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The magnetism of Barcelona

The view of transnational migrants

ACRE report 7.2



Montserrat Pareja Eastaway
Joaquín Turmo Garuz
Lidia García Ferrando
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Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan
Regions within the Enlarged Union

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ACRE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The report analyses Barcelona metropolitan Region's capacity to attract and retain qualified migrants working in the creative and knowledge industries. The report is based on 27 interviews to qualified migrants and 4 interviews to experts in attraction of talent.

During the last decades, the success of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region both in terms of economic growth and its relevance in the European hierarchies, has attracted visitors and workers from abroad. Moreover, the region is facing a deep transformation of its economy, from an economy based on manufacturing and low productivity towards a knowledge and creative economy. Many political efforts are being done in this direction with the promotion of new institutions for the development of creative industries and the promotion of knowledge-based areas in different municipalities of the region (see chapter two).

Nevertheless, in Spain's recent history, the main migratory trend has been emigration. Since the 1950s the partial economic recovery of Spain after its civil war generated strong internal migration flows from the countryside to the urban centres where the economic industrial activity concentrated. At the same time, part of the rural workforce started to emigrate, mainly to countries in Western Europe, like France, Germany or Switzerland. It is not until the mid-1990s that immigration to Spain started to grow sharply: in 1998 the foreign population of Spain was 1.6 per cent of total population, one of the lowest percentages of the EU, but by 2008 it had risen to 11.3 per cent, one of the highest rates in the Union (see chapter three). Most of the migrants arrived since 1998 come from Latin American countries as well as from extra-EU countries. Although some of the migrants have tertiary education, they work mainly in unskilled jobs due to the segmentation of the Spanish labour market.

In Barcelona the largest migration group is that of South Americans, who make up 37.4 per cent of immigrant population in the province and 39.8 per cent of total immigration in the city of Barcelona. Nevertheless, they are a minor part of the high-skilled workers; foreigners working in high-skilled jobs are mainly from countries of the European Union or from North American countries (see chapter four).

The interviews reveal that the so-called soft factors are main elements of attraction to the region. The geographical position in the continent as well as its proximity to the sea and the mountains is relevant to understand the election of Barcelona by qualified migrants. Nevertheless the existence of consolidated sectors with strong tradition attract also qualified migrants to develop their professional career or to finish their training. This is specially true for Latin American migrants specialized in architecture. For them Barcelona is seen as a gate to the global markets and an easy way to develop their careers in Europe.

Two main pathways can be detected from the interviews. The first pathway is followed by migrants working mainly in the knowledge industries, with a good job or good job opportunities in the region. These migrants are looking for quality of life and calm and choose

Barcelona as a place that can provide these elements. They tend to live in small municipalities or villages outside the city of Barcelona. The second pathway is followed by migrants working in creative industries. They seek for a creative atmosphere and tend to live in the city centre where they can foster their social relations and participate actively in the cultural life of the city. (see chapter 5 for further information).

1 INTRODUCTION

This report centres on high-skilled immigrants in the Barcelona metropolitan region (BMR), analysing their reasons for coming to the region and their assessments of the BMR as a place to work and to live. More specifically, we trace the evolution of qualified immigration in the creative and knowledge sectors and examine foreign workers' assessments of the region's creative knowledge economy. Our aim is to identify the key elements that attract creative people to pursue professional careers in the BMR.

To understand the current migration trends and the framework in which these trends are taking place, this chapter provides a brief description of the BMR's economic, social and political development. As we shall see, until recent times Spain's economic development was based on low productivity. The country's industrialization was based on strong internal migration flows from the countryside to the urban centres. At the same time, many Spaniards emigrated to European countries like Germany or Switzerland. Only since the 1990s have immigration flows from foreign countries to Spain become relevant, coinciding with the country's advances in both economic and political domains. Immigration has tended to concentrate in the country's main centres of economic activity that is, the metropolitan regions of Barcelona and Madrid. In the next section we describe the main features of the BMR.

