

Appendix 1. Coding of the Media Pieces

Table A. Coding Grid

Date	Date of Publication	
Phase	Before	<i>The piece was published before the publication of the final report</i>
	After	<i>The piece was published after the publication of the final report</i>
Title (original)	Title in original language	
Title (English)	Original title translated in English	
Link	Hyperlink through which the piece can be reached	
Content (original)	Full, raw content of the original piece	
Content (English)	Translation of the original piece	
Focus: Aspect of the assembly that is covered	Process (0)	<i>The piece describes how the KBR was organised and how it functioned. It describes procedural aspects like members' recruitment, the organisation of the deliberation, and the articulation with representative institutions</i>
	Outcomes (1)	<i>The piece describes the (potential) outcomes reached by the KBR. It focuses mainly on the results: the recommendations' content, their impact and implementation in climate policy (NECP), or still their implications regarding the fight against climate change</i>
	Both (2)	<i>The piece taps into both aspects</i>
Focus: Procedural aspects	Recruitment (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses how the KBR was composed and how the members were recruited</i>
	Design (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses how the KBR was designed, organised or facilitated. It approaches the selection of experts</i>
	Democracy (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses how the KBR contributed to citizen participation and Luxembourg democracy. It discusses how it was integrated in existing political structure</i>
Focus: Outcomes	Recommendations (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses the task to produce recommendations or the content of these proposals</i>
	Climate policy (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses the KBR's contribution to NECP and Luxembourg climate policy. It questions political responsiveness and consideration</i>
	Climate change (0/1)	<i>The piece discusses the KBR's contribution to the fight against climate change</i>
Media outlet	Name of the media outlet that published the piece	
Outlet's political leaning	Left-wing (0)	<i>The outlet publishing the piece has a filiation with left-wing parties and movements</i>
	Right-wing (1)	<i>The outlet publishing the piece has a filiation with right-wing parties and movements.</i>
	Other (2)	<i>The outlet has no direct connection to political parties</i>

Frequency	Daily	<i>Frequency of the outlet's publication</i>
	Weekly	
	Monthly	
	Less often	
Type	Broadcast (TV/radio)	<i>Type of media outlet</i>
	Digital media	
	Print newspaper	
Author	Author's name	<i>Information on who wrote the piece (if relevant)</i>
	Several authors	
	No information	
Gender	Women (0)	<i>Author's gender</i>
	Man (1)	
	No information, not applicable (2)	
Perspectives: Commentary sources	Government (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from governmental actors</i>
	Opposition (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from opposition parties</i>
	NGOs (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from civil society organisations</i>
	KBR members (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from the assembly members</i>
	KBR organisers (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from the delivery bodies (recruiters and/or facilitators)</i>
	Academics (0/1)	<i>The main information source is from university scholars</i>
	None (0/1)	
Argumentation	Neutral – No opinion (0)	<i>The KBR is not evaluated in the piece. There is no attempt to put the CCA in perspective</i>
	Negative (1)	<i>The KBR is positively evaluated in the piece. The main line of argumentation exposes negative ideas</i>
	Positive (2)	<i>The KBR is negatively evaluated in the piece. The main line of argumentation exposes positive ideas</i>
	Balanced (3)	<i>The KBR is evaluated in the piece. Both positive and negative evaluations are present</i>

Appendix 2. Coding Reliability: Our Procedure

The data collection and coding of the content of the media pieces used in this article has been handled collectively. First, the dataset has been formed all over the studied period, each author being allowed to store press articles on a collaborative platform. In September 2023, a retroactive search was also performed online to ensure the most complete view. Second, once everything was centralised in a common Excel file, the three authors met and reviewed in person the content of each piece to agree on a common coding. Moreover, 10 months after this collective effort, 9 media pieces were randomly selected from the dataset, and two authors coded again on their own. The next Table A presents the results of this test on the variables used in the analysis. For each variable, the first column reports the collective coding value, the two following columns show the values later provided by coder A and coder B, and the last column informs on the level of agreement. On average, we remain above an acceptable range of 80% (O'Connor & Joffe, H. 2020. *Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines. International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19).

Table A. Results of the intercoder reliability

ID	Date	Title (EN)	Link	FOCUS: Outcome vs. Process			Process: Recruitment			Process: Design			Process: Democracy			Outcomes : Recommendations			Outcomes : Policy			Outcomes: Climate			ARGUMENTATION									
				A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B		A	B					
5	15 January 2022	Climate protection: Looking for courage	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/klimaschutz-courage-gesicht	2	2	0	5	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	0	1	1	0	50	3	1	3	5	0	
23	7 January 2022	Climate Citizens' Council presented	https://www.woxx.lu/klimabiergerrotvorge stellt/	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
25	14 January	Democracy-washing or	https://www.rtl.lu/news/nati	2	2	0	5	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	3	3	3	1	0	0

Appendix 3. Positive and Negative Argumentation about the Luxembourg CCA (KBR)

Table A. Summary and Examples of Negative and Positive Lines of Argumentation

Negative Arguments		Positive Arguments	
<i>Processes-related</i>	Composition biased towards professional / expert citizens	<p>Reporter.lu, 4 October 2022 – Participation Made Difficult ... The “professional citizens” take over. It is striking that the 14 speakers who presented the recommendations fall into the category of “professional citizens”. Different in age and gender, but highly educated, eloquent and some with specialised knowledge of environmental and energy issues, they presented the “Klima Biergerrot” proposals in mid-September.</p> <p>Le Quotidien, 15 June 2022 – Disappointed Citizens, the Debate Postponed A lack of representativeness ... on this point too, we must be careful. If the Taylor Nelson Sofres - Institut Luxembourgeois de Recherches Sociales Ilres institute was responsible for sorting through 1,100 applications received, some, like Noah, question the real representativeness of these 60 citizens supposed to reflect Luxembourg society: “I don’t ... I only saw white people, no diversity,” he reports, “and over a whole weekend, I didn’t hear anyone speaking Portuguese, for example.” Not to mention the level of education and personal</p>	<p>Bring more diversity; professional sampling and recruitment via survey company</p> <p>Paperjam, 6 January 2022 – The Citizen’s Office for Climate Is Looking for 100 Tenants The Citizens’ Climate Bureau will include 100 members – 60 permanent members and 40 alternates – aged 16 or over. According to the Prime Minister, it is important to include young people in the debate, even if they cannot yet vote. “It’s about their future,” he says.</p> <p>This is how the market research institute TNS Ilres launched a recruitment process via an online platform. It will also reach out to a random sample of the population to solicit applications, with the aim of being more inclusive. Applications will close on January 19.</p> <p>“We need to make sure the KBR represents the many opinions that make up this country,” said Tommy Klein of TNS Ilres. From all applications received, TNS Ilres will select 100 people to reflect all components of the population. Furthermore, this council will also include cross-border workers.</p>

