and demonstrate positive emotions. However, **humanitarianism** is a topic that **triggers passionate discussions** on public social media.

Conversation Channels

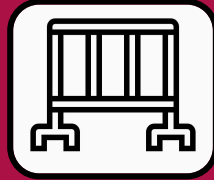
Although **Twitter** is the platform that provides for most of the **German language** conversations on migration in Luxembourg, public opinion is highly influenced by content posted on **online news sites and blogs**.



Pan-European Narratives: *The Luxembourg Context*



Within both the French and German discussions, **very few are concerned** about **economic drawbacks of migrants**. The majority of users discuss the importance of creating policies which address rising real estate prices.



German discussions find security to be a particularly salient concern, often discussing **crime allegedly committed by migrants**. **French** conversations tend to instead **promote rule of law-based policies** to maintain international stability.



The majority of users believe that **openness to others is part of their local culture**. Though, discussions in **German** tend to fear migrants and connect them with a Muslim influx and fears of deteriorating European and Catholic values.



Humanitarianism is the largest narrative: many seek to **actively support** refugees and migrants, a position heavily influenced by a sense of empathy, as well as access to resources which do not strain the local resources.



Demographics is one of the smallest narratives in both the French and German conversation. **Pro-migrant sentiments are common** when discussing how the diversification of labour expertise is as a **net benefit to long-term integration** and overall prosperity.

+ *Pan-European Narratives in Luxembourg*



1.

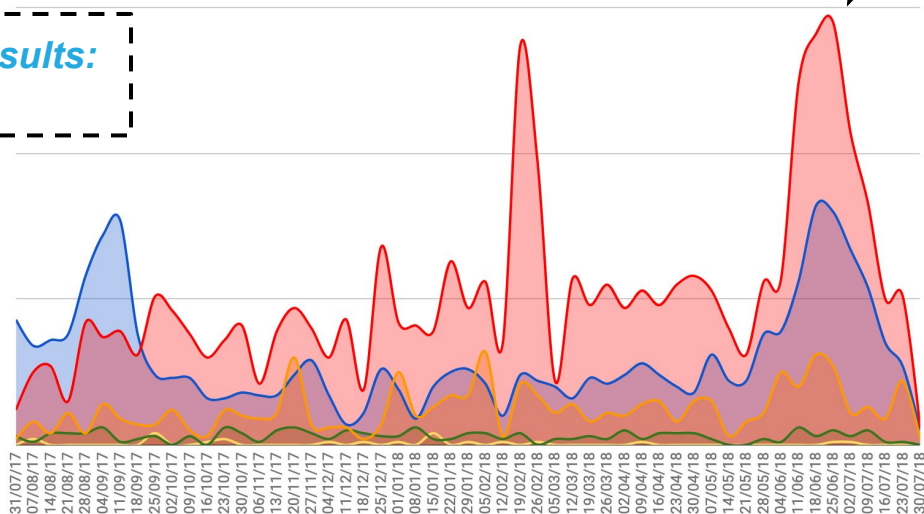
The shape of the migration discourse

Tension within the three strongest narratives, **humanitarianism**, **security**, and **identity**, likely reflect the economic contributions of migrants to Luxembourg throughout history, as well as recent concerns that the influx of refugees threatens stability and infrastructure.

“Wherever possible we want to find European solutions, where this is not possible, we want to bring together those who are willing and develop a common framework of action - Chancellor #Merkel after the informal working meeting on migration in Brussels.”

Demographics Economy Humanitarianism Identity Security

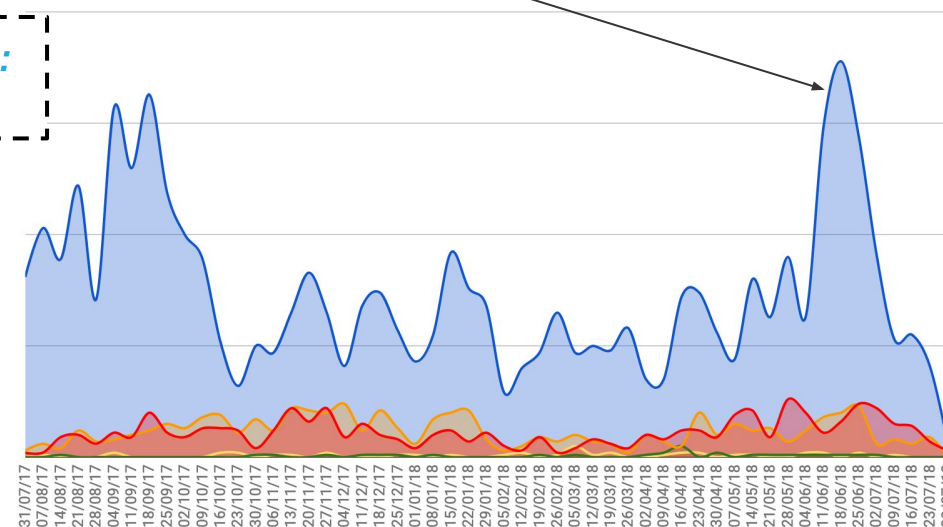
German Results:
~14 000



Merkel and Macron meet to discuss European migrant strategy and the European way of treating migrants

Demographics Economy Humanitarianism Identity Security

French Results:
~6000



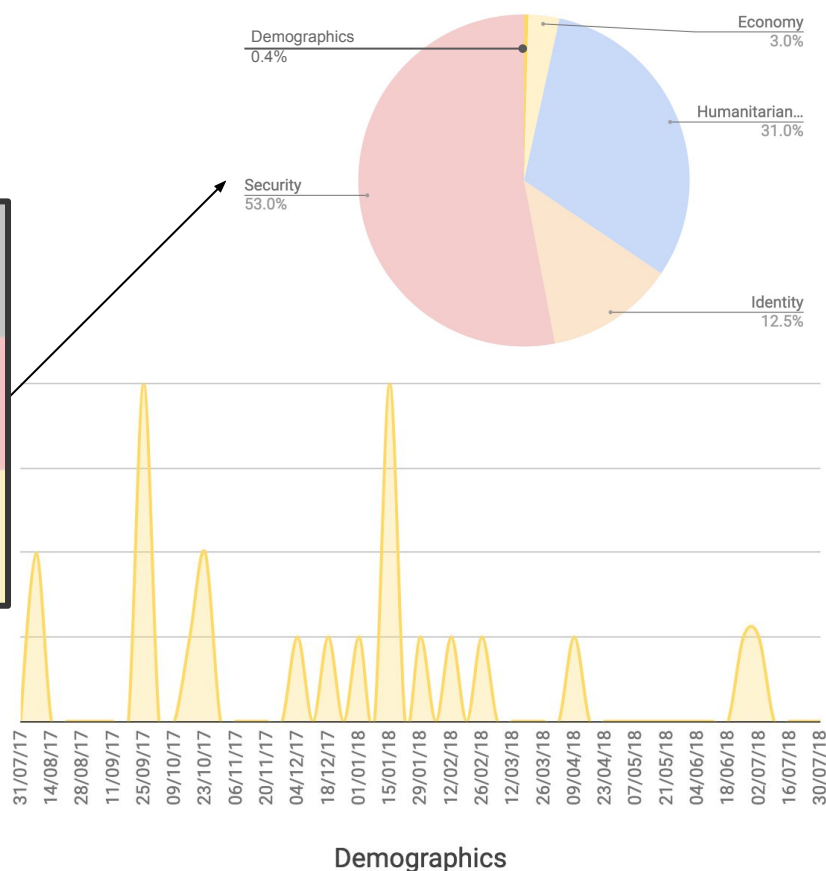
Pan-European Narratives | LU

Demographics (1)

Demographics is one of the smallest narratives in both the French and German conversation--an absence which can be connected to Luxembourg's stable economy and sufficient labour supply. As such, pro-migrant sentiments are common when discussing how the diversification of labour expertise is as a net benefit to long-term integration and overall prosperity.