1.1 Introduction to the region

The region formed by Barcelona and the surrounding cities covers 4,320 square kilometres and contains 164 municipalities. The Barcelona Metropolitan Region (BMR) is one of Spain's most important industrial regions and is among the ten most important industrial regions in Europe (Oliver, 2006). The development of the BMR's industrialization was based to a great extent on the emergence of small and medium-sized companies. These small companies created a strong network which prevented the emergence of large firms. The activity of the Catalan bourgeoisie, then, was based on small family businesses linked to each other inside a territorial network. To a great extent this tradition endures today and is one of the main features of the region's economic profile (Trullén and Boix, 2003). This model, based on interrelated small companies, created multiple centres of economic growth in the region's cities and indeed these small and medium-sized cities have played a major role in the region's economic development. Nonetheless, the city of Barcelona has strengthened its position as the region's economic centre in recent decades, through its transformation towards a service-oriented economy.

The economic transformation of Barcelona began in the 1980s and became consolidated in the following decade. It was based to a great extent on attracting tourism and new economic activities. The city council used Barcelona's nomination to host the 1992 Olympic Games to promote urban regeneration and to create new neighbourhoods. This policy received support from the civil society and many private agents. With the Games, Barcelona established itself on the international map and became attractive as a global city, not only as a city to visit but also as a city in which to invest. Thanks to this process, the city's economic profile changed into a service-oriented economy; the city council aimed to make the city a knowledge-oriented economy, and launched several urban renewal projects designed to fulfil this objective. The most important was the transformation of the city's old industrial district into a district for activities linked to the "new economy". This project was planned during the nineties but was not implemented until the next decade; the immediate action of the city council was more short-term, focusing on promoting the city as a pole of attraction for tourists and visitors and also for new businesses and activities. As a result, the number of visitors rose from 3.85 million visitors in 2001 to 5.06 million in 2005. As we shall see in more detail in the following chapter, the tertiarisation of the economy started to attract migration from abroad in the late 1990s.

During the 1990s, the rest of the regional economy remained industry-based, with textile and automobile industries as the main sectors. During this period Spain went into recession, causing crises in these two sectors and a certain diversification of industrial economic activities in the region. The crisis did not mean the end of the industrial economic activity in the BMR: in fact, the region is still the main contributor to Spain's industrial export capacity (Trullén, 2001). Indeed, the BMR today is considered one of Europe's most dynamic economic areas on account of its advanced industrial and tertiary activities (Trullén, 2001). In the first five years of the new century the regional economy grew steadily, as reflected both by its GDP and its labour market (Oliver, 2006). Nevertheless, the growth was based to a great extent on low innovation and low productivity patterns, with little investment in R&D (Vives and Torrens, 2004). The region's economic development during the 1990s started to attract foreign migrants, mainly from Latin America and northern Africa, and also from northern Europe. The migrants were employed mainly in unskilled jobs in the services and real estate sectors, although a minority started to fill qualified positions.

After the 1992 Olympic Games the new project for economic growth in the region was based on promoting the 'information society'. During the second half of the 1990s the region strengthened its position as an industrial region with growing diversification and conversion of its economic pattern towards the knowledge economy. The role of strategic planning at government level was key in this transformation. In the city of Barcelona, the plan "Barcelona 22@" was approved in 2000. This plan, under study since the mid-nineties, involved the urban renewal of 200 hectares of an old industrial district in Barcelona with the aim of attracting creative and knowledge capital (ICT, research, and video and cinema activities). The idea of the 22@ project was to create a mixed-use technological district with facilities, economic activity and housing. The project promoted five strategic clusters: ICT, media, biomedical, energy, and design. During the first half of the decade, the project remained basically focused on urban renewal, with the creation of infrastructures and equipments for "new economy" companies. Since 2006 the 22@ project has organized an annual "urban

clusters symposium” with the aim of sharing strategies for attracting talent and business to the city. This organization reflects the project’s entry onto a new stage as it aims to attract companies. In the rest of the region similar urban renewal projects on a smaller scale are being launched in order to attract talent from abroad.

Summarizing, the region’s recent success, both in terms of economic growth and its relevance in the European hierarchies, has attracted visitors and workers. Nevertheless, as previous research in the framework of the ACRE project has shown, the growth of tourism and the lack of policy coordination may be obstacles to the inflow of innovation from abroad¹. In this report we examine the reasons given by qualified foreigners for coming to the Barcelona metropolitan region to pursue their professional careers and attempt to identify the region’s assets as well as the problems and challenges it will face in the near future.

