This case study has shown that the border location is actually the special feature of the survey area: in daily life, it is not necessarily solely people's own memory that is relevant, but also the manner in which they view the neighbouring regions and how they are viewed by their neighbours. It was only possible to bring to light the different forms of subjectivation in contrasting the different border regions. The newspaper articles in particular have helped to show to which degree the view of the 'other' and of one's own role can be subject to change – a result that once again points to the instability of identity models in general.

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5.8 Beyond Luxembourg. Space and Identity Constructions in the Context of Cross-border Residential Migration

Christian Wille, Gregor Schnuer, Elisabeth Boesen

This case study examines the relationship between constructions of space and identity in Luxembourg and the surrounding border regions. A particular focus are cross-border residential migrants, that is, people who have moved from Luxembourg into the neighbouring border regions. This group is compared with other groups in Luxembourg and in the border region with respect to their space- and group-related attitudes and practices. In addition, it serves as a reference category in the sense that the attitudes of the interviewees towards the phenomenon of residential migration provide insights about their self-positionings and group-related identity constructions.

The flow of residential migrants from Luxembourg has been continuous for the last decade and has entailed some considerable structural changes for the

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communities near the border.[140] This development is primarily due to the low land and real-estate prices in the German, French and Belgian border regions compared to those in Luxembourg. Statistical information about the group of residential migrants is sporadic and incomplete at best[141], so that only limited statements can be made about their prevalence in the survey area. Nonetheless, the findings show that since the beginning of the 2000s, there has been a marked increase of residential migrants and that the two German federal states of Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate have meanwhile become the preferred target regions. In addition, the overwhelming majority of residential migrants are people employed in Luxembourg, who have, by moving, become cross-border commuters. A third feature of the group that differentiates it from residential migrants of other European border regions is their enormous heterogeneity with regards to national and socio-cultural affiliation.[142]

Besides this relatively recent form of border crossing, the commuter flows into Luxembourg have been playing an increasingly larger role in the border regions ever since the 1980s, so that their other residential population is also highly mobile. Currently around 155,000 people commute daily from the neighbouring regions to their workplace in Luxembourg (see IBA 2013: 81ff.). Among them there are increasingly more 'atypical border commuters', i.e. residential migrants who, after moving away from Luxembourg, continue to work there. The existing evaluations of statistical data on atypical border commuters covering the period from 2001 to 2007 (see Brosius/Carpentier 2010) and the year 2011 (see IBA 2013: 120ff.) not only show that the number of atypical border commuters has increased significantly, but also provide a first indication about the composition of the group of residential migrants. The majority (57 %) is comprised of French, Belgian and, to a lesser degree, German nationals, i.e. persons for whom moving away from Luxembourg meant returning to their country of origin. A further group (10 %) consists of persons of Portuguese nationality, and finally around a quarter of the atypical border commuters are of Luxembourgish nationality (in the year 2011 exactly 3,446 persons).

140 | The municipality of Wincheringen in Rhineland-Palatinate can serve as a case in point here: currently the percentage of foreigners living here is as high as 23 % (in 2000, it was 4 %), comprising 33 nationalities (see Schnuer/Boesen/Wille 2013). We can observe a similar development in the Saarland municipality of Perl where the number of residents coming from Luxembourg increased between 1990 and 2010 from 55 to 1,272 (see Nienaber/Kriszan 2013: 5).

141 | The official statistics – where available – do not give a completely truthful picture of the actual development, since a large number of people that move across the border retain their original domicile in Luxembourg.

142 | For instance, persons of Luxembourgish origin, members of different groups of classic work migrants (in particular families of Portuguese origin) as well as members of the highly mobile international elites (finance, European institutions).

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Besides the residence and work related mobility, the region under consideration also exhibits a high cross-border mobility in other areas of daily life as shown, among others, by the findings of our survey (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey). Thus 76 % of respondents in the entire survey area state that they more or less regularly cross over to a neighbouring country for at least one everyday activity (besides work).