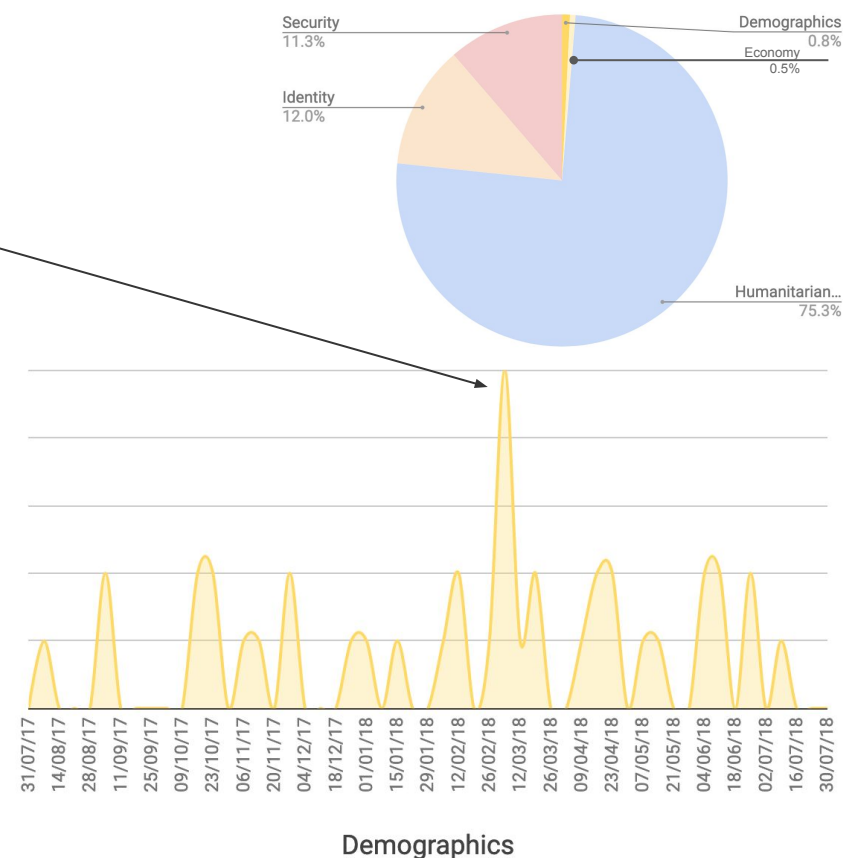
German Results:
~60 (0.42%)

"The NGO Engineers Without Borders haul immigrants to work on technical assistance jobs."



French Results:
~60 (1%)

The "Connections" Initiative, a program implemented to assist migrant integration into the workforce, encounters funding problems.



ANTI-MIGRANT VOICES

Why favour foreign migrants over local workers?!

Well-paid jobs are not invested into, instead they prefer to get fugitive low-wage workers from abroad, then call it integration.

The statistics are lying--most migrants engage in criminal activity, they don't pay taxes.

Do drug trafficking, prostitution and other criminal activities count as "labor market integration"?

It is hard to believe how shamelessly fee-financed media are now running #Propaganda #AllLies

Fear of overpopulation in Luxembourg

*I see that with great concern. **Overpopulation is a global scourge.***

*The **population of Luxembourg** should therefore continue to **increase significantly in the coming years**, with an additional 14,000 inhabitants per year (and 10,000 jobs), which raises questions [and concerns] about the organization of the country.*

PRO-MIGRANT VOICES

Migrants must have access to both the labour market and the housing market in order to be successful

*Many people [disproportionately **migrants**] in Luxembourg are still **marginalized**... Increasingly...[migrants] have **problems gaining a foothold in the labor market and, consequently, in the housing market.** [This seems to be a] form of structural discrimination.*

Successful migrant integration into the workforce is a good thing

In 2017 almost 200,000 refugees were integrated into the labor market. For the coming year, Labor Agency boss Scheele expects further progress.

It is imperative to have structures in place to support migrants integrate into the workforce

*It is also **unthinkable** to see that some **qualified refugees**, with diplomas, **can not practice their profession in Luxembourg** because of the lack of recognition of a diploma!*

EU-coordinated integration policies will ensure the successful integration

*Thus, **cohesion policy** will **play an increasingly important role** in supporting **structural reforms** and the **long-term integration of migrants.***

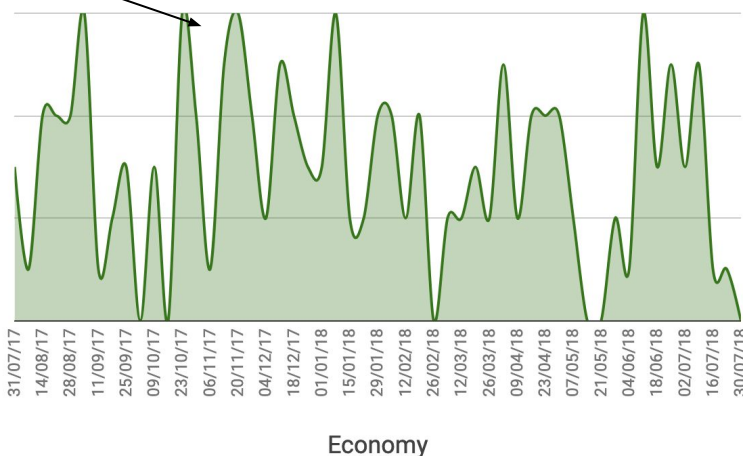
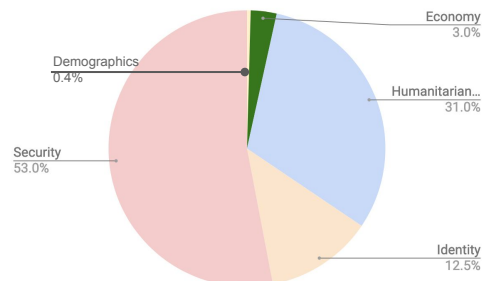
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Economy (1)

Within the French and German discussions on migration, few users discuss the impact of migrants on the Luxembourg economy. Because Luxembourg's local economy enjoys considerable stability and experiences very few labour shortages, migrants are generally not seen as threat to stability and economic growth. When pro-migrant voices discuss the economic consequences of migrants, the challenge of rising housing prices and the cost of providing high-quality resources to refugees are often discussed. When anti-migrant voices are present, the negative consequences of migrants are usually discussed in the context of France and Germany, rather than Luxembourg, by immigrants who migrated to Luxembourg in previous decades. Common concerns include strain on the job market, as well as local public services.