1.2 Structure of the report

The first part of this report analyses the evolution of qualified migration in the region. To do so, we first present a review of the theories of migration focused on high-skilled migrants. Second, we describe the recent economic development of Spain and the BMR, taking into consideration the role of foreign companies and the internationalization of the Spanish economy. We also describe the position of the BMR in the international network of cities and the current situation and the degree of development of creative and knowledge economy in the region. This analysis allows the presentation of future prospects for the development of the creative and knowledge-based workforce in the region. Third, we analyse the current situation of high-skilled immigration in Spain and the BMR, taking into consideration the legal and political framework in which this migration takes place. This analysis allows us to understand the relevance of immigration in the BMR and the extent to which it is linked to the creative and knowledge sectors.

The second part of the report is based on a qualitative research on highly-skilled immigrants in the creative and knowledge sectors. The research included 20 in-depth interviews with highly-skilled immigrants and four experts on migration, in order to assess the main elements of the BMR that attract qualified transnational immigrants. Taking the data presented in earlier chapters as our starting-point, we describe our methodology for the selection of interviewees. We also explain the interviewing process and consider the problems that emerged during the fieldwork.

Second, we present an analysis of the interviews, examining the key factors that influence the decisions of highly-skilled employees to work and live in the BMR, taking into consideration not only personal trajectories but also the different factors of the region that attract them. The analysis focuses on three main issues: the reasons for coming to the BMR, their integration in the region, and their current situation. Thus, the analysis applies a chronological perspective

¹ In fact, results in the ACRE research show that a certain model of massive tourism can hinder the possibilities for development of creative and knowledge industries in the region. Moreover, the lack of coordination is a major concern for entrepreneurs and policy-makers (Pareja-Eastaway et. al., 2008)

to understand the accounts of the interviewees. The study concludes with a cross-sectional analysis focusing on the assessment of the role of positive and negative factors of the region in promoting or limiting the attraction and retention of creative knowledge workers from abroad.

2 THEORIES OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS¹

For a better understanding of trans-national migration in creative and knowledge intensive industries in the Barcelona Metropolitan Region it is important to have a look on recent international migration research and its theories. Migration to Europe in the past 20 to 25 years differs in form and consequences from earlier population movements across national borders. New types of migration and new forms of trans-national migration can be observed in most countries in the EU, including Spain. Older approaches of migration research do not seem to describe current migration processes properly. Especially the migration of highly skilled workers shows specific characteristics which require new descriptions.

There is no consistent theory of migration; on the contrary, migration research is characterized by a wide range of theories. Classical approaches basically deal with economic factors to explain migration processes on the macro-level or decisions to migrate on the micro-level. But the changes of migration processes since the 1990s cannot be described appropriately by classical theories. Hence new approaches try to explain contemporary migration structures. They point out the embeddedness of migrants in social networks and try to focus on the meso-level of migration in form of exchange processes between social spaces. In this chapter classical approaches of migration research and new theories will be described which focus on labour migration in general. Afterwards there will be a description of approaches which deal with migration of highly skilled in particular. This also includes Florida's account of the 'creative class'. His perception of this 'class' as being 'hyper-mobile' is one of the most contested elements of his creative class thesis. Finally it will be discussed which approaches are appropriate to describe the movement of highly skilled migrants to the BMR.

2.1 Classical theories of labour migration

Classical theories of migration interpret migration processes which are seen as unidirectional with definite countries of origin and destination areas. Migration processes are explained as a consequence of economic disparities and adverse conditions on which individuals react and decide to migrate.

¹ This section has been written by the ACRE Leipzig team (Bastian Lange, Juliane Schröder and Kornelia Ehrlich, Leibniz Institute of Regional Geography) and Amsterdam team (Marco Bontje and Heike Pethe, University of Amsterdam). The section is common to all ACRE reports within Work Package 7.

2.1.1 *Push-pull-model*

The emergence of international migration can be explained by correlations between countries of origin and host societies. Everett (see Lee, 1972), worked out a push-pull-model which states that there are push-factors in the regions of origin and pull-factors in the destination area, which encourage migration. There are also intervening factors like spatial distance or migration laws and personal facts which influence decisions to migrate. This approach considers not only economic factors like economic disparities but also social factors like conflicts or the attempt to escape from danger (Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 38; Haug, 2000, p. 8; Kneer, 1996).