Against the background of these developments and in view of the described heterogeneity, the examined border region constitutes a suitable case for the study of constructions of space and identity on the subject level. Our basic assumption is that concepts of space and identity built on national boundaries or clear-cut categories of 'we' and 'the other' fall short here. The understanding of identity and difference on which the majority of empirical studies in the context of the border are based presumes a binary structure of identity constructions (see Bürkner 2011). This perspective is, however, only insufficiently suited for mapping the everyday realities in the examined border region. We argue that what we are dealing with here is, in more ways than one, a progressive dissolution of clear-cut group structures, and the group of residential migrants is the one that challenges these binary notions of identity particularly strongly. This implies the question in how far the geopolitical structures that are constitutive for the study context of 'border region' are still relevant as categories of perception and identification. What needs to be examined is which constructions of space and identity emerge in the social processes marked by residential migration and other phenomena of mobility and in how far they can serve to overcome concepts based on national borders and binary notions.

The case study attempts to do justice to the particular complexity of the border region by not relying on the given national categories, but considering different everyday-cultural dimensions of differentiation. On the one hand, we differentiate between residential migrants from Luxembourg and the local population in the border region and in Luxembourg, with the group of locals subdivided in autochthonous residents and arrivals from other parts of the country and abroad. On the other hand, cross-border commuters are considered as a distinct social group. Furthermore, we seek to understand the territorial and social dimension of spaces as linked and examine their interaction in processes of identity construction. In line with the praxeological perspective adopted in this chapter, we understand identity constructions as subject constitutions that occur in the interplay of subjectifications and subjectivations. On the basis of empirical data we in particular address the question whether the mentioned mobile practices influence modes of subjectivation.

5.8.1 Space-related Identities

Space-related identities are examined via two complementary approaches (see Sonntag 2013: 46ff. as well as section 2.3 in this volume). One consists in

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investigating how individuals of the different groups of people described above identify *with* spaces; this primarily concerns a sense of belonging to a cross-border region. With the other approach, we aim to map identifications *of* spaces by revealing space-related representations of a cross-border region. Both approaches provide insights about interpretations and attributions of meaning and deal with different aspects of social practices. On the one hand, we examine the relation between social practices and a sense of belonging to a border region, and on the other, which space-generating discourses and experiences are reflected in space-related representations.

In a first step, the inhabitants of the survey area were asked in how far they have a sense of belonging with respect to different spatial entities. These entities also include the cross-border level of the Greater Region SaarLorLux (see Wille 2012: 106ff.). The results of the quantitative survey show that the majority of all respondents experience a sense of belonging to their respective country of residence and origin (85 % and 81 %), with the inhabitants of Luxembourg in particular (where 43 % of all residents are foreigners) differentiating between country of residence and of origin (93 % and 82 %). By contrast, only a little over a third (35 %) of the respondents identifies with the Greater Region, and this affiliation is more often linked with a sense of belonging to the country of residence than the other way round. This suggests that the identifications with the cross-border level should not be seen as an expression of a general cosmopolitan attitude, but rather as a correlate of other, partly local ties and corresponding spatial appropriation processes. In comparing the national and regional groups, further marked differences emerge with respect to the identification with the cross-border level. Respondents from the Saarland displayed a remarkably high percentage of identification with the Greater Region (63 %); the Luxembourg residential population is still above the average with 44 %, whereas among the inhabitants of Lorraine, only 33 % state having a sense of belonging, followed by 27 % in Rhineland-Palatinate and finally 14 % in Wallonia.