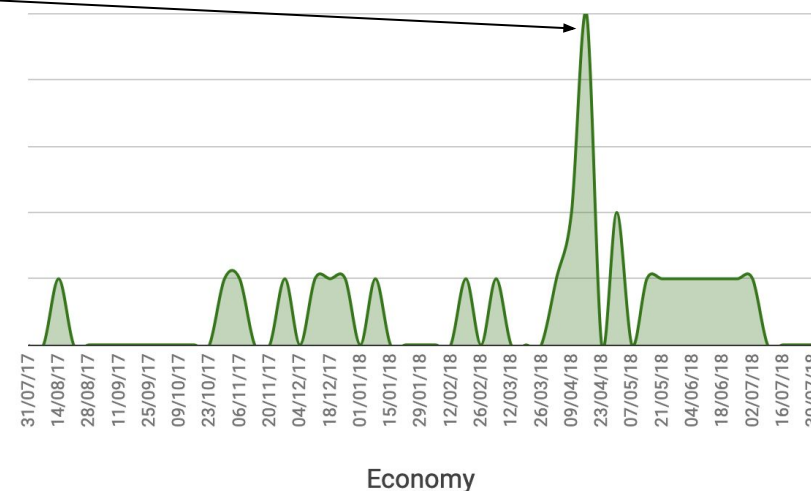
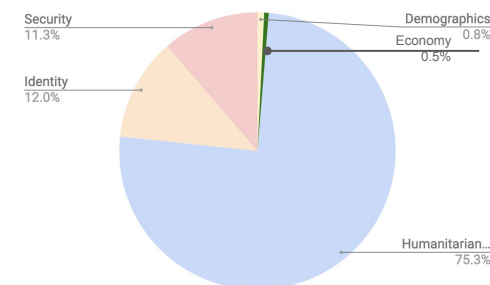
German Results:
~470 (3%)

"The SPD is now celebrating having forced even more migration into our social systems. She forgets that it is above all her own core clientele, which has to end up in the end and compete for housing, low-skilled jobs, social benefits."



French Results:
~40 (1%)

The French National Assembly passed a tough new immigration law tightening the rules around asylum.



ANTI-MIGRANT VOICES

Migrants arriving are fake and are here to cheat the system

*RT @ReneTruninger: # Refugees on #Heimaturlaub - now it should also be clear to the last do-gooder, that **it is #economic refugees!** #migration #asyl*

Unrestricted migration is costly for local social welfare resources

Migration must be regulated if we want to preserve the welfare state. Because in no other region in the world social benefits are distributed as generously as in Western Europe.

Migrants in France take away jobs and resources from native French citizens

*More than a year after the election of @EmmanuelMacron , **France is not better**, on the contrary: **still more debt, taxes, insecurity and immigration** . #congresversailles*

*Ha yes? 🤔😡😭😭 After 6 months **you find work for migrants** ??? And **Millions of French** at Pôle Emploi who are always **looking for work**???*

*Survey: nearly **7 out of 10 French people** believe that **immigration plays a negative role in all areas.***



PRO-MIGRANT VOICES

Plans must be made to assist in providing migrants and locals with affordable housing

*The "Fondation Cécile Ginter" is **committed** to the fight for **affordable housing**. After Differdingen, the foundation is now building twelve social rental apartments in Ettelbrück.*

Our economy is built and sustained by migrant work

*The messages conveyed by the government and reinforced by all of us are...**we are a land of immigration because today's immigrants, they are the wealth of tomorrow.** What matters is to be convinced of your strength and stop apologizing for your success.*

Need to make real estate market more accessible in order to provide migrants with proper housing

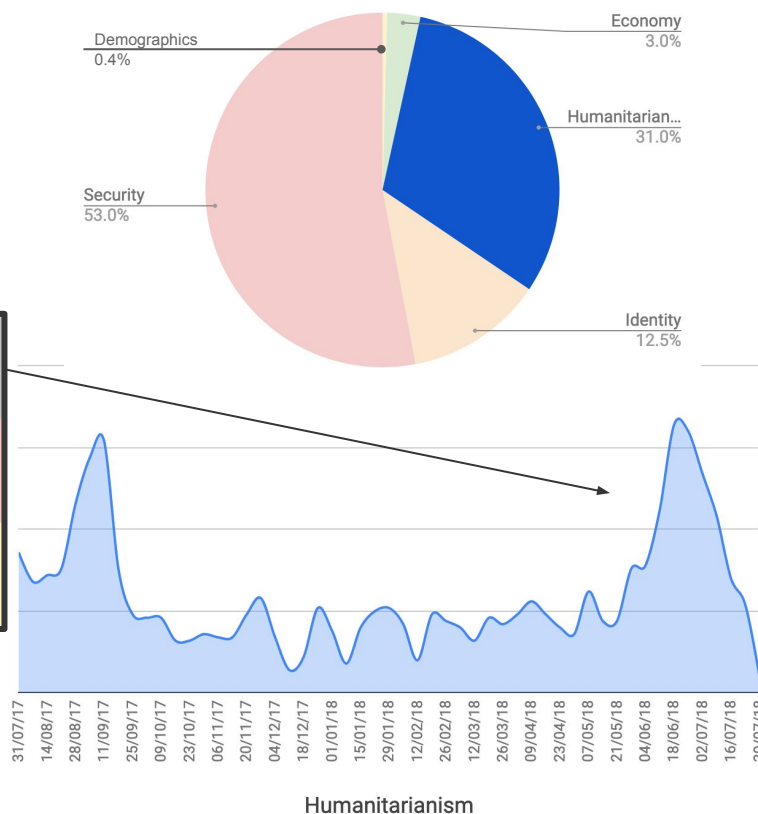
The increase in real estate prices** (+ 30% between 2006 and 2016) is mainly **related to** the dynamism of the Luxembourg economy and a particular **net immigration**...To maintain its dynamism, the **Luxembourg real estate market needs access to property to be open to as many people as possible.