2.1.2 *Neoclassical theories*

Neoclassical theories are based on the push-pull-model. Macro-economic approaches focus on economic factors like economic growth (see Lewis, 1954, see Todaro, 1976). It is assumed that disparities between places of production and labour markets – namely disparities of wage level as well as labour supply and demand for labour – lead to migration. Migration is seen as the attempt to reach a macro-economic equilibrium. Countries with work intensive sectors are characterized by low wages and countries with capital intensive sectors by high wages. These wage differentials cause migration to the areas where the income level is higher. Thus the labour supply lowers and wages increase in ‘poorer’ countries while labour supply increases and therefore wages lower in ‘richer’ countries. At the same time economic and human capital flows towards the ‘poorer’ regions, which are beginning to develop capital intensive sectors. Migration abates when economic disparities vanish. This disregards that there are other factors like the establishment of migrant communities in host societies which may encourage further migration (Haug, 2000, p. 2f, 11f; Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 38f).

Macro-economic theory has its counterpart in micro-economic approaches. Here the focus is on the individual migrant. As individuals they opt for migration by rational cost-benefit calculations. Migration is interpreted as investment in order to maximise economic utilities. Individual features, social conditions or technologies which lower the costs of migration enhance the probability of migration. The amount of the expected benefits determines the extent of migration flows. The higher the income level in the destination area in comparison to the earning in the home region, the lower the costs of migration, and/or the longer the remaining years in professional life, the higher the probability of migration. This implicates that there is a higher incentive to migrate for workers with less human capital if the expected income level is low. It is assumed that – in comparison to highly skilled – there is a higher incentive to migrate for workers with less human capital even if the expected income level in the destination area is low irrespective to the human capital. With this strategy the non-highly skilled migrants hope to boost their human capital and therefore hope to improve their chances to find jobs in the future where the expected income level is higher. In contrast, highly skilled workers rather tend to stay in their home countries if the expected income level in the destination area is low. They can take advantage of their human capital in their home country. They are rather encouraged to migrate if the expected income is high (Massey et al., 1993, p. 456; Haug, 2000, p. 5f, 13f).

But neoclassical theory disregards international political and economic contexts and decisions as well as social boundaries. Furthermore the implicated assumption of homogeneous professional abilities in countries of origin and destination areas as well as the assumed trend to global macro-economic equation are controversial.

2.1.3 New migration economy

The new migration economy approach also focuses on an economic factor: the income. But it also considers the social embeddedness of individuals in households. Individuals are interpreted as acting collectively. Hence the approach focuses on families and households. According to this approach households try to maximise the expected income and to minimise risks for their economic wealth. The job migration of a household member is a form of reassurance because the migrant is independent of local economic conditions of the household. Furthermore international migration and the associated money transfer from abroad can be used as capital for an increase in productivity of the household. Usually it is a matter of temporary migration. It is claimed that adjustment of wages does not stop international migration. Even if there is no strong incentive, households try to diversify their economic risk by migration of family members. Migration is seen as a risk lowering strategy (Haug, 2000, p. 7f).

2.1.4 Dual labour market theory

Neoclassical migration theory as well as new migration economy assume that migration is a result of rational decisions of individuals or families. In contrast the Dual labour market theory suggests that migration is an effect of political and socioeconomic constellations. The reasons for labour migration are not seen in a trend to a labour market equation but in the segmentation of the labour market. Advanced industrial societies develop a dual economy with a capital-intensive primary segment and a labour-intensive secondary segment. The latter is characterised by insecurity and low wages. Native workers usually do not have any motivation to accept these jobs, which also mean less prestige and low promotion prospects (Lebhart, 2002, p. 13 f). Hence advanced economies demand foreign workers for the secondary segment. This causes migration (Haug, 2000, p. 3f; Lebhart, 2002, p. 13ff).

2.1.5 World system theory

This migration approach deals with the idea of the clash between capitalistic industrial- and developing nations. It is assumed that the origin of migration lies in institutional and sectoral disparities which are evoked by the integration of nations into the worldwide capitalist system. This approach divides the world into three zones: core, semi-periphery and periphery. To explain the patterns of migration the reciprocal dependency of these zones as well as direction and constitution of flows of capital and goods are analysed. It is presumed that international labour migration follows the international flows of capital and goods in the

opposite direction. This intends that first of all migration is detectable in Global Cities, which attract migrants from the periphery and not industrialised societies.

Therefore migration is seen as a logic consequence of the globalisation of the economy which causes the emergence of the capitalistic market in developing countries. This implicates that international migration primarily appears between former colonial powers and its colonies because of already existing relations in economy, transport, administration, culture and language (Lebhart, 2002, p. 16ff; Haug, 2000, p. 4f; Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 40f).