		<p>investment required, effectively excluding a large part of the population: “The amount of work that we are asked to do is very significant, and in my opinion, the technical documents, just like the entire process is not accessible to just any citizen. And if we work, or if we are a mother, it is almost impossible.”</p>		<p>“The language issue is still important in Luxembourg,” Klein said, adding that during debates people should be able to use their preferred language to express themselves more freely. The online registration form is available in French, Luxembourgish and English.</p> <p>Tageblatt, 6 January 2022 – This Is How the Climate Citizens’ Assembly Is Formed In order to prevent only citizens who are already very politically active from taking part, TNS Ilres has selected a random sample of people who will be contacted by telephone to suggest that they apply for the committee.</p>
	<p>Multilingualism as barrier to deliberation quality</p>	<p>Delano, 22 March 2020 – Involving People in Politics, but How? Language barriers could present an additional hurdle, not only for people who don’t speak Luxembourgish, French or German but also a general public who are confronted with the legal and technical jargon of politics.</p>		<p>Forum, 13 May 2022 – What Exactly Can a Citizens’ Assembly Achieve? After the Energy and State Planning Ministry gained experience with the Lëtzebuerg 2050 Biergerkommittee in 2021, the State Ministry is currently organising a Klima-Biergerrot in cooperation with the Environment and Energy Ministries. Both initiatives were inspired by examples from abroad, but the [additional challenge was that they] also had to develop answers to the special challenges of the COVID-19 period and Luxembourg’s multilingualism, and they had the special feature that not only</p>

				<p>residents but also cross-border commuters were represented.</p>
	<p>Lack of time, weak design, too ambitious</p>	<p>Le Quotidien, 16 June 2022 – Klima-Biergerrot: For the Organisation, It Was “Ambitious but Achievable” ... the timing provided for in the specifications was far too tight: “The Luxembourg process suffered from overly hasty ordering and design. There was not enough time to take advantage of other experiences,” Furthermore, “the advisory committee was set up late, even though these governance structures functioned normally from the start.”</p> <p>Woxx, 17 August 2022 – “We Would Have Needed More Time” ... The process wasn’t exactly easy, as one council member, who wished to remain anonymous, told woxx: “We would have needed more time. The original question of whether Luxembourg should do more on climate protection was far too big to be dealt with in such a short time.” In June, when the work was supposed to be finished, the KBR decided to wait another two months. Before that there had been five working weekends. In advance of these, the content should be discussed via video conference after input from experts. “In reality, they were often lectures by experts, many of them from the state. There was</p>	<p>Imperfect democratic experiment that can be improved, learning by experiencing</p>	<p>Reporter.lu, 26 October 2022 – Government Should Accelerate Fight against Climate Protection “It was the first time in the country’s history that society sat at the climate policy negotiating table,” said Prime Minister Xavier Bettel (DP), emphasising the significance of his initiative to convene a Climate Citizens’ Council. However, there was criticism of the organisation from the MPs that Xavier Bettel addressed. “For the first time, the result of citizen participation was very good, but it was a first experiment and we need to learn from mistakes.” “Parliament makes the laws, but it is the damn duty of politicians to listen to the citizens,” said the Prime Minister.</p> <p>Virgule.lu, 18 July 2022 – The Klima Biergerrot Plays Extra-Time ... Likewise, the response emphasises the fact that the members of the Citizen Council for the Climate have always been taken seriously with their opinions and that it has always been possible to adapt the progress of the work in coordination with the support committee. The fact that two anonymous participants spoke critically about the work with the Daily does not correspond to the general opinion within the Citizens’</p>

		<p>little time for discussion; actually only questions were possible.” ...</p> <p>“Retrospectively, we question the adequacy between the time allocated and the scope of the mission assigned to the KBR – given the complexity of the subject and the desire of the members to produce reasoned and substantial proposals.”</p>		<p>Climate Council and only partially reflects the factual reality.</p> <p>Luxembourg is currently still in an experimental phase. After the Energy and State Planning Ministry gained experience with the Lëtzebuerg 2050 Biergerkommittee in 2021, the State Ministry is currently organising a Climate Assembly in cooperation with the Environment and Energy Ministries. Both initiatives were inspired by examples from abroad, but the [additional challenge was that they] also had to develop answers to the special challenges of the COVID-19 period and Luxembourg’s multilingualism, and they had the special feature that not only residents but also cross-border commuters were represented. ... Even though both initiatives were conceived as individual projects, they still open up the prospect of perpetuating this form of exchange with citizens. It would be nothing short of a miracle that parliament and the parties could agree on a cross-party concept in the autumn before the hot phase of the upcoming election campaign. But if it succeeds, Luxembourg could be the first country in the world to establish this form of citizen participation at a national level.</p>
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	<p>Lack of public communication and transparency</p>	<p>Le Quotidien, 16 June 2022 – Klima-Biergerrot: For the Organisation, It Was “Ambitious but Doable” ... The expert finally cites the lack of information published on the site, emphasising the importance of providing details on the KBR’s activity: “It’s really important for transparency and legitimacy, and it also raises awareness [and] interest of the general public.”</p>		
	<p>Lack of independence; subjective selection of experts</p>	<p>Reporter.lu, 4 October 2022 – Participation Made Difficult ... Manipulation or hijacking? ... the accusation is still in the air. It was the organisers who selected the experts who were supposed to provide the Climate Citizens’ Assembly with the necessary specialist knowledge. The former Lëtzebuerger Sozialistesche Aarbechterpartei minister Robert Goebbels sees this as “the manipulated democracy of the experts” – that is the title of an opinion piece in the “Luxemburger Wort”. He writes of “lobbyists” and environmental organisations that steered citizens “in the desired direction”.</p> <p>Le Quotidien, 5 July 2022 – Klima Biergerrot: Where Is the Problem? ... More than half of the experts linked to the State. The deputies also raise the question of a large number of experts from</p>	<p>Neutrality of external experts ensured by the professional organisation; no involvement of government</p>	<p>Tageblatt, 6 January 2022 – This Is How the Climate Citizens’ Assembly Is Formed The Citizens’ Climate Assembly is not left completely alone with its work. The participants receive training in advance about what climate protection measures already exist. Experts from the university also provide advice.</p>

		<p>a ministry, requested for presentations: the government confirms, even advancing the number of 63 national and international experts, who intervened in front of the KBR between February and June.</p> <p>“Approximately a third work for a ministry and a fifth for a parapublic organisation or linked to the State,” it is specified; that is, a total of 33 experts out of 63 linked directly or indirectly to the State.</p>		
	Instrumentalisation of the government	<p>RTL, 14 January 2022 – Democracy-washing or a Real Policy Change? Since Prime Minister Xavier Bettel’s Climate Council was announced only in his State of the Nation speech, CELL fears that it would be a pure election campaign manoeuvre.</p> <p>Woxx, 13 January 2022 – Climate Citizens’ Assembly: Volunteers to Save the Climate ... A joint letter from CELL (Centre for Ecological Learning Luxembourg) and other organisations in the U4CJ coalition (United for Climate Justice), which have been working on the development of Citizens’ Climate Assemblies for over two years, makes it clear: they do not share Bettel’s euphoria . The government’s initiative gives cause for hope, but only “if the KBR has the conditions for a profound and far-reaching reflection on</p>	No governmental influence	<p>Tageblatt, 6 January 2022 – “This Is How Luxembourg’s Climate Citizens’ Council Is Created” The council should come to a result in around 15 meetings, completely independent of politics, and then present it before the summer holidays. ... “We’re staying out of it and waiting for the decisions that the citizens make,” said Bettel.</p> <p>Woxx, 16 January 2022 – Climate Council: Volunteers to Save the Climate ... Politics will stay completely out of the entire process, Prime Minister Bettel emphasised several times during the press conference on 5th January. Also present were the Environment Minister Carole Dieschbourg (Déi Gréng) and the Minister for Spatial Development Claude Turmes (Déi Gréng).</p>