Pan-European Narratives | LU

Humanitarianism (1)

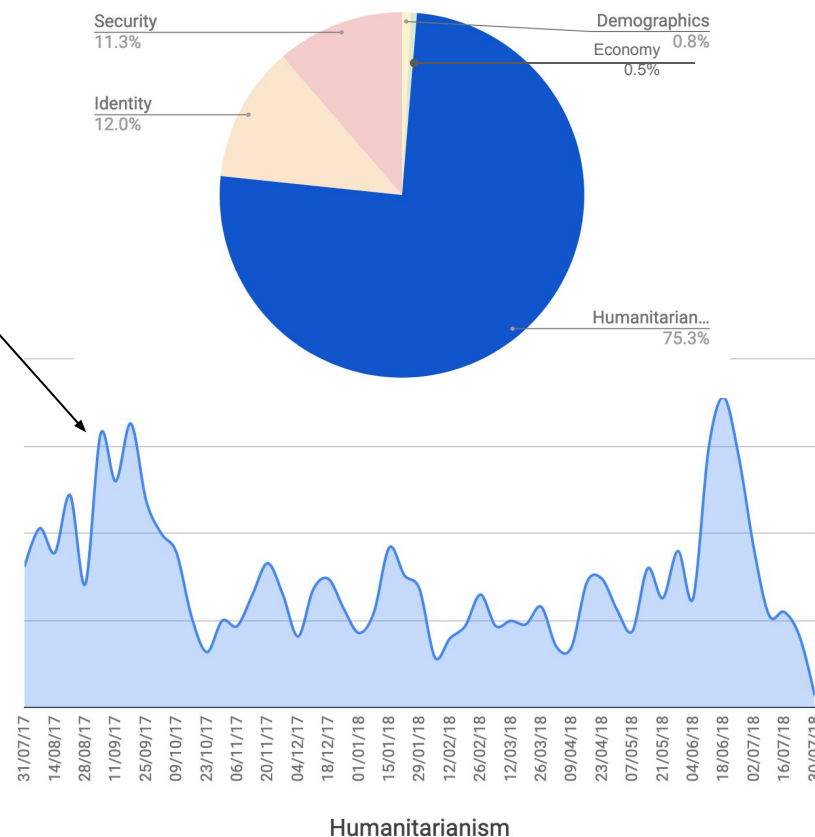
Humanitarianism dominated the French content as the narrative was discussed in about 75% of conversations – the majority of which expressing support and openness to migrants. While humanitarianism was also a popular narrative in the German conversation, it was the second strongest German narrative and contained a greater mix of both pro and anti-migrant sentiments. **Pro-migrant** voices expressed sympathy and understanding for the dangerous factors pushing migrant flight, and also emphasize the importance of supporting the right to subsistence. **Anti-migrant** voices usually appeared in the conversations of native French and German nationals who question the migrants' legitimacy and need for assistance.

German Results: ~4300 (30%)



French Results: ~4500 (75%)

"Luxembourg has decided to release € 400,000 to support a European Investment Bank (EIB) program to tackle the challenge of migration at the southern borders of the European Union."



ANTI-MIGRANT VOICES

Selective humanitarianism

*Funny , in 2015 he came as a 15 year old from Aleppo, [but] since 2013 he is on Facebook and all [of his] photos are from Germany. **Where are the photos of the "escape?" Is this all just fake and lies?!?***

*We must ensure that access to Germany in the future will be **permitted only to those whose identities we have known and tested and who meet the requirements for immigration.** Those who do not fulfill these requirements should not leave the reception facilities until they are **returned to their homeland.***

Selective humanitarianism

*The first asylum seekers are Albanians. **They do not flee the war.** When @nicolasbayfn quits the **#FakeNews** of a pro-immigration activist .*

Handicap International Luxembourg** is...[a] national mobilization campaign against the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. During this last quarter, several mechanisms will **call on the Luxembourg population to [remember that it is the] responsibility of all States to ensure that international humanitarian law is defended and applied.

PRO-MIGRANT VOICES

Current policies are hypocritical and counter-productive

*This year, Germany foisted 4 submarines on Saudi Arabia, 2 on Israel, and more. **With one hand you instigate war, with the other one you dry the tears of a refugee child from the same war region** (with no little media hype), in which weapons were delivered. MONAVISA, you are right when you say: "Strong interests are the motivation for wars, only naive ones believe otherwise."*

Moral obligation to assist migrants

*@CaritasLux calls for donations to support young refugees
February campaign: Investing in the future of young refugees*

Handicap International Luxembourg is...[a] national mobilization campaign against the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. During this last quarter, several mechanisms will call on the Luxembourg population to [remember that it is the] responsibility of all States to ensure that international humanitarian law is defended and applied.

The consequences of inaction are deadly

Four migrants between life and death in Calais after clashes

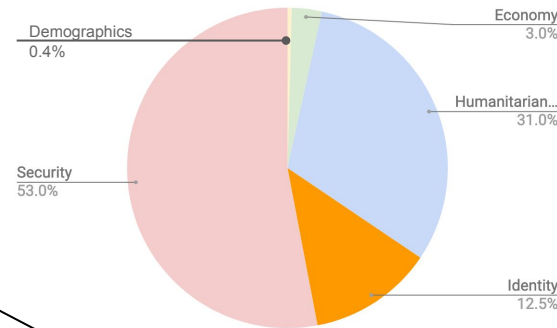


Pan-European Narratives | LU

Identity and Customs (1)

While the identity and customs narrative is relatively small in both the German and French migration conversations, the majority of Luxembourgish citizens are proud of their country's acceptance of migrants and truly believe multiculturalism to be a net benefit to society. By switching comfortably between German and French, pro-migrant voices demonstrate their cultural fluidity while expressing a genuine belief that migrants benefit Luxembourg through who they are (diverse identity), not just with what they do (contribution to economy). Anti-migrant voices, when present, voice a fear that local identity will be swamped by a influx of migrants.

German Results: ~1 800 (13%)

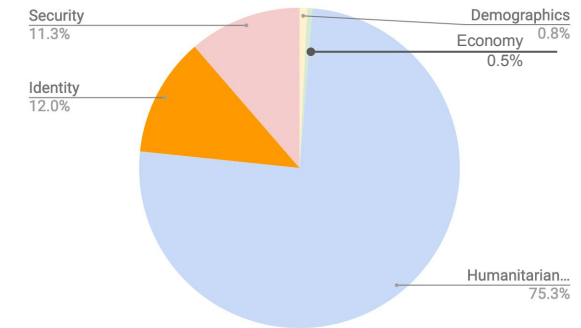


*"Something to think of
#falsetolerance #Islam:
"Since 1975, when the
Swedish Parliament has
officially decided to turn
Sweden into a
multicultural paradise,
violence crimes have risen
by 300% and rape by
nearly 1,500%"*