A closer look at the different subpopulations in the border region shows that the identification with the Greater Region is particularly strong with the questioned cross-border commuters (47 %). The residential migrants from Luxembourg, as well as the autochthonous residents, also identify to a relatively high degree with the cross-border level (41 % and 35 %), while the sense of belonging to the Greater Region of those residential migrants not coming from Luxembourg is remarkably low (from the same country: 25 %, from abroad: 26 %). This confirms that the cross-border level is relevant for identity particularly for people with marked local ties and for those who are mobile in the border area. This link between a sense of belonging on the level of the Greater Region, on a local level and the everyday experience of crossing the border is even stronger if further features of the respondents are included. The statistical evaluation of the quantitative data shows that there is a clear link for the entire survey area between the degree of identification with the Greater Region, the cross-border performance of everyday practices, cross-border information behaviour (keeping abreast of current affairs)

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as well the existence of relations with friends and work colleagues in neighbouring regions.

The most frequent cross-border practices performed "more or less regularly" comprise doing the groceries for daily needs and going shopping (see Fig. 1), trips to the countryside as well as visiting cultural events and friends. In addition, more than half of all respondents (53 %) state that they regularly keep informed about current affairs in the neighbouring country. This cross-border information behaviour is particularly pronounced with the inhabitants of Luxembourg (61 %) and the inhabitants of the francophone regions (Lorraine: 51 %, Wallonia: 59 %) as well as the residential migrants from Luxembourg (70 %).

The connections between spatial identifications and other features discussed so far provide insights about identifications *with* spaces. In a further step, identities *of* spaces, more exactly, of the political-administrative spatial construction 'Greater Region' will be examined in order to understand how the latter is represented. In interviews, it was established whether the term 'Greater Region' was known to the interviewees and if so, what they associate with it. Almost all of them stated being familiar with the term (see in more detail Wille 2009) and addressed the following dimensions of experience.

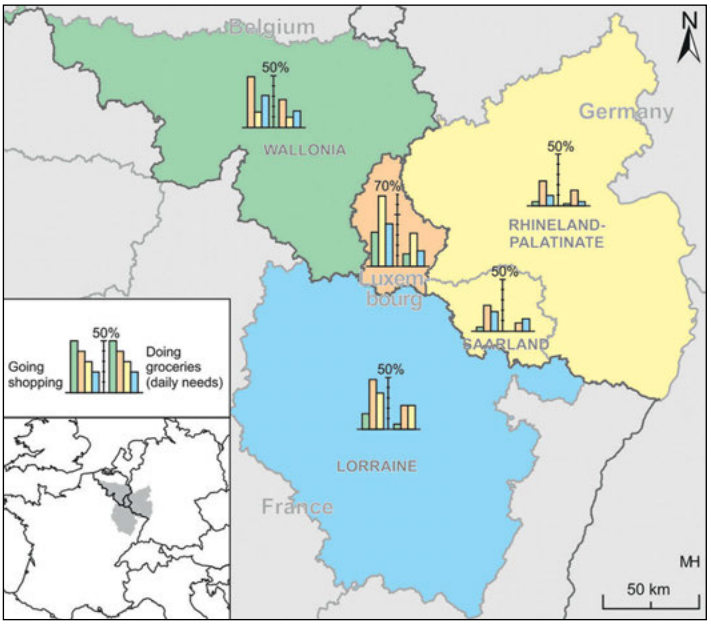

Figure 1: Cross-border everyday practices: shopping and groceries (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey) (design: Christian Wille, realization: Malte Helfer)
Legend: 69 % of the respondents in Luxembourg shop in neighbouring Germany on a more or less regular basis

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A majority of the interviewees first attempts to define the *geographical dimension* of the Greater Region. In doing so, the concept is connected with different levels of scale (national, regional, municipal), with the countries Luxembourg, France and Germany, the regions Province of Luxembourg, Saarland, Rhineland-Palatinate, and the cities Trier, Saarbrücken and Arlon being named most often. The term 'SaarLorLux' is also addressed, the original term for the cross-border cooperation area, pointing to the border region's industrial past and the expanded geopolitical configuration (see Wille 2012: 120ff.). Here, the interviewees make much less specific statements when they describe the Greater Region as consisting of the "cities around Luxembourg", "everything in a radius of 100 km of Luxembourg" or "a bit of Germany, a bit of France and a bit of Belgium." What we can safely say is that the interviewees assume a spatial entity whose representations, however, do not correspond to the shape of the political cooperation area, but rather seem to demarcate a core space within the Greater Region that is probably more relevant for the interviewees' cross-border everyday experiences.