2.2 New theories of labour migration

The 1990s confronted the migration research with new migration forms which cannot be described as unidirectional processes with definite countries of origin and definite destination areas. The classical micro- and macro-analytic migration theories failed to apply to these forms. There was a missing link: the connection between individuals and society. New approaches in migration research pointing out the importance of social networks as the missing link were required.

2.2.1 Theory of migration systems

The theory of migration systems assumes that the intensive exchange of information, goods, services, capital, ideas and persons between specific countries causes a stable system. Migration is one of these exchange processes. Thereby several countries of emigration can be connected with one region of immigration, just like one emigration country can be characterised by migration flows to several destination areas (multi-polarity). Migration systems are variable social arrangements (formal and informal) including individuals and institutions of both countries. The participation of social ethnic networks, multinational firms, educational institutions or other corporations - as mediations between macrostructures and individuals as well as between the different countries - in shaping the migration system plays a crucial role. Therefore this approach concentrates on macro-, meso- and micro-structures. It considers the economic, political, social, demographical and historical context of migration systems and focuses on both ends of the migration flow, on disparities and interdependencies. But it does not say much about the genesis of migration systems.

In contrast to other theories the relevance of spatial proximity is denied. Instead it points out the influence of political and economic relations on migration systems. As political, economic and communication relations are adjusted by feedback and modulation mechanisms, migration systems, although stable, are not static but dynamic. The processes in and between countries change. New migration systems emerge, countries drop out or join a system, interdependencies transform and migration flows alter in shape (Haug, 2000, p. 17ff; Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 44f; Lebhart, 2002, p. 29 ff; Fawcett, 1989, p. 671ff).

2.2.2 *Theory of migrant networks*

As seen the migration system approach points out the very relevance of ethnic networks built by migrants and their family and friends. In contrast to old micro- and macro-analytic approaches, new migration theories focus on the meso-level of migration. The social network approach also stresses the influence of social networks on migration. Migration networks shape social and spatial paths of migration provide new migrants with information and resources² and therefore facilitate their migration. In short, they lower the costs and risks of migration. On the other hand they smooth the process of keeping in touch with the home region and influence the integration process of the new migrants into the host societies.

Therefore it is assumed that personal relationships which connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in the home countries and host societies increase the probability of international migration and can lead to chain migration and sustained migration flows. That means there is no strong correlation between migration flows and wage and employment disparities because of the positive effects of migrant networks. These networks develop an own dynamic which can hardly be regulated.

The effects of social networks on migration are not clear yet. Surely, social relationships influence the decision to migrate by providing information and support or the opposite. Strong social ties in the home countries can inhibit migration. Less social ties can promote the movement. Migrant networks can produce security but also dependency, liability, little integration in the host society and therefore less freedom. This could frighten people. Thus respective contexts have to be considered in order to correctly interpret the relationships between social networks and migration (Haug, 2000, p. 20ff; Lebhart, 2002, p. 20ff; Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 42ff).

2.2.3 *Theory of social capital*

The network perspective can be specified by the term social capital. As already mentioned, personal contacts to friends, relatives and compatriots facilitate migrants to find jobs and housing and can offer financial support. The motives for providing resources might vary. While some act simply by ethical reasons (value orientated) or feel a group identity and therefore act by solidarity (bounded solidarity); others act strategic (reciprocal transfer) or in awareness of their position in the group (status orientated) (Haug, 2000, p. 22ff; Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 45f).

That means that besides the benefits of social capital there are also restrictions like conformity pressure, obligation to share and limitation of contact with other persons which do not belong to the social network. Making contacts outside of the community could be seen as an assault to the group identity and cause punishment. So individual getting ahead could be inhibited.

In consequence it depends on the community in which the migrant is situated and its openness if social capital is next to economic capital a beneficial element in the migration process.

² For example supporting finding a residence and a job or providing financial security.

2.2.4 *Trans-national migration*

Migration systems and processes have changed since the 1980s. They can be described as circular movements with specific social structures and mobile lifestyles. This new patterns are called trans-national migration as a special form of international migration. New forms of communities emerge, producing specific social spaces by the socio-cultural practice of trans-national migrants. These spaces are neither bounded in the home country of the migrants nor in the host society but between and therefore are interpreted as being trans-national social spaces.

“[...] trans-national social spaces are pluri-local frames of reference which structure everyday practices, social positions, employment trajectories and biographies, and human identities, and simultaneously exist above and beyond the social contexts of national societies” (Pries, 2001, p. 65).