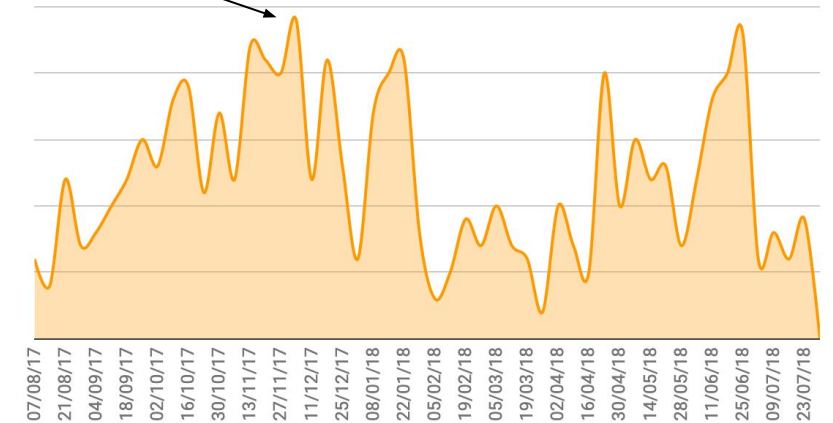
07/08/17 21/08/17 04/09/17 18/09/17 02/10/17
16/10/17 30/10/17 13/11/17 27/11/17 11/12/17 25/12/17 08/01/18 22/01/18 05/02/18 19/02/18 05/03/18 19/03/18 02/04/18 16/04/18 30/04/18 14/05/18 28/05/18 11/06/18 25/06/18 09/07/18 23/07/18

Identity

French Results: ~720 (12%)



*"Their defense of
the European
identity comes
down to the
rejection of
multiculturalis
m, obsessive
Islamophobia, a
rather cowardly
anti-migrant
racism..."*



Identity

ANTI-MIGRANT VOICES

Muslim migrants do not share local values

A teacher with a headscarf would only reinforce that. "Just by wearing the headscarf she signaled the strict interpretation of Islam, that the woman must be hidden from the eyes of men."

We constantly say that a minority must be protected. But this minority will become the majority. It will form #parallel societies " #Kelek #Islam #Integration #Migration #Submission #Maischberger

Mass migration threatens local identity

Luxembourgish is a language spoken at school...but teaching is limited to one hour per week and only in reading, while the other two languages benefit from 6 hours per week. Frankly, if we want to promote Luxembourgish as a national language, we must review its real teaching of primary school.

Islam will corrupt our local values

Once again we want to swallow snakes, it is not the crisis of migrants , it is the brothel in which we always find Islam , and nothing else!

Pan-European Narratives | LU

Identity and Customs (3)



PRO-MIGRANT VOICES

We are a land built by and made of migrants

The card game "Histoires de migrations - Luxembourg,"** which was presented in the National Archive yesterday afternoon, aims to get to the root of the **migration** processes, as well as to show that **these are by no means a recent phenomena [in Luxembourg's history].

Cultural diversity is beneficial

Luxembourg is culturally diverse and cosmopolitan.
*This was again impressively demonstrated by the 35th "Festival des migrations, des cultures et de la citoyenneté" last weekend. **People from 175 countries live peacefully together in the Grand Duchy.***

We are a land built by and made of migrants

*History and language are as determining and connecting to the identity of regions, nations and people...**How enriching, therefore, the diversity and combination of traditions can be...For decades, it has shaped Luxembourgish society.***

We can learn so much from our foreign fellow citizens

*Around 400 booths **provided an opportunity** to talk to representatives of the numerous communities of **foreign fellow citizens** and **also to get to know the specialties of the different countries.***

*This building has become, over time, a **landmark for refugees.** Many of them go to Bonnevoie to **weave a social bond, but also to receive help.***

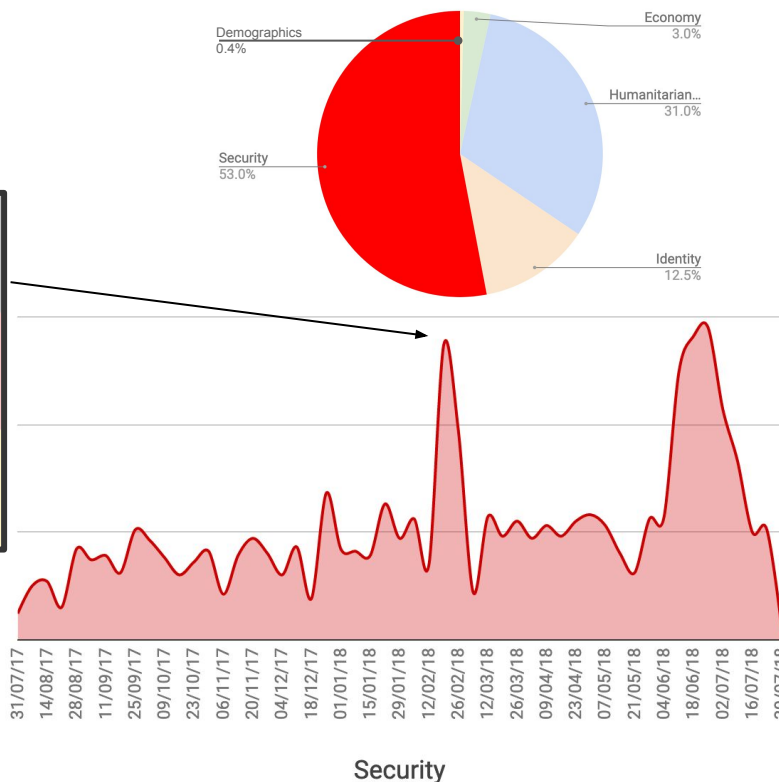
Pan-European Narratives | LU

Security (1)

When pro-migrant voices are present in this narrative, the dangerous and violent circumstances that cause refugee flight are highlighted as the real security threat. As such, a response should be crafted which deals with migration “push” factors. Pro-migrant voices also understand an influx of migration could be a potential source of international instability and, therefore, should also be dealt with by implementing internationally-coordinated policies that promote rule-of-law based principles and fair distribution of responsibility. In contrast, anti-migrant voices are concerned about undocumented migrants causing an increase in crime and violence, though these concerns are more often found in conversations discussing security risks in France or Germany, rather than Luxembourg. Notably, concerns about security were far more prevalent when conversations took place in German, rather than French.

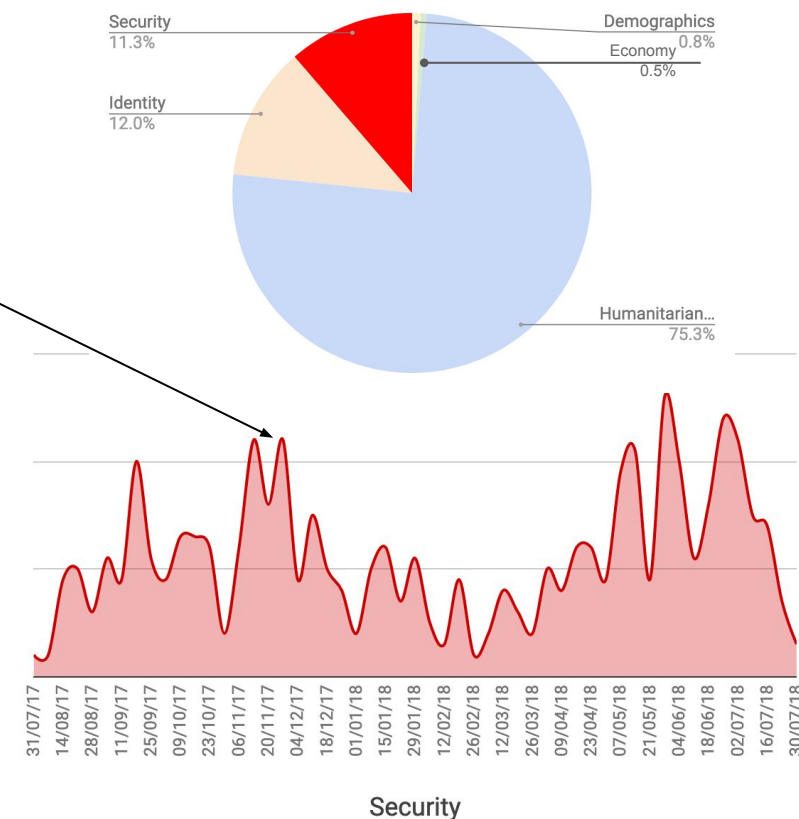
German Results:
~7500 (53%)