		Luxembourg’s climate policy”. This is still uncertain due to a lack of details.		
<i>Outco me- relate d</i>	Unable to solve climate change; diversion from climate action	<p>RTL, 14 January 2022 – Democracy-washing or a Real Policy Change?</p> <p>There has already been “greenwashing”; is the new Climate Citizens’ Assembly “democracy washing”? A “cosmetic gadget” or a climate-political change of direction? This is what the Centre for Ecological Learning, CELL, is asking for in a press release on Friday morning. The CELL makes its own statements on behalf of the members of the organisations that are already involved in the implementation of the citizens’ meetings on the topic of climate. ... it would give the members hope that the KBR would show that the entire government now really wants to tackle the climate crisis. ...</p> <p>Tageblatt, 6 January 2022 – This Is How the Climate Citizens’ Assembly Is Formed</p> <p>... This should result in concrete options for action and measures that the government could take in addition to those already decided on. In its current climate protection law of 15 December 2020, Luxembourg commits to reducing its emissions by 55% (compared to 2005) by 2035. This makes Luxembourg the frontrunner in Europe, says Dieschbourg. “Nevertheless, science tells us that we still have to do more.”</p>	KBR as a way forward to reach climate-related goals	<p>Paperjam, August 2023 – “August/Out of the Box 2023”: Reinvigorating the Common Land of Crops</p> <p>In this respect, wouldn’t the Klima-Biergerrot (Citizen’s Climate Office) be an underestimated success and a most promising source of inspiration? This ad hoc participation body succeeded in issuing in a few months, according to a democratic and participatory process, 56 proposals to accelerate and intensify the fight against global warming in Luxembourg. Its 100 members, Luxembourg residents and foreigners as well as cross-border workers, were selected on a voluntary basis and reflect the desire to ensure maximum representativeness of Luxembourg’s demographic reality.</p> <p>Luxemburger Wort, 18 March 2024 – Next Stop: National Citizens Council</p> <p>In January 2022, the Prime Minister took another initiative to involve society in climate policy issues by founding the Klima-Biergerrot. At the end of the eight-month process, the 100 climate citizens presented their final report with 56 suggestions for strengthening climate policy. It is clear from their demands that the citizens involved are prepared to go</p>

		<p>Le Quotidien, 19 April 2023 – The Climate Problem</p> <p>Now the question arises as to whether the participatory process – which will be renewed before the validation, in June 2024, of the revised PNEC (Le plan national intégré en matière d'énergie et de climat du Luxembourg) – will be sufficient to truly carry out an even more ambitious climate policy.</p>		<p>further on many climate issues than the majority of politicians have so far. Just like the Bierger Committee, climate citizens are also calling for ambitious climate protection measures, and immediately.</p>
	<p>Political under consideration</p>	<p>Paperjam, 4 November 2021 – Citizen Offices: Friendly, but Not Very Effective</p> <p>... For the rest, it will also be a question of knowing what the KBR could lead to. Not on restrictive measures, since there is little doubt that the political world will consider that representative democracy must keep control, participation remaining an exception. Moreover, Xavier Bettel (DP) was careful not to venture into this shifting terrain, simply indicating that the proposed measures will be the subject of a debate in the Chamber.</p> <p>Woxx, 17 August 2022 – “We Would Have Needed More Time”</p> <p>... “The results overlap largely with what we and others have been calling for, for a long time. It’s good to see that this is obviously supported by the general population,” said Blanche Weber, President</p>	<p>Real policy impact: Effectively implemented into NECP, parliamentary debate and agreement among political elites</p>	<p>Tageblatt, 6 January 2022 – This Is How the Climate Citizens’ Assembly Is Formed</p> <p>... The proposals of the Climate Citizens’ Council are not binding. “We are not committed to implementing the suggestions one-to-one,” Bettel pointed out. “Nevertheless, the government will be forced to take a position on this in the resulting debate,” said Claude Turmes.</p> <p>Le Quotidien, 26 October 2022 – The Deputies Are Discussing the KBR</p> <p>... Xavier Bettel commits. From Cécile Hemmen (LSAP) to François Benoy (déi gréng), including Max Hahn (DP), Myriam Cecchetti (déi Lénk), Marc Goergen (pirate) and the previous speakers already cited, all welcomed this citizen participation initiative and the work carried out. The pirates recall their proposed law on the establishment of these committees of which</p>

	<p>of the Mouvement écologique, to woxx on the phone. “I have great respect for the hard work that has been done here. But it turns out that we have a big problem here in Luxembourg: there are enough assemblies that just think, but the ideas are not implemented. We have an implementation deficit.”</p> <p>Woxx, 28 April 2023 – Klima Biergerrot Ignored</p> <p>... It is not enough to subsidise electric cars and announce “social leasing” so that poor households can also afford one. The sale of fossil fuels, which causes particularly high emissions in Luxembourg through so-called “tank tourism”, must be slowly phased out. One measure in this sense is the CO₂ tax. According to the PNEC, this will be increased by 5 euros per tonne annually, as in the past. This is a point at which Bettel does not keep his “vun de Bierger, fir d’Bierger” promise: the KBR had demanded a much higher CO₂ tax of 200 euros per tonne. An increase is only possible gradually, explained Environment Minister Joëlle Welfring on April 17th when presenting the PNEC. “We distribute the tax revenue fairly, half socially and half into climate projects.” The Mouvement écologique (Méco) is critical of this point. In its election demands, the environmental</p>		<p>there is no further news, as Marc Goergen indicates. ... For socialists, “many proposals can be quickly transposed,” expresses Cécile Hemmen. The Prime Minister, Xavier Bettel, does not say the opposite and promises to respect his commitment: “This is not the last time that we discuss this document.”</p> <p>Woxx, 14 October 2022 – Lots of Ideas, Little Action?</p> <p>Xavier Bettel announced a taskforce. The government used this to incorporate the Klima-Biergerrot proposals (see woxx 1702) into the PNEC. It should “coordinate the work that is necessary to integrate the many good suggestions into the energy and climate plan,” said Bettel on Tuesday.</p>
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		<p>protection organisation writes that the CO₂ tax would not do justice to the “polluter pays” principle and would have “no steering effect”. Therefore, it must be increased “gradually and substantially”. The Méco is in favour of setting this development for 10 years and ensuring social balance. Since the government wants to implement these social measures primarily through so-called tax credits, it is of course difficult for it to adjust the CO₂ price sharply upwards.</p>		
	<p>Unfeasible/unacceptable measures</p>	<p>RTL, 25 October 2022 : Implementation of the Klima Biergerrot Was Stressed by All Parties ... CSV and Deputy Paul Galles spoke of many interesting proposals. Many people would support it, but not, for example, a higher CO₂ price. CO₂ pricing yes...but plus or minus as currently, it is also socially balanced and does not lead to a big clash in the system. Citizen participation was praised in the Chamber, but the Alternativ Demokratesch Reformpartei questioned how representative the group really was. As Fred Keup explains, the ADR was concerned with the content and rejected most of it. “Speed limits? We have already heard and we don’t agree with them by the way. That is like the idea or rather the compulsion to eat vegan “minimum twice a week...in the canteen”. You can do it with children!”</p>	<p>Call for institutionalisation</p>	<p>Paperjam, 4 November 2022 – Strengthen the Legitimacy of Our Democracies We must therefore create real citizen participation. There are already good examples, such as participation in the context of the Climate, Nature and Housing Pact, but also with the initiatives of citizen assemblies such as the Biergerkommittee Luxembourg in transition or the Klima-Biergerrot. Now, it is appropriate to think about how citizen participation can be further developed or even institutionalised in order to strengthen our democracy. For the Greens, this constitutes a priority for the coming years.</p> <p>Le Quotidien 22 March 2023 – Do Even More Participation All parties, with the exception of the ADR, which does not adhere to the notion of democratic deficit, adopted a resolution on</p>