Trans-national migration is characterised by spatial movements that can be nomadic and pluri-local, but these movements are not de-territorialized. This leads to hybrid identities and practices. Trans-national migrants can benefit from opportunities of their home countries as well as of their current domicile. They are able to create flexible strategies of sojourn. The possibility of gaining power in their country of origin by i.e. transferring economic capital to their country of origin and simultaneously gaining more power in the host society as political actors, as “voices for the minorities”, is a specific feature of trans-national migrants (Bürkner, 2000, p. 302).³

Trans-nationalism is explained by the process of globalisation and its linked modern communication, transport and labour forms. But as Bürkner points out, there were migration forms in history which showed trans-national characteristics before globalisation began.⁴ Furthermore economic and socio-cultural processes of globalisation as well as processes of transformation on a national level appear to be not more than framing conditions for a collectivisation around an individual or a little group. The relevance of economy for the emergence of trans-national spaces is disregarded (Bürkner & Heller, 2008, p. 46f; Bürkner, 2005, p. 113-122; Haug, 2000, p. 16ff; Pries, 2007, p. 20-22).

2.3 Theories of highly skilled migration

Besides old and new migration theories which try to explain labour migration in general (see 2.1. and 2.2.) there are new approaches which focus on migration of highly skilled workers in particular. Besides the concept of Brain Drain where movement of highly skilled is interpreted as unidirectional, other theories think this migration form as circular and oscillating and connect them with the new shaping of capitalism.

³ Glick Schiller et al. (1992) showed the phenomena of trans-nationalism in the case of the migration of workers from Central America to the US.

⁴ Bürkner refers to the early shaping of migration paths by ethnic communities in the USA at the beginning of the 20th century (Bürkner 2000, p. 302).

2.3.1 *Brain drain*

The brain drain approach normally is applied on migration of highly skilled workers between different countries. Country of origin and destination area are seen as clearly defined containers with separated social systems.⁵ The embeddedness of migration processes into flows of capital, goods, communication and information is only of marginal interest.

The concept of brain drain assumes a unidirectional and permanent migration between 'more' and 'less' developed countries. Again economic factors like the higher income level in the destination area are claimed to be the main reason for migration. Seen from the perspective of dependency theory⁶ developing regions are characterised by a loss of human capital while highly industrialised societies benefit. In consequence it is said that the emigration of highly skilled obstructs the economic progress in developing regions and as a result keeps them in economic dependence (Meusbürger, 2008, p. 31; Meusbürger, 2008, p. 51f, Pethe, 2006, p. 5f). But this approach does not consider that emigrated highly skilled workers might return to their home countries. This would be brain gain since highly skilled workers improved their qualifications abroad and therefore could push the development in their home countries. Instead of speaking about brain drain, it is more likely that there is brain circulation (Pethe, 2006, p. 9). We will now discuss the gradual shift in migration literature from 'brain drain' to 'brain circulation' and the possible negative and positive impacts on the countries of origin in some more detail.

In the social science literature, three approaches are prominent which discuss the mobility of the highly skilled professionals. In the 1960s, the issue of brain drain discussed the negative outcomes of the emigration of talent of third world countries to industrialised countries. Often graduates originating from developing countries took advantage from the large income differences and better working conditions in Western states (Schipulle 1973; Adams 1968). Although many European countries refused to give labour permits to third world graduates, the US became the favourite destination for this group of mobile highly skilled migrants. As a result, more than 40 % of the highly skilled persons in all OECD countries who are resident outside their home country lives in the US. Although the brain drain perspective is still present in the political arena, it lost its prominence. Firstly, the geographical pattern of mobility changed in the 1980s due the increasing trans-nationalisation of the companies and the economy (Findlay, 1988; Salt, 1988; Findlay and Gould, 1989; Beaverstock, 1990; Findlay and Garrick, 1990). Secondly, researchers like Annalee Saxenian pointed out that the emigration of highly skilled can lead to a return migration of highly skilled after several decades, which has a positive impact on the economies of the developing countries. In her book 'Silicon Valley's new immigrant entrepreneurs' (1999), she explained how India, Taiwan and China profited from the economic activities of their 'diaspora'. In her latest book 'The New Argonauts' (2006) she describes also the positive effects of international mobility

⁵ It is also possible to use this concept for different regions in one country. This is the case when migration processes between the old West German and the newly-formed German states are focused. There are not two separated social systems but yet the different history causes different economic and social conditions.