In addition, some of the interviewees in Luxembourg are familiar with the term 'Greater Region' via the *media*. For instance, a radio station is mentioned that emphasizes the fact that it is broadcasting for the Greater Region. They also point to the free papers that are available in the Grand Duchy and in the directly neighbouring towns and in which "you regularly come across the term of Greater Region"[143] (also see section 4.2). Finally, the term is associated with a cross-border cultural project; in 2007 Luxembourg and the Greater Region were the location of the cultural capital of Europe, which is also reflected in the name of the mega event: *Luxembourg and Greater Region – European Capital of Culture 2007*. In terms of marketing, it was at the time important to "highlight Luxembourg in the context of the Greater Region in the sense of an attribution process" and give the region "a (greater-)regional identity" (Reddeker 2011: 196f.).

Some interviewees connect 'Greater Region' *with European and/or regional-political collaboration*, without specifically mentioning any institutions of the political cooperation (see Wille 2012: 119ff.) by name, but rather referring to concrete changes – the abolition of identity checks at borders, the free movement of persons and goods. People emphasized particularly that "much has become simpler" as well as the "ease"[144] with which borders can be overcome nowadays. In this context, 'Greater Region' is also associated with the reconciliation process after the Second World War. What the interviewees thus understand under 'Greater Region' are primarily the results of the institutional cross-border cooperation that are palpable in everyday life.

A further frequently addressed set of subjects with respect to the 'Greater Region' is the *employment of border commuters in Luxembourg*. Thus the interviewees

143 | Personal translation of: "[...] man immer wieder von Großregion liest."

144 | Personal translation of: "[...] dass Vieles einfacher geworden ist"; [sowie die] "die Leichtigkeit."

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in Luxembourg emphasize that the Grand Duchy relies on the Greater Region "because of the border commuters."[145] And *vice versa*, Luxembourg is described by the inhabitants of the surrounding border regions as the number one employer or as an economic driving force whose effect reaches far into the neighbouring regions. The border commuters among the interviewees connect 'Greater Region' in particular with cross-border commuting, with the geographical distribution of their circle of colleagues and with the advantages of border-commuter employment.

Finally, many interviewees connect 'Greater Region' with the possibility "to be quickly in another country."[146] Here they mention *cross-border daily practices*, primarily involving selective buying of particularly cheap products (petrol, tobacco, coffee, spirits) in Luxembourg and, with a view to the border region, doing general cross-border groceries or shopping, as well as residential migration and visiting friends and acquaintances.

We can safely say that in the identification *of* the 'Greater Region', a variety of everyday-cultural dimensions interact. On the one hand, attempts to depict the Greater Region through geopolitical categories produce the diffuse image of a cross-border region; 'Greater Region' is identified as a variable spatial entity of cities, regions and countries. These demarcations seem partly shaped by media-driven representations and political-administrative discourses. On the other hand, it becomes clear that the representation of 'Greater Region' is primarily connected with the interviewees' cross-border mobile practices and in that sense also with the results of the political-institutional cooperation.

All in all, we were able to establish that the interviewees' identification *with* the cross-border level was relatively weak, but that the identification *of* the Greater Region reflects a strong representation of the cross-border spatial entity that orients itself only to a very small degree along geopolitical categories and even less along the actual territory that is the purview of the bodies of cooperation in the Greater Region. For the interviewees, the experience of crossing the border in the course of everyday practices seemed to be far more relevant. We can assume from this result that the majority of interviewees is engaged in a "*Doing Grande Région*" (Wille 2010), but has little use for the political-administrative concept of 'Greater Region'.