			<p>Tuesday inviting the government to do even more. The Chamber of Deputies says it is willing to study “the feasibility and modalities of an institutionalised procedure for national citizen participation, such as for example a Citizens’ Council, which can systematically and continuously involve citizens in the development of public policies”.</p> <p>Luxemburg Wort, 18 March 2023 – Next Stop: National Citizens Council Take the Biergerkommittee and Klima-Biergerrot seriously. In Luxembourg, too, there have been several participatory processes in recent years from which we can draw valuable experience. The most structured and comprehensive participation processes have been initiated in the area of climate transition, the greatest challenge for our society, which we can only overcome with the willingness of the general public to act. ... After these experiences, the question arises as to how we can further develop the structured dialogue with citizens in Luxembourg. We should develop our own Citizens’ Council model that is adapted to Luxembourg’s circumstances.</p>
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Appendix 4. Description of the Media Landscape in Luxembourg

NB: Based on *2023 Euromedia Ownership Monitor Report* (Lamour, 2023).

An Internationalised Media under Luxembourg Managerial Control

Luxembourg has many media outlets circulating information and participating in defining democratic public opinion. This number has increased over the past decades. It partly reflects the global and metropolitan process affecting the country, notably with the appearance of two sorts of media outlets. First, two economic and liberal magazines targeting and portraying the international business elite in French (Paperjam) and in English (Delano). Second, a French-printed free daily attracting young and middle-aged commuters from different social and cultural backgrounds on the move in the urban regional space (L'essentiel). In contrast to the other media in Luxembourg, both Paperjam and L'essentiel are keen to show that their audience is located in de-bordered and regional Greater Luxembourg, including the residential areas of the French-speaking cross-border workers. Furthermore, other media have developed content in multiple languages. We can note a sociocultural media outlet diffusing content in 10 languages (the radio station ARA) – online media in French, English and Portuguese directly associated with the daily newspaper Luxemburger Wort (Virgule.lu, luxtimes.lu, contacto.lu); the television news bulletins of RTL can be watched with subtitles in French, and the RTL website offers content in different languages. This is a linguistic diversification in a market where the media targeting Luxembourgers has tended to use two other languages: German for the paid and print press (e.g. Tageblatt and Luxemburger Wort) and Luxembourgish — the vernacular Frankish language — for radio and television programmes (e.g. RTL and 100,7).

The multiplication of media outlets in different languages reflects the internationalisation of the Grand Duchy's population. However, the structure of the media ownership and control in the country is relatively stable and linked to the long-term Luxembourg and state-bordered democracy. First, one can note that most media outlets and/or media editing companies have a director, a manager and/or a board president who are embedded into Luxembourg national citizenry and mastering Luxembourgish. Second, one can see the longstanding importance of national political parties and key national institutions behind the companies editing most newspapers. There is no direct and informed control over the editorial line of the newspapers by these organisations. However, editing companies often belong to or are associated with non-business agents intervening in the Luxembourg public sphere. For instance, the Editpress Company (editing notably the Tageblatt newspaper) is under the control of the Onafhängege Gewerkschaftsbond Lëtzebuerg centre-left trade union, while the LSAP centre-left party also holds shares in this company. RTL is owned by the German holding company Bertelsmann (although with Luxembourgers in the managerial governance of the outlets targeting residents) and also indirectly involved in party politics. The president of the board of RTL's CLT-UFA entity, controlling the RTL outlets in the Grand Duchy, must be a Luxembourg citizen and reside in the country, while the shareholders in this company, nominated by the state, have generally been selected within the three dominant political parties (Christian Democrat, Liberal, and Socialist) with one from the political opposition.

A Milieu Polarised by Three Editing Companies and Stabilised by the State

Despite a large offer that is still expanding (see further), the media market is highly concentrated and articulated along three long-established editorial pillars.

1. The RTL group is based in Luxembourg City, with a television news bulletin (*RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg*), radio programme (*RTL Radio Lëtzebuerg*) and website (*rtl.lu*) that attract the largest audience in their sectors.
2. Mediahuis Luxembourg (previously called Saint Paul) with a main media outlet produced in Luxembourg City (the *Luxemburger Wort*) that is characterised by the prominent attraction of its print version compared with its website (respectively, 121,300 daily readers and 88,100 daily users in the same year).
3. The Editpress Company, with a main symbolic and historical newspaper, *Tageblatt*, produced in Esch-sur-Alzette (the capital city of the industrial south) was far less attractive in 2022 in print and online (respectively, 26,100 readers 20,200 users) (Ilres, 2022).

Both Mediahuis Luxembourg and Editpress have developed a business strategy of ownership diversification in the Grand Duchy (TV magazines, other newspapers, music radio stations targeting the youth, etc.). This diversification has enabled them to increase or stabilise their advertising revenue in a small market where media economics have been strongly based on this commercial aspect — as in the US and Canada, and far more than most European countries (OECD, 2011). However, each group has tended to develop its own path. Editpress has increased its business deals with foreign media companies while retaining 50% of shares in the companies created to manage these outlets in the Luxembourg market. For example, *L'essentiel* is owned partly by the Swiss TX Group (previously called Tamedia); *L'essentiel* has a public more important than the *Luxemburger Wort* in the print media if we include cross-border workers, and its Internet audience is equivalent to that of *rtl.lu*. Saint Paul tended more to diversify its output based on its own capital until it was absorbed by the Belgian group Mediahuis in 2020. However, the board of Mediahuis Luxembourg is still chaired and directed by Luxembourg citizens. Furthermore, the website of Mediahuis Luxembourg signals a continued belief in the values of the past owner, the archdiocese of Luxembourg: the social doctrine of Catholicism.