“Asylum seekers attack volunteers of a charity organisation in Ilmenauer, Germany.”



French Results:
~680 (11%)

“In Luxembourg City...the OLAI [is] very seriously consider[ing]... provid[ing] accommodation for some 300 refugees [in the former Jaguar garage].”



ANTI-MIGRANT VOICES

An influx of migrants will result in a rise in local violence and crime

*Huch, @ FR quality **journalist** is **not outraged** that **200 migrants threatened police** + distributed, but that the @AfD tweet about it! **What more will jeopardize our personal security?** #Ellwangen*

*People who have **faked the stay in our country** with false information **are criminal persons...** they can **probably commit other crimes**, if necessary. For example, the Nigerian drug dealers in court and also arrived as refugees*

An influx of migrants will result in a rise in local violence and crime

*It is safe to say that these **migrants will all enter French soil. As if we did not have enough criminals in our prisons on run the streets...***

Violent circumstances causing migration is not Europe's fault, nor is it Europe's responsibility

*We must stop feeling guilty for being Europeans. Most African countries were "liberated" more than sixty years ago... **Those who were "liberated"** [from EU control] have become the worst oppressors of their [own] people...**and it is they who are primarily responsible for the situation in their country.***



PRO-MIGRANT VOICES

Border protection should not put migrants at unnecessary risk

*Spain's Interior Minister Fernando Grande-Marlaska announced that **he wants to dismantle the borders** of the North African exclaves Ceuta and Melilla. These are surrounded by razor-sharp barbed wire fences. But **these thorns do not stop anyone**: Thousands of people try to get over the fences every year...Now Spain wants to finally examine "less bloody" alternatives to border protection.*

Effective security can only be achieved through an internationally coordinated response

*We will **solve the problem of #Migration only through #solidarity and burden sharing** inside the #EU properly under control. Europe can not be a fortress that fights against fundamental humanity »Jean #Asselborn in # Schengen* 🇪🇺

Migration-related security concerns within the EU can't be overcome if the conditions causing migrant flight are not addressed

***It would be great for a refugee fleeing the dictatorship** of his country to go and **ask permission to leave** it to the police or the military*

*This report shows that **the massive use of explosive weapons** in populated areas in Syria **forces civilians to flee on multiple occasions** and that the social and economic repercussions of bombing are devastating and lasting.*

Effective security can only be achieved through an internationally coordinated response

The orderly management of population movements will only be possible** if the definition of the refugee, the duration of the proceedings, the reception conditions and the recognition rate **are identical in Europe.

+ *Local Issues in Luxembourg Around Migration*



2.

There are No Local Narratives in Luxembourg

[illegible]

bakamo INSIGHTS WITHOUT ASKING

+ *Migration in the Context of European- and Domestic Politics*



3.