With respect to the spatial aspects of subjectivation processes, there can be little doubt that space in both respects – identification *of* and *with* – proves to be primarily a category of everyday-cultural (and localized) experience. The identification with the Greater Region correlates, as we have seen, with the connectedness to the place of residence, on the one hand, and with cross-border everyday practices (consumption, information, social contacts), on the other. The representations of the Greater Region are also formed by taking recourse to these concrete mobile practices. While we can observe differences between the

145 | Personal translation of: "[…] wegen der Grenzgänger."

146 | Personal translation of: "[…] schnell in einem anderen Land zu sein."

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examined groups and – partly considerable – differences between the compared regional entities, this in no way changes the basic findings.

5.8.2 Group-related Identities

The results so far suggest that there is a general tendency of an identification *of* and *with* the Greater Region and that this increases with the intensification of cross-border practices and experiences. In a further step, we aim to shed light on the relation between constructions of space and identity from another angle by turning our attention, as mentioned above, to the group of residential migrants and thus to a third form of identification; after having discussed identifications *with* and *of*, what interests us with respect to this group is the 'being identified' (Graumann 1983). We argue that the phenomenon of cross-border residential migration promises to provide particular insights when we try to clarify space-related identity constructions. Living somewhere differs from other cross-border practices (e.g. working, consuming, maintaining contacts etc.), in the sense that settling down in a place initiates a process which usually leads to an identification of a more comprehensive nature than the practices mentioned above. The place becomes a part of one's own identity (see Weichhart 1990). But at the same time, the place is in turn identified with its residents, i.e. the influx of new residents can change the 'character' of a place, a neighbourhood or an entire village. This therefore raises the question whether or in which degree these identification processes take effect in the case of cross-border residential migrants. As mentioned in the beginning, we consider the group of residential migrants in the context discussed here as a reference category. What interests us is how the residential migrants and in particular their relationship to their new place of residence are perceived, in as far as these perceptions reveal something about identification processes in the border regions and in the Greater Region as a whole.

The border area residents that moved from Luxembourg, who meanwhile comprise more than 20 % of the population in some municipalities, represent a very heterogeneous group, and this not only in terms of nationality and socio-economic profiles, but also concerning family structures, even though one can here observe a clear preponderance of young couples who are first property buyers (Brosius/Carpentier 2010: 26). Also because of this diversity, it is difficult to establish a 'common denominator' for the group of residential migrants and the perceptions and identification processes can be assumed to be correspondingly complex.

In order to establish a synopsis of opinions about residential migrants, we formulated twelve statements about "persons who move from Luxembourg into the neighbouring region" (see Table 1) which the respondents could answer using a 4-point scale. In the statistical analysis, we concentrated on those persons of the sample for whom we could assume a daily connection to the phenomenon of residential migration, i.e. on persons who do not live further away than 40 km

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from the Luxembourg border (n= 1,319). Persons who did not wish to or could not make a statement about the phenomenon of residential migration were left out of consideration.

As Table 1 shows, there is a difference between residents of the examined partial areas in terms of how residential migration is perceived. In order to test this difference for significance and for influences from other relevant variables, logistic regressions were conducted that consider various possible predictor variables. These variables refer to the demographic and socio-economic features as well as to the sense of belonging and to cross-border agency.[147] This procedure enables us to check whether or which predictor variables show a significant difference in response behaviour. Corresponding significances are displayed via probability ratios with respect to the response behaviour.[148] We limit ourselves to showing the regressions with respect to the aspects of 'finances' and 'integration', since they produce the clearest results and offer good possibilities for comparison.

147 | Variables considered in the analysis: country of residence (Luxembourg/border region); autochthonous/new arrival; national/non-national; age (ordinal scale); income; household with/without children; urban/suburban/rural life style; cross-border/non cross-border information behaviour; relatives/no relatives, friends/no friends and work colleagues/no work colleagues in the neighbouring regions; criteria for current place of residence as dichotomous; yes/no variables (price, relatives and friends, infrastructure, local public transport connection, connection to the road network); sense of belonging to Greater Region/country of residence/country of origin/region of residence/place of residence (ordinal scales); cross-border/no cross-border practices (shopping, sports, cultural events etc.).