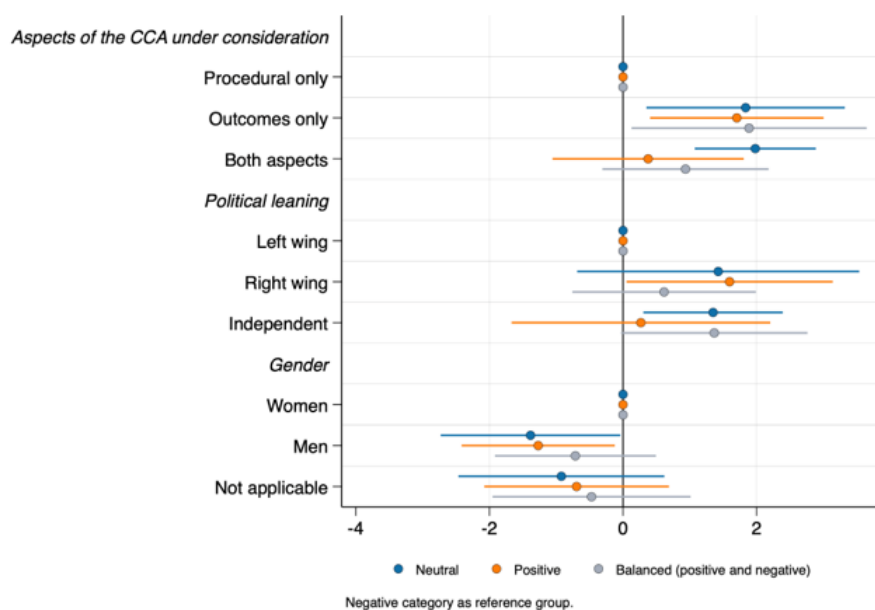
The absorption of Saint Paul by Mediahuis, as well as other events at the turn of the decade, shows a certain fragility of print press economics. These other events include the ending in 2019 of *Le Jeudi*, a French-language quality weekly newspaper edited by Editpress for more than two decades, and the cessation of the print version of the liberal daily *Lëtzebuenger Journal* in 2021. All the media outlets in the market face the same economic paradox. They are all located in a small market, with a growing number of residents and cross-border workers possessing among the highest revenues worldwide. This can consequently attract advertisers marketing goods and services in the residential space of these potential consumers. However, it is a very fragmented market, with 180 different national groups involving language barriers, diverging news agenda interests, a lack of broad knowledge and interest in local and national news related to Luxembourg, and facilitated access to media of countries of origin for these national groups. For instance, the French TV channels TF1, France 2 and M6 do not present news about Luxembourg, but were regularly watched by a cumulative daily audience of 96,500 people in 2022 – more than that of RTL Tele Lëtzebuerg. The economic situation for the press has become even more severe with the increasing tendency for people to be informed for free, online or in print (free dailies). Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic might have led to a contraction of advertising resources. The media market can nevertheless count on the support of the Luxembourg state.

Table A. Summary of Media Outlets' Political Alignment

Political Leaning	Type	Outlet	Group	N Pieces	%
Left-wing				44	36.7
Communist	Written – daily	<i>Zeitung vum Lëtzebuerger Vollek</i>	Kommunistesch Partei vu Lëtzebuerg	1	0.8
Socialist	Written – daily	<i>Tageblatt</i>	Editpress	4	3.3
	Written – daily	<i>L'Essentiel</i>	Editpress	3	2.5
	Written – daily	<i>Le Quotidien</i>	Editpress	21	17.5
	Written – monthly	<i>Revue</i>	Editpress	3	2.5
Green	Written – weekly	<i>Woxx</i>	Cooperative Woxx	11	9.3
	Written – daily	<i>InfoGreen.lu</i>		1	0.8
Right-wing				33	27.5
Conservative	Written – daily	<i>Luxemburger Wort</i>	Mediahuis Luxembourg (ex Saint Paul)	16	13.3
	Written – daily	<i>Virgule.lu</i>	Mediahuis Luxembourg (ex Saint Paul)	3	2.5
Liberal	Written – monthly	<i>Paperjam</i>	Maison modern	11	9.2
	Written – monthly	<i>Delano</i>	Maison modern	3	2.5
Other				43	35.8
	TV/Radio – daily	<i>RTL Lëtzebuerg</i>	RTL	13	10.8
	Radio – daily	<i>100,7</i>		12	10.0
	Written – monthly	<i>Reporter.lu</i>	Reporter Media SARL-S	5	0.2
	Written – weekly	<i>d'Lëtzebuerger Land</i>	Fondation d'Lëtzebuerger Land	6	5.0
	Written – monthly	<i>Forum</i>	Forum asbl	4	3.3
	Written – daily	<i>Chronicle.lu</i>	G-Media Sàrl	2	1.7
	Written – weekly	<i>De Letzebuerger Bauer</i>	Agro-Media/Centrale paysanne luxembourgeoise	1	0.8

Appendix 5. Outcomes of the Multivariate Analysis (Multinomial Regression)

Appendix 5. Figure 1. Coefficient plot – Main model



Appendix 5. Table A. Regression Table

VARIABLES		(1) Neutral	(3) Positive	(4) Balance
Focus	Outcomes (ref=process)	6.270*	5.495*	6.601*
		(4.750)	(3.643)	(5.929)
	Both	7.246**	1.457	2.549
		*		
Leanin g	Right (ref=left)	4.158	4.932*	1.850
		(4.479)	(3.884)	(1.296)
	Independent	3.852*	1.307	3.919
	(2.051)	(1.292)	(2.791)	
Gender	Men (ref=women)	0.251*	0.281*	0.490
		(0.172)	(0.164)	(0.302)
	N/A	0.397	0.499	0.624
	(0.313)	(0.352)	(0.472)	
Constant		5.389	1.163	0.826
		(7.983)	(1.306)	(0.977)
Pseudo R square			16.8	
Observations		120	120	120

Relative Risk Ratios (robust standard errors in parentheses)

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Appendix 6. Full List of the 120 Media Pieces and Their Sources

ID	Date	Outlet	Title (Original)	Title (EN)	Link
1	13 October 2021	RTL	D'Spekulatioun mat Bauland a Wunnenge gëtt an Zukunft besteiert	Speculation with building land and housing will be taxed in the future	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1800847.html
2	13 October 2021	100,7	De Mouvement Ecologique vermësst konkret Mesuren	The ecological movement lacks concrete measures	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/de-mouvement-ecologique-vermesst-konkret-mesuren
3	13 October 2021	100,7	Etat de la Nation: "D'Gretchenfrage ass nees aktuell"	State of the Nation: "The Gretchen question is relevant again"	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/etat-de-la-nation-d-gretchenfrage-ass-nees-aktuell
4	14 October 2021	woxx	Lage der nation: Ziele, Wege, Worte	State of the nation: Goals, ways, words	https://www.woxx.lu/lage-der-nation-ziele-wege-worte/
5	15 October 2022	100,7	Klimaschutz: Courage gesicht	Climate protection: Looking for courage	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/klimaschutz-courage-gesicht
6	15 October 2022	RTL	D'Klimapolitik ass an de Fokus geréckelt, ma nach net ambitiéis genuch	Climate policy has moved into focus, but not yet ambitiously enough	https://www.rtl.lu/radio/invite-vun-der-redaktioun/a/1802001.html
7	20 October 2021	Revue	Beratungsklima	Climate consultation	NA
8	22 October 2021	d'Lëtze buerger Land	Zufalls Gespräch mit dem Mann in der Eisenbahn	Random conversation with the man on the train	NA
9	22 October 2021	woxx	Méco zur Lage: genug geredet	Méco on the situation: Enough said!	https://www.woxx.lu/meco-zur-lage-genug-geredet/
10	2 November 2021	100,7	Klima-Biergerrot soll Ufank 2022 prett sinn	Citizens' Climate Council should be ready at the beginning of 2022	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/klima-biergerrot-soll-ufank-2022-pret-sinn