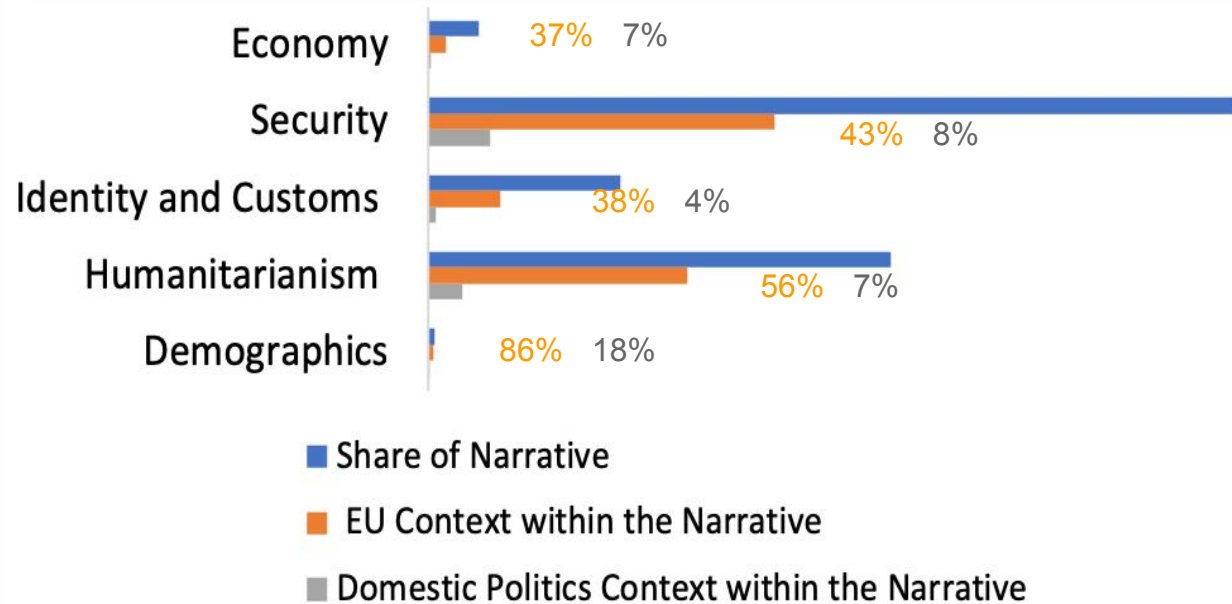


European and Domestic Politics Context within Narratives | LU

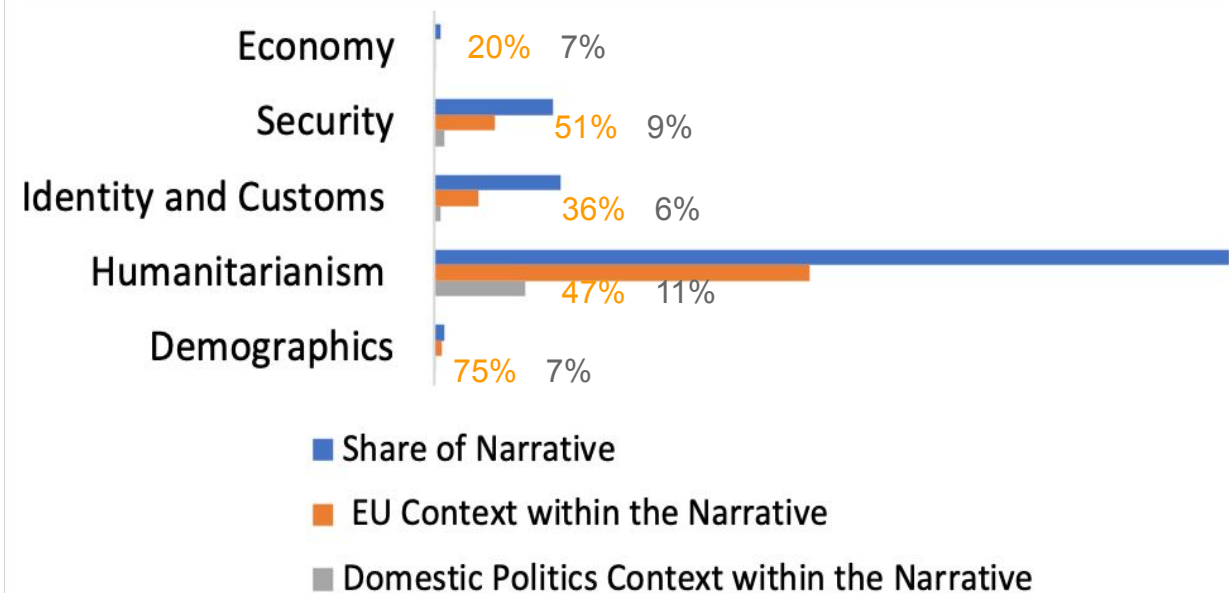
European References are Strongest in Security

In the German and French discussions, the demographic narrative contains significantly more references to European, rather than local politics. This reflects the demographic makeup of **Luxembourg**-- many living in **Luxembourg** are first or second-generation **EU immigrants** who are still **plugged into their native country's political debates** and **concerns**.

Penetration of the European and Domestic Politics Contexts in Narratives



Penetration of the European and Domestic Politics Contexts in Narratives



+ *Discussion Tone in Luxembourg*

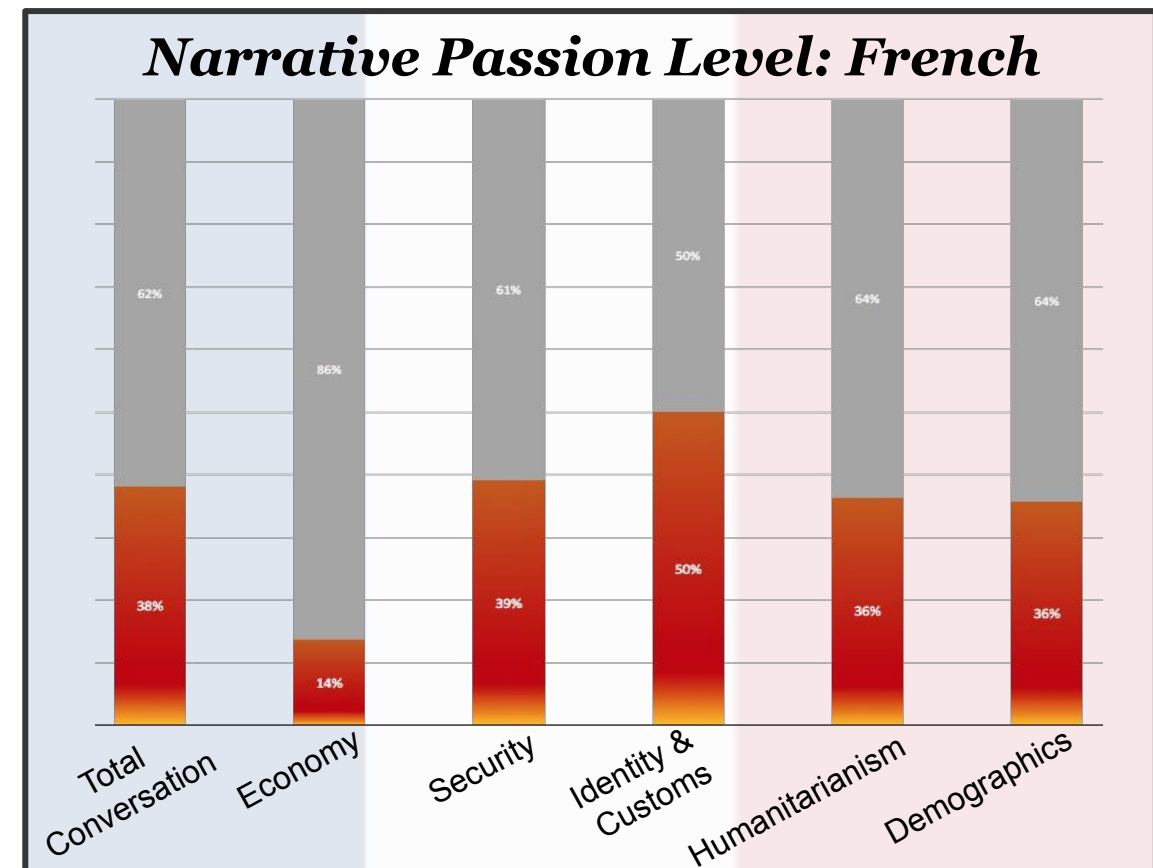
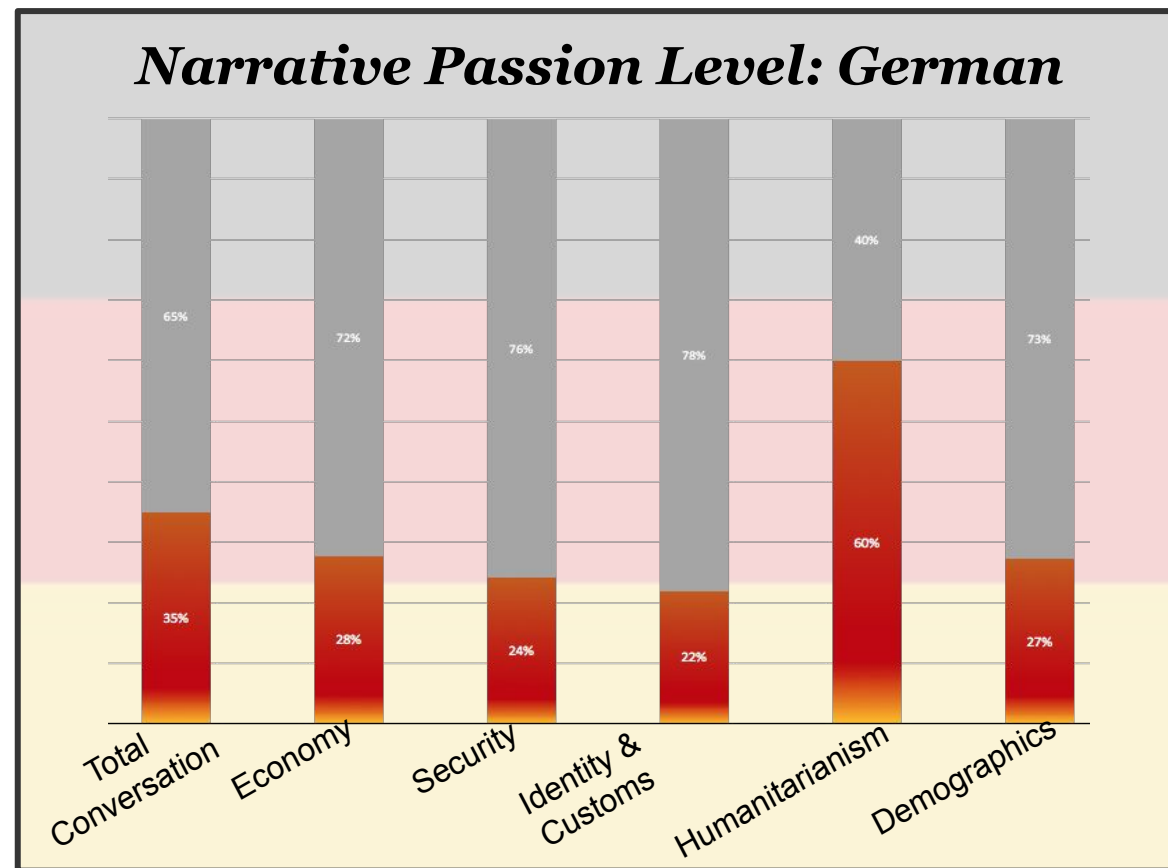