⁶ Dependency Theory assumes a stratification of countries in an international system and resulting power and dependency relations between dominant societies and countries in a lower position. Here migration is seen as a specific form of interaction between states, which is caused by structural disparities in dependent societies and provides a benefit to dominant countries (Bürkner & Heller 2008, p. 39).

of highly skilled migrants for the regional development. She has observed the impact of foreign talent and entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley in the last decades also points out the openness to foreign creative talent is also one of the key factors for the success of Silicon Valley and in the home countries of the migrants. Saxenian proposes that the successful development of the ICT industry in Israel, Taiwan and to a lesser extent in China and India is caused by the mobile talent who stimulates innovation, investment and trade between the countries. The exchange of knowledge, she concludes is that the foreign experts ‘welcome the openness, diversity and initiative that have built Silicon Valley’ . The connection which is constructed by the mobile ICT engineers is the basis of the economic success of these industries in their home and host countries.

Thirdly, country and regions in industrialised countries have become aware that highly skilled home nationals are also increasingly mobile and migrate to foreign destinations. Some of the earlier mentioned studies, like the work of Beaverstock, address expatriate communities from advanced capitalist countries to other advanced capitalist countries or to rapidly developing countries, like the British communities in New York City and Singapore. In our own empirical analysis we will also demonstrate that a significant part of the highly skilled migrants coming to European city-regions are coming from other European city-regions, and that they are often either on the move to yet another European city-region or plan to return to their city-region of origin. This is again an example of ‘brain circulation’, a form of circular migration we will discuss in more detail now.

2.3.2 ‘Brain circulation’: circular migration

Since the 1980s labour migration changed. As empirical studies showed (i.e. Wolter, 1997) an increasing movement of highly skilled workers has emerged. Often this migration is temporary and can be described as circulation⁷ between industrialised societies as well as a migration from ‘more’ to ‘less’ developed countries. Circular migration implicates the return of the migrants to their home regions after one or more migration steps and is linked to trans-nationalism (Vertovec, 2007, p. 3f).⁸ Even though the region of origin firstly suffers a brain drain by losing highly skilled workers there is also a brain gain by foreign highly skilled or a brain re-gain by returning highly skilled, who might have improved their qualities. So it we could speak of brain exchange between the different regions (Schultz, 2008, p. 52f; Pethe, 2006, p. 7ff).

This new form of migration of highly skilled is attributed to internationalisation and economic interdependences. Therefore the perspective of research focuses primarily on the meso-level like firms and institutions. In the 1980s, the international financial market was deregulated and many industrial producers moved their production units outside their home markets. The world economy began to internationalise. Many trans-national production and service

⁷ It has to be pointed out that circular migration is not only a phenomenon which describes the movements of highly skilled. It also applies to less or unskilled workers (Smith & Guarnizo 1998, p. 18).

⁸ As Fassmann points out that the distinction between circular and trans-national migration is problematic, if migrants keep up their social and functional relations to their home society on a large scale (Fassmann 2008, p. 23).

companies developed which lead to the 'brain exchange' of highly skilled professionals within these large international organisations. The expertise of the highly skilled employees was needed to control and supervise the new sales offices, production units and bank branches abroad (Boyle et al. 1994, Findlay 1995). These so called expats were typically seconded to a foreign branch for two to five years. Although they were privileged compared to those professionals who came from third world countries a decade earlier, and they were compensated for their international assignment with relocation service and a salary above the home level, the seconded professionals had little choice to select their country of destination. They were are part of the international stream of investments and trade which was allocated due to the outcomes of international investment opportunities. I.e. the expats accompanied the foreign international direct investments streams and, in the case of newly erected production units, the trade of foreign goods and services. Wolter (1997) showed the interrelation between investment and international migration for the case of the European Union in the 1980s.

Beaverstock, who investigated the mobility of these professionals in the financial service sectors over two decades, points out that the geography of their mobility is often related to the geography of the global cities (Beaverstock 1994, 1996, 2002). Global cities are metropolitan regions with a large concentration of high range services and international headquarters which command and control international investment streams (cf. Friedman 1986; Sassen 1996). The Globalization and World Cities Research Network in Loughborough mapped out the position of cities in this international urban system by looking at the connectivity of the international organisation in the urban regions (www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc). In addition to the circular movement within the industrialised countries, Beaverstock and others also describe a movement from the North to the South. Compared to the previous mobility which was described as brain drain, the brain exchange connected industrialised countries more strongly or describes mobility from industrialised countries to less industrialised countries. Due to its strong economic embeddedness, the brain exchange is influenced by economic circles with a large increase of international mobility in the period of economic upturn and a decrease of international migration in the period of the economic downturn.