11	2 November 2021	Virgule .lu	Le futur bureau du citoyen convoqué «d'ici début 2022»	The Future Citizens' Office convened 'by early 2022'	https://www.virgule.lu/luxembourg/le-futur-bureau-du-citoyen-convoque-d-ici-debut-2022/12675.html
12	4 November 2021	Paperjam	Les bureaux citoyens: sympathiques, mais peu efficaces	Citizen Offices: Friendly, but not very effective	https://paperjam.lu/article/bureaux-citoyens-sympathiques-
13	19 November 2021	worxx	Ergebnisse der Weltklimakonferenz: Geschönte Bilanz	Results of the World Climate Conference: Embellished balance sheet	https://www.worxx.lu/ergebnisse-der-weltklimakonferenz-geschoente-bilanz/
14	5 January 2022	RTL	De Journal vum 5. Januar 2022	The journal of 5 January 2022	https://play.rtl.lu/shows/lb/journal/episodes/r/3272469
15	5 January 2022	RTL	Aarbecht vu "Klima Biergerrot" fänkt Enn Januar un	Work of 'Klima-Biergerrot' begins at the end of January	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1842818.html
16	6 January 2022	100,7	D'Regierung lancéiert de "Klima-Biergerrot"	The government launches the 'Citizens' Climate Council'	https://100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/d-regierung-lanceiert-de-klima-biergerrot
17	6 January 2022	Paperjam	Le Bureau du citoyen pour le climat cherche 100 locataires	The Citizen's Office for Climate is looking for 100 tenants	https://paperjam.lu/article/bureau-citoyen-climat-cherche-
18	6 January 2022	L'essentiel	Citoyens associés à l'effort climatique	Citizens associated with climate efforts	NA
19	6 January 2022	Le Quotidien	Voulez-vous être membre du bureau citoyen pour le climat?	Do you want to be member of the Klima-Biergerrot?	https://lequotidien.lu/politique-societe/voulez-vous-etre-membre-du-bureau-du-citoyen-pour-le-climat/
20	6 January 2022	Tageblatt	So entsteht Luxemburgs Klimabürgerrat	This is how Luxembourg's Climate Citizens' Council is created	https://www.tageblatt.lu/politik/so-entsteht-luxemburgs-klimabuergererrat-2/
21	6 January 2022	Luxemburger Wort	"wiir halten uns raus": Regierung lanciert Klima-Bürgerrat	"We stay out of it": Government launches Climate Citizens' Assembly	https://www.wort.lu/politik/mitreden-duerfen/1136323.html

22	7 January 2022	d’Lëtze buerger Land	Nun auch die Bürger	Now also the citizens	NA
23	7 January 2022	worxx	Klima-Biergerrot vorgestellt	Climate Citizens’ Council presented	https://www.worxx.lu/klima-biergerrot-vorgestellt/
24	13 January 2022	worxx	Freiwillige vor zur Klimarettung	Climate Council: Volunteers to save the climate	https://www.worxx.lu/klimarat-freiwillige-vor-zur-klimarettung/
25	14 January 2022	RTL	Democracy-Washing oder ee reelle Richtungswissel?	Democracy-washing or real directional weasel?	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1847145.html
26	15 January 2022	Le Quotidi en	Vives critiques contre le bureau du citoyen pour le climat	Strong criticism against the Citizen’s Climate Office	NA
27	18 January 2022	RTL	“Mir brauchen en neie Wee fir ze denken”	“We need a new way of thinking”	https://www.rtl.lu/radio/invite-vunder-redaktioun/a/1848747.html
28	26 January 2022	Luxem burger Wort	Enormer Andrang für Klima-Bürgerrat	Enormous rush for Climate Citizens’ Council	https://www.wort.lu/politik/alle-wollen-mitmachen/1135542.html
29	27 January 2022	RTL	De Journal vum 27. Januar 2022	The journal of 27 January 2022	https://play.rtl.lu/shows/lb/journal/episodes/r/3275001
30	27 January 2022	Paperjam	Bureau du citoyen pour le climat: première réunion le 29 janvier	Citizen’s Office for Climate: First meeting on January 29	https://paperjam.lu/article/bureau-citoyen-climat-premiere
31	27 January 2022	RTL	De “Klima-Biergerrot” kënnt de Weekend déi éischte Kéier zesummen	The ‘Klima-Biergerrot’ meets for the first time this weekend	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1853876.html
32	27 January 2022	Luxem burger Wort	Klima-Bürgerrat – eine gute Idee?	Klima-Bürgerrat – A good idea?	https://www.wort.lu/politik/klima-buergerrat-eine-gute-idee/1134632.html
33	28 January 2022	100,7	Raphaël Kies: Bei de grouse Froen d’Leit mat abezéien	Raphaël Kies: Involve people in the big questions	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/raphael-kies-bei-de-grouse-froen-d-leit-mat-abezeien

34	29 January 2022	100,7	Éischt Sëtzung vum Klima-Biergerrot	First meeting of the Climate Council	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/eischt-setzung-vum-klima-biergerrot
35	29 January 2022	Le Quotidien	Le Klima-Biergerrot s'élance, sous le feu des critiques	The Klima-Biergerrot launches, under fire from critics	https://lequotidien.lu/politique-societe/le-klima-biergerrot-selance-sous-le-feu-des-critiques/
36	29 January 2022	Chronicle.lu	/	Luxembourg officially launches Citizens' Climate Council	https://chronicle.lu/category/environment/39362-luxembourg-officially-launches-citizens-climate-council
37	3 February 2022	100,7	Wéi steet et mat der Demokratie zu Lëtzebuerg?	How is democracy in Luxembourg?	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/wei-steet-et-mat-der-demokratie-zu-letzebuerg
38	11 February 2022	worxx	Lost in transition	Lost in transition	https://www.worxx.lu/landesplanung-lost-in-transition/
39	29 April 2022	d'Lëtzebuerger Land	Kompetent und aus Esch	Competent and from Esch	https://www.land.lu/page/article/168/339168/DEU/index.html
40	13 May 2022	Forum	Bürgerräte und Bürgerversammlungen	Citizens' Councils and Citizens' Assemblies	https://www.forum.lu/article/buergerraete-und-buergerversammlungen/
41	13 May 2022	Forum	Was kann ein Bürgerrat konkret leisten?	What exactly can a Citizens' Assembly achieve?	https://www.forum.lu/article/was-kann-ein-buergerrat-konkret-leisten/
42	13 May 2022	Forum	Können Bürgerräte unsere Demokratie retten?	Can Citizens' Councils save our democracy?	https://www.forum.lu/article/koennen-buergerraete-unsere-demokratie-retten/
43	17 May 2022	Paperjam	Des propositions pour le climat attendues en septembre	Proposals for climate expected in September	https://paperjam.lu/article/propositions-climat-seront-sou#
44	15 June 2022	Le Quotidien	Des citoyens déçus, le débat reporté	Disappointed citizens, the debate postponed	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/citoyens-decus-debat-reporté-le-klima-biergerrot-prend-leau/

45	15 June 2022	RTL	15 June 2022 Presserevue	15 June 2022 Press review	https://www.rtl.lu/radio/rtlg/ra/1817047.html
46	16 June 2022	Le Quotidien	Klima-Biergerrot : pour l'organisation, c'était «ambitieux mais réalisable»	Klima-Biergerrot: For the organisation, it was “ambitious but achievable”	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/klima-biergerrot-pour-lorganisation-cetait-ambitieux-mais-realizable/
47	18 June 2022	Le Quotidien	Klima-Biergerrot : le CSV monte au créneau	Klima-Biergerrot: The CSV steps up to the plate	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/klima-biergerrot-le-csv-monte-au-creneau/
48	5 July 2022	Le Quotidien	Klima-Biergerrot : où est le problème?	KBR: Where is the problem?	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/klima-biergerrot-le-gouvernement-ne-voit-pas-de-probleme/
49	13 July 2022	Le Quotidien	Klima-Biergerrot : «Un travail de fourni, sept jours sur sept»	Klima-Biergerrot: “A painstaking job, seven days a week”	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/klima-biergerrot-un-travail-de-fourmi-sept-jours-sur-sept/
50	17 July 2022	Luxemburger Wort	Klima-Bürgerrat muss in die Verlängerung	The KBR must be extended	https://www.wort.lu/politik/klima-buergerrat-muss-in-die-verlaengerung/1155662.html
51	18 July 2022	Virgule .lu	Le Conseil citoyen pour le climat joue les prolongations	The Citizens' Council for the Climate is playing extra time	https://www.virgule.lu/luxembourg/le-conseil-citoyen-pour-le-climat-joue-les-prolongations/21881.html
52	13 September 2022	RTL	Klima-Biergerrot huet via Vott den Ofschloss-Rapport majoritär ugeholl	Klima-Biergerrot via Vott accepted the final report by majority	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1965776.html
53	14 September 2022	Luxemburger Wort	57 Ideen für mehr Klimaschutz	57 ideas for more climate protection	https://www.wort.lu/politik/57-ideen-fuer-mehr-klimaschutz/1177803.html
54	15 September 2022	RTL	De Journal vum 15. September 2022	The journal of 15 September 2022	https://play.rtl.lu/shows/lb/journal/episodes/r/3302587