148 | Example: nationals are more likely to agree with the statement "Residential migrants will never become real locals" than non-nationals.

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Areas of opinion	Statements The people who move …	**Luxembourg residential population (agreement in %)**	**Border area residents (agreement in %)**
finances	… can't afford to live in Luxembourg.	89	73
	… are primarily concerned about money.	95	82
	… should better invest their money in Luxembourg.	64	39
	… are pushing up the prices.	63	59
quality of life	… enjoy on the whole a higher quality of life.	39	63
	… have their family's best interest at heart.	78	83
national affiliation	… don't feel at home anymore in Luxembourg.	33	35
	… aren't real Luxembourgers.	27	32
integration	… only come home to sleep.	59	51
	… will never become true locals.	60	43
	… keep to themselves.	52	46
	… enjoy participating in village life at their new place of residence.	46	60

Table 1: Statements and opinions about residential migrants (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)

The analysis first shows a significance of the variable 'country of residence', i.e. a difference between the residents of Luxembourg and the surrounding border area with respect to their attitude towards the two discussed aspects of residential migration: it is more likely that those living in Luxembourg believe that the

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residential migrants would move for financial reasons and would not integrate well in their new place of residence than that the residents of the border region would adopt this view. If, in a second step, the Luxembourg residential population is considered separately, it is only for a small minority of opinions that the regressions point to significant connections. With respect to the view that financial reasons were responsible for the residential migration, the lack of significance can be explained by the fact that the rate of agreement is very high (89 % and 95 %), which suggests that this view in Luxembourg is unquestioned collective knowledge that remains uninfluenced by the variables in question. By contrast, the fact whether in daily life cross-border practices are carried out or not is a significant variable with respect to the opinions about residential migration. Thus people living in Luxembourg who do sports, go out, participate in associations and have friends across the border rate the integration of residential migrants in their new place of residence more favourably than persons not engaging in such cross-border practices. Also, the variable national/non-national proves significant in the analysis of the Luxembourg residential population; people with a migration background rate the participation of the residential migrants in village life and their potential for "becoming real locals" more favourably than Luxembourg nationals.

In the case of the residents of the neighbouring regions, the regressions for the individual subgroups show that certain predictor variables correlate significantly with differences in the opinions of the residents of the respective subregions. In addition, this analysis permits a more extended comparison between Luxembourg and the surrounding border region, i.e. it makes clear that there are not only differing opinions about residential migration, but that opinions in the subregions are in each case influenced by different variables. For the statement "... should better invest their money in Luxembourg" for instance, none of the mentioned variables had a significant influence on the response behaviour of the interviewed border region residents, while in Luxembourg age and cross-border practices play a role.

In the regressions to the other finance-related statements, the variable cross-border migrants/non-cross-border migrants stands out; the cross-border migrants tend to agree more with this statements than the rest of the border region population. A further significant variable is cross-border groceries. This practice correlates positively with the mentioned statements, whereas other cross-border activities turn out to be non-significant variables.

With respect to the integration statements "... like to participate in village life" and "come only home to sleep", the variable national/non-national proves significant in the border region; nationals are clearly more likely to rate the integration of residential migrants at their new place of residence negatively. The cross-border migrant status is here no longer significant. With regard to the statement "... will never become real locals", the variable autochthonous/arrivals from outside is significant.

The regressions on the entire survey area confirm a significant difference between the residents of the border region and those of Luxembourg in their

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opinions about residential migrants. One should, however, emphasize here that the variables 'national sense of belonging' and nationality have proven to be not significant. In addition, the logistic regressions within both subgroups 'Luxembourgers' and 'border region residents' show not only that the response behaviour and thus the opinions are different, but also that the response behaviour in the two subregions is influenced by different factors. In conclusion, we can make the following observations:

(1) We can identify a general difference between the opinions in Luxembourg and in the border area. This consists chiefly in the fact that, from the perspective of the Luxembourg respondents, moving into the border region is understood more as a choice motivated by the difference in rent and property prices than a choice based on other pragmatic or socio-cultural reasons. For the border region, by contrast, we can observe that the integration of residential migrants is rated more favourably than in Luxembourg.