4.

Conversational Tone Throughout the Discussion



The discussion in Luxembourg around migration is **conversational and reserved**. People communicate in a factual manner and express positive emotions. However, **humanitarianism** is a topic that triggers passionate discussions on public social media.



■ Passionate Tone ■ Conversational Tone

+ *Conversation Channels*



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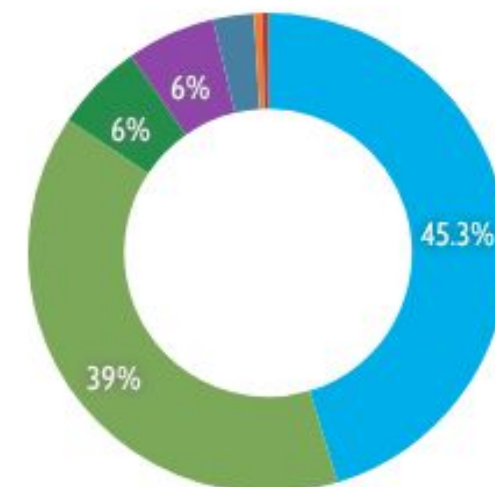
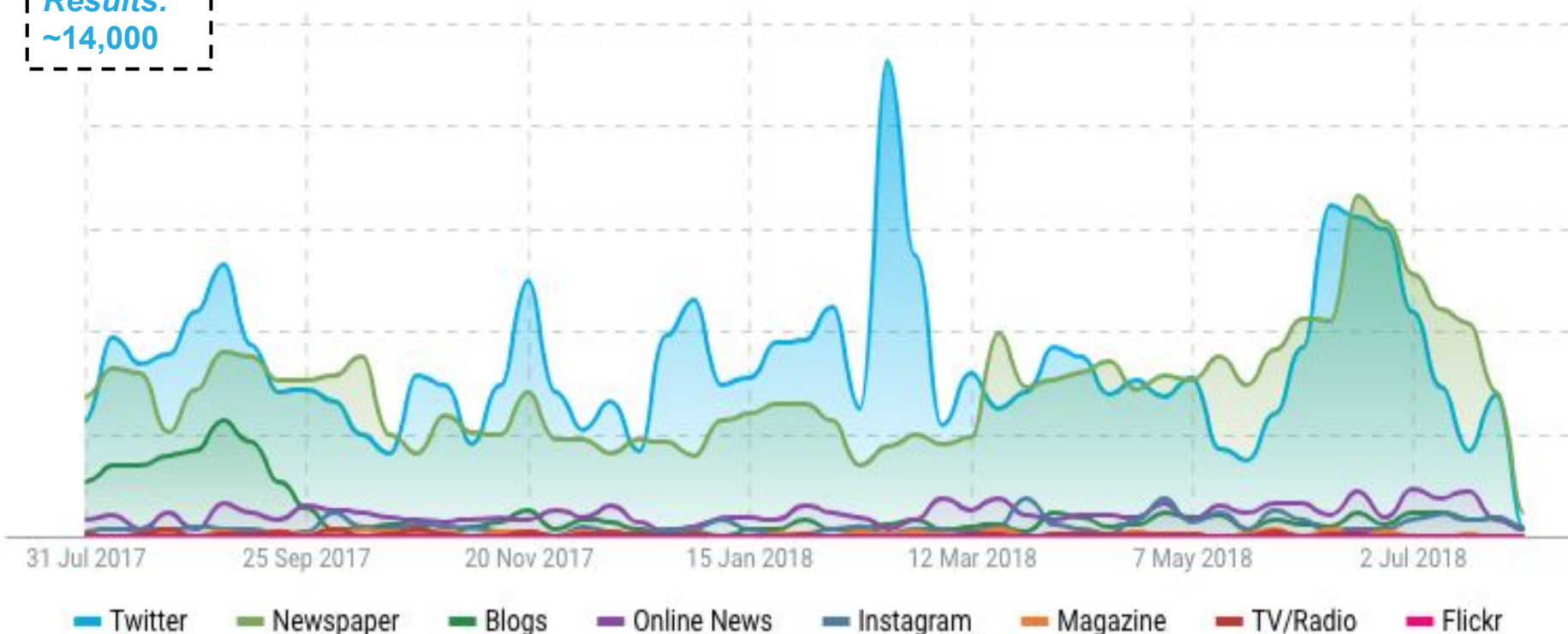


Channel Distribution | LU

From the Analysed and Publicly Available Data, Twitter Dominates the Debate

Although **Twitter** is the platform that provides for most of the German-language conversations on migration in Luxembourg, public opinion is highly influenced by content posted on **online news sites and blogs**.

Results:
~14,000



● Twitter
● Newspaper
● Blogs
● Online News
● Instagram
● Magazine
● TV/Radio
● Flickr

Most Influential Authors | LU

Traditional Media vs. Newcomers Drive Engagement

The conversation was mostly driven by established, traditional media focusing on EU politics and relevant events.

However, certain francophone twitter accounts could also gain traction with their takes on current events.

Most Influential Authors of the Overall Conversation	Description
lessentiel.lu	Established online media
europa.eu	EU website
wort.lu	Established online media
PeupleFrance(@justofly)	A right-wing twitter account
marc amine (@MarcPireaux)	A humanist twitter account