55	15 September 2022	RTL	Klima-Biergerrot huet 56 Propose fir méi Klimaschutz présentéiert	Climate Citizens' Council presented 56 proposals for more climate protection	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1966569.html
56	15 August 2022	Reporte r.lu	Umsteuern in der Energiekrise	Changing course in the energy crisis	https://www.reporter.lu/luxemburg-oekologische-steuerreform-umsteuern-in-der-energiekrise/
57	15 August 2022	Reporte r.lu	56 Vorschläge für mehr Klimaschutz	56 suggestions for more climate protection	https://www.reporter.lu/klima-biergerrot-57-vorschlaege-fuer-mehr-klimaschutz/
58	15 August 2022	Chronic le.lu	/	Citizens' Climate Council presents proposals to Luxembourg Government	https://chronicle.lu/category/environment/42465-citizens-climate-council-presents-proposals-to-luxembourg-government
59	15 September 2022	Delano	/	Citizens Climate Council calls for pollution tax increase	https://delano.lu/article/citizens-climate-council-calls
60	16 September 2022	L'essen tiel	Des mesures pour le climat «socialement acceptables»	'Socially acceptable' climate measures	https://www.lessentiel.lu/fr/story/des-mesures-pour-le-climat-socialement-acceptables-343968708978
61	16 September 2022	Virgule .lu	Ce que les citoyens attendent du gouvernement	What citizens expect from government	https://www.virgule.lu/luxembourg/ce-que-les-citoyens-attendent-du-gouvernement/22672.html
62	16 September 2022	Paperja m	Le Klima-Biergerrot avance 56 propositions	The KBR presents 56 proposals	https://paperjam.lu/article/klima-biergerrot-augmentation-
63	16 September 2022	d'Lëtze buerger Land	Etwas schneller, bitte	A little faster, please	NA
64	16 September 2022	worxx	Klima-Biergerrot präsenierte Vorschläge	Klima-Biergerrot presented suggestions	https://www.worxx.lu/klima-biergerrot-praesentierete-vorschlaege/

65	16 September 2022	Tageblatt	56 Vorschläge für mehr und schnellere Nachhaltigkeit	56 suggestions for more and faster sustainability	https://www.tageblatt.lu/headlines/56-vorschlaege-fuer-mehr-und-schnellere-nachhaltigkeit/
66	16 September 2022	Luxemburger Wort	Die 56 Anliegen der Klimabotschafter	The 56 concerns of the climate ambassadors	NA
67	16 September 2022	Le Quotidien	Le Klima-Biergerrot rend sa copie	The Klima-Biergerrot returns its copy	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/56-propositions-pour-la-planete-le-klima-biergerrot-rend-sa-copie/
68	16 September 2022	InfoGreen.lu	Brainstorming citoyen pour la planète	Citizen brainstorm for the planet	https://www.infogreen.lu/brainstorming-citoyen-pour-la-planete.html
69	17 September 2022	Zeitung vom Lëtzebuerger Vollek	Klimabürgerrat als Zuchtmeister der Nation: Vom Langsam – zum Gar-nicht-mehr-Fahrer?	Climate Citizens' Council as the nation's disciplinarian: From slow to no longer a driver?	https://www.zlv.lu/db/1/1429994570327/0
70	20 September 2022	Le Quotidien	L'artisanat à revaloriser d'urgence	Crafts to be urgently re-valued	https://lequotidien.lu/economie/lartisanat-a-revaloriser-durgence/
71	20 September 2022	Le Quotidien	Le Klima-Biergerrot veut faire du télétravail une norme	Klima-Biergerrot wants to make teleworking a norm	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/le-klima-biergerrot-veut-faire-du-teletravail-une-norme/
72	22 September 2022	woxx	„Wir hätten mehr Zeit gebraucht“	“We would have needed more time”	https://www.woxx.lu/resultate-des-klima-biergerrot-wir-haetten-mehr-zeit-gebraucht/
73	27 September 2022	Tageblatt	Dorfbewohner wehren sich	Villagers fight back	NA
74	1 October 2022	Luxemburger Wort	Die manipulierte Demokratie der „Experten“	The manipulated democracy of the 'experts'	https://www.wort.lu/politik/die-manipulierte-demokratie-der-experten/1180160.html

75	4 October 2022	Reporteur.lu	Partizipation schwer gemacht	Participation made difficult	https://www.reporter.lu/luxemburg-klmia-biergerrot-partizipation-schwer-gemacht/
76	5 October 2022	100,7	De Klimabiergerrot presentéiert seng Revendicatiounen	The Climate Council presents its claims	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/de-klimabiergerrot-presenteiert-der-chamber-seng-revendicatiounen
77	7 October 2022	Le Quotidien	Trois Expos en une	Three exhibitions for one	https://lequotidien.lu/luxembourg/trois-expositions-sinstallent-a-luxexpo/
78	7 October 2022	Paperjam	Empreinte carbone: un bilan 2021 aux multiples facettes	Carbon footprint: A multifaceted 2021 assessment	https://paperjam.lu/article/empreinte-carbone-bilan2021-au
79	7 October 2022	d'Lëtzebuerger Land	200 Euro schon jetzt	200 euros now	https://www.land.lu/page/article/759/339759/DEU/index.html
80	11 October 2022	Paperjam	Le souhait d'un système fiscal plus moderne et plus juste	The desire for a more modern and fairer tax system	https://paperjam.lu/article/dernier-discours-sur-etat-nati
81	12 October 2022	L'essentiel	Guerre, climat et énergie ont rythmé le discours de Bettel	War, climate and energy punctuated Bettel's speech	https://www.lessentiel.lu/fr/story/guerre-energie-et-climat-ont-rythme-le-discours-de-bettel-546612102997
82	12 October 2022	Le Quotidien	Face aux crises, garder la tête froide	Faced with crises, keep a cool head	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/etat-de-la-nation-face-aux-crisis-garder-la-tete-froide/
83	12 October 2022	Luxemburger Wort	Les messages de Xavier Bettel décryptés	The messages of Xavier Bettel decrypted	https://www.wort.lu/politik/les-messages-de-xavier-bettel-decryptes/1172984.html
84	13 October 2022	100,7	Dem Klima-Biergerrot seng Virschléi wäerte wéidoen	The Climate Council's proposals will hurt	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/dem-klima-biergerrot-seng-virschlei-waerte-weidoen