(2) It has also become clear that certain everyday practices have an influence on how residential migration is assessed, so that the picture indicating a general difference between Luxembourg and the border area in this regard turns out to be an inaccurate one. More detailed analysis, however, shows that this effect does not apply to the opinions as a whole, but only with regard to certain aspects. Thus cross-border social contacts and cultural practices influence the Luxembourg residential population's opinions about integration, while they have no influence on their opinions about the financial aspect of residential migration.

On the whole, the findings support the assessment that the various aspects of residential migration have a more marked influence on opinions where they play a more significant role in everyday life – issues of integration for border region residents and the evaluation of financial advantages and disadvantages for residents of Luxembourg. This observation also offers an explanation for the significance of the variables regarding cross-border practices and relations. In opinions about aspects that play a bigger role in everyday life 'beyond the border', cross-border practices and relations prove to be significant variables. Thus residents living in the border area and engaging in cross-border activities perceive financial advantages and disadvantages in a similar way to Luxembourg residents, and Luxembourg residents engaging in cross-border activities rate integration in a similar way to border region residents. Opinions that play a less important role 'beyond the border' do not seem to be influenced by cross-border practices and relationships. Thus opinions of border region residents regarding integration remain uninfluenced by social contacts in Luxembourg.

5.8.3 Conclusion

In this case study we have concerned ourselves with geographical and political-administrative borders, that is, with the borders between Luxembourg and its neighbouring countries. The object of our research were the different forms in

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which these borders are crossed and the question how the intensification and diversification of these crossings influence (spatial) identity constructions. In the first step of analysis, we evaluated the quantitative data and the interview material with regard to forms of space-related identification and observed that the cross-border space of all examined groups is appropriated as a space of concrete everyday practices. In addition, we were able to verify that there is a correlation between cross-border practices and spatial identification. In a second step, we attempted to further clarify these cross-border processes by taking a closer look at the group of residential migrants representing this identity construction in a special way. With the aid of logistical regressions, we were able to show in how far the opinions about this group correlate with other features and observe that the response behaviour of the different groups in part differ significantly with respect to these correlations. The statistical results suggest for instance that cross-border practices influence the attitudes of the Luxembourg residential population about residential migration in some aspects more strongly than is the case with border area residents.

In conclusion, we can say that our findings show in particular how difficult it is to make general statements regarding the developments of cross-border spatial identities. Or, returning to our set of theoretical-conceptual tools, that – despite the connection between spatial practices and identifications that can be observed in all groups – it would be mistaken to assume that space-related subjectivation processes and identity constructions would evolve in the same way for all residents of the survey area. Opinions about the group of residential migrants coincide in some aspects, but the statistical analysis of the correlation of voiced opinions, group affiliation and everyday practices allows the guarded conclusion that cross-border practices have up to now not had the general effect of producing a homogenous perception of cross-border residential migration. The group-specific attitudes to residential migrants do not seem to dissolve, but rather become more differentiated.

5.9 Linguistic Identifications in the Luxembourg-German Border Region

Heinz Sieburg and Britta Weimann

The present case study examines internal and external ascriptions of residents in Luxembourg and the surrounding border areas with regard to language, which is seen as an important element of identities (see Bucholtz/Hall 2005: 370). This close connection of language and identity results in particular from the social-symbolic function of language (see Hess-Lüttich 2004) which it has besides its communicative function (see Edwards 2009: 4f.), i.e. language is not only a medium of communication; it also says something about the speakers and their affiliation to a group. The same dichotomy in communicative and symbolic functions can be observed in the assessment of individual languages

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