85	13 October 2002	Le Quotidi en	Les annonces à retenir	The announces to keep in mind	NA
86	14 October 2022	worxx	Viele Ideen, wenig Handeln	Lots of ideas, little action	https://www.worxx.lu/klimapolitik-viele-ideen-wenig-handeln/
87	22 October 2022	Luxem burger Wort	Die Arbeit des Klima-Bürgerrats unter der Lupe	The work of the Climate Citizens' Council under the microscope	https://www.wort.lu/politik/die-arbeit-des-klima-buergerrats-unter-die-lupe-genommen/1173509.html
88	22 October 2022	Luxem burger Wort	Die partizipative Demokratie und die Experten	Participatory democracy and the experts	https://www.wort.lu/politik/die-partizipative-demokratie-und-die-experten/1167388.html
89	25 October 2022	RTL	Asaz vum Klima-Biergerrot gouf vun alle Parteien ervirgestrach	Implementation of the Climate Council was emphasised by all parties	https://www.rtl.lu/news/national/a/1983727.html
90	25 October 2022	100,7	Politolog zum Klimabiergerrot: Eng Stärkung fir d'Demokratie	Political scientist for the Climate Citizens' Council: A boost for democracy	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/2022-10-25-ivd-emilien-paulis
91	26 October 2022	100,7	Wat gëtt aus de 56 Propose vum Klimabiergerrot?	What will become of the 56 proposals of the Climate Council?	https://www.100komma7.lu/article/aktualiteit/2022-10-26-ivd-joelle-welfring
92	26 October 2022	Tageblatt	Viel Zustimmung für Klimabürgerrat	A lot of support for the Climate Citizens' Assembly	https://www.tageblatt.lu/headlines/viel-zustimmung-fuer-klimabuergerrat/
93	26 October 2022	Le Quotidi en	Les députés s'emparent du Klima-Biergerrot	The deputies are discussing the KBR	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/les-deputes-semparent-du-klima-biergerrot/
94	26 October 2022	Reporter.lu	Regierung soll Klimaschutz beschleunigen	Government should accelerate climate protection	https://www.reporter.lu/luxemburg-klimabuergerrat-regierung-soll-klimaschutz-beschleunigen/
95	27 October 2022	Paperjam	Nous devons penser plus loin et autrement	We need to think further and differently	https://paperjam.lu/article/nous-devons-penser-plus-loin-e

96	28 October 2022	Reporter.lu	Klima, Bierger an eng Hesper Affär	Climate, citizens and a Hesper business	https://www.reporter.lu/podcast-on-the-record-klima-bierger-an-eng-hesper-affaer/
97	31 October 2022	Le Quotidien	Artisans de l'avenir	Craftsmen of the future	https://lequotidien.lu/editoriaux/artisans-de-lavenir/
98	3 November 2022	Revue	Pulsmessung	Pulse measurement	NA
99	4 November 2022	Paperjam	«Renforcer la légitimité de nos démocraties»	“Strengthen the legitimacy of our democracies”	https://paperjam.lu/article/renforcer-legitimite-nos-democ
100	8 November 2022	Le Quotidien	Bettel va prendre la parole aujourd'hui	Bettel will talk today	NA
101	8 November 2022	Paperjam	«Le temps des discours, c'est bien. Le temps de l'action, c'est mieux!»	“Speech time is good. Time for action is better!”	https://paperjam.lu/article/temps-discours-c-est-bien-temp
102	14 December 2022	Revue	„Ich mache meine Arbeit”	“I do my work”	https://gouvernement.lu/de/actualites/toutes_actualites/interviews/2022/12-decembre/14-bettel-revue.html
103	21 January 2023	Luxemburger Wort	Le défi de la mobilité douce au Luxembourg	The challenge of soft mobility in Luxembourg	https://www.wort.lu/politik/le-defi-de-la-mobilite-douce-au-luxembourg/1181767.html
104	4 February 2023	Le Quotidien	Les zones protégées gagnent du terrain	Protected areas are gaining ground	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/plan-de-protection-de-la-nature-les-zones-vertes-gagnent-du-terrain/
105	10 February 2023	De Letzburger Bauer	„D’Natur liwwert eis e liewenswichtege Service”	Nature provides us with a vital service	NA

10 6	18 February 2023	Luxem burger Wort	Wie die Abwanderung in Grenzregionen verhindert werden kann	How migration to border regions can be prevented	https://www.wort.lu/politik/wie-die-abwanderung-in-grenzregionen-verhindert-werden-kann/1183122.html
10 7	17 March 2023	Luxem burger Wort	„Biergerkommittee“ sendet Lebenszeichen	‘Biergerkommittee’ is sending signs of life	https://www.wort.lu/politik/biergerkommittee-sendet-lebenszeichen/1390249.html
10 8	18 March 2023	Luxem burger Wort	Nächster Halt: Nationaler Bürgerrat	Next stop: National Citizens Council	https://www.wort.lu/politik/naechster-halt-nationaler-buergererrat/1389138.html
10 9	22 March 2023	Luxem burger Wort	So geht Bürgerbeteiligung in Luxemburg	This is how citizen participation works in Luxembourg	https://www.wort.lu/politik/so-geht-buergerbeteiligung-in-luxemburg/1392022.html
11 0	22 March 2023	Le Quotidi en	En faire encore plus pour la démocratie participative	Do even more for participatory democracy	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/en-faire-encore-plus-pour-la-democratie-participative/
11 1	22 March 2023	Delano		Involving people in politics, but how?	https://delano.lu/article/involving-people-in-politics-b
11 2	18 April 2023	Le Quotidi en	Le Luxembourg ajuste sa réponse à la crise climatique	Luxembourg adjusts its response to the climate crisis	https://lequotidien.lu/a-la-une/le-luxembourg-ajuste-sa-reponse-a-la-crise-climatique/
11 3	18 April 2023	Delano		Climate plan aims for more renewables, energy efficiency	https://delano.lu/article/climate-plan-aims-for-more-ren
11 4	19 April 2023	Le Quotidi en	Le hic climatique	The climate problem	https://lequotidien.lu/editoriaux/le-hic-climatique/
11 5	21 April 2023	worxx	Ohne Ambitionen	Without ambitions	https://www.worxx.lu/nationaler-energie-und-klimaplan-ohne-ambitionen/
11 6	28 April 2023	worxx	Kleine Schritte	Small steps	https://www.worxx.lu/nationaler-energie-und-klimaplan-kleine-schritte/

11 7	4 May 2023	Forum	Wie der Übergang zu einem nachhaltigen Wirtschaftsmodell gelingen kann	How the transition to a sustainable economic model can be successful	https://www.forum.lu/article/wieder-uebergang-zu-einem-nachhaltigen-wirtschaftsmodell-gelingen-kann/
11 8	17 May 2023	Luxemburger Wort	Halbe Sachen in der Klimapolitik	Half measures in climate policy	https://www.wort.lu/politik/halbe-sachen-in-der-klimapolitik/1485003.html
11 9	9 June 2023	d'Lëtzebuerger Land	Party poopers	Party poopers	https://www.land.lu/page/article/497/340497/DEU/index.html
12 0	24 August 2023	Paperjam	« Août of the box 2023 » : Revigorer la terre de cultures commune	“August/out of the box 2023”: Reinvigorating the common land of crops	https://www.fondation-idea.lu/2023/08/24/aout-of-the-box-2023-revigorer-la-terre-de-cultures-commune/