The brain exchange perspective was criticised recently for approaching the international migration of the highly skilled mainly from an economic perspective and neglecting the agency of the individuals (Scott 2006). Before the role of the individual migrants will be discussed below, it should be mentioned that the economy has also changed in the last decade, and the organisation has also influence on intra-company mobility of employees. Large vertically integrated companies were typical for the Fordist age. These differentiated units did not only comprise various production and administrative units, they also began to allocate each function at the most suitable location. Due to the internationalisation of their organisations, highly skilled migrants were seconded between the different parts of the companies. Typically they were sent from the head quarter to peripheral locations. Due to the reorganisation of trans-national companies in post-fordism (Cormode, 1994; Koser and Salt, 1997; Wolter, 1999), hierarchies were reduced and activities were outsourced. Not only is the size of the companies reduced, but also the expensive international career opportunities for employees. The companies in the creative knowledge industries tend to be very small. A large share has less than 5 employees. On the one hand, this particular structure of the sector makes it less likely that intra-company mobility is a common feature in the creative knowledge

sectors. On the other hand, the technological progress enabled small actors to be mobile internationally, because the international communication and transport become cheaper and easily available. Instead of being seconded within a large company, it appears to be more likely that highly skilled individual change between small and medium companies now on their own steam.

2.4 Florida's conception of the international mobile creative class

“Regional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas”, writes Richard Florida in his book “The rise of the creative class” . The attractiveness of cities, its quality of life and its diversity of cities are pivotal for the future development of cities. A good people climate will draw new creative people to those places and will lever the economic success of regions. Using this imagination Florida describes conditions which are strongly related to the inward mobility of creative talent as a precondition and an effect for regional economic success of metropolitan regions. Diversity which is described as heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, sexuality and lifestyles is seen as a precondition for the inflow of new talent. People from various backgrounds will be attracted to these spaces which will again lead to an even larger diversity of people. In the first texts, Florida does not distinguish between national or international migrants, but his later book ‘The flight of the creative class’ uses examples which indicate that he does not only have national migration, but also international migration in mind.

Florida mainly focuses on the ability of places to attract foreign creative, when he writes: “Today, the terms of competition revolve around a central axis: a nation’s ability to mobilize, attract, and retain human creative talent” . The attractiveness of regions is important, because the economic success will increase with the inflow of talent. This is the most important formula which Florida uses. A detailed description in which ways foreign migrants contribute to the host economy is difficult to decipher in his work. Several hints can be found: foreign creatives “help build our scientific enterprises” (p. 95), account for “a disproportionate share of most influential scientists” (p. 101), relieve the “looming talent shortage” (p. 103), “take American ideas and American relationships back home” (p. 110) and contribute to the entertainment industry (p. 125).

Florida has a very broad conception of the creative class which comprises 30 per cent of the American work force. Again it is unclear in which aspects the mobility of the creative class is different from other highly skilled persons. But not only Florida lacks a clear definition of what is meant by the mobility of the highly skilled. Scholars which want to investigate the international mobility of the highly skilled see themselves facing a jungle of definitions. The definition of their qualification and their migrant status can vary enormously. For instance, the term ‘highly skilled’ can indicate a formal educational credential, but ‘skill’ can also be defined as the ability to solve certain task whether those ability was acquired with a ‘learning by doing’-approach or a formal education. The status as migrant can be related to certain forms of work permits for foreign employees, the status as a seconded employee within an international companies or simply mean non-national. In addition to that, Florida gives an account about the creative class which does not necessarily mean that other occupations such

as doctors or are not internationally mobile (cf. OECD, 2002), whereas other creative knowledge workers are certainly limited to perform their activity in different countries. One prominent example are lawyers whose main professional reference are national laws. International law firms have only developed recently and mostly they are limited to certain field like international mergers and acquisitions. Although differences between the creative knowledge occupations seem to exist, their scope is still unclear and also how do they contribute to the different national economies?

Florida's ideas might be one of the most prominent accounts of social scientists which emphasise the importance of the international migration for regional economies. In the political arena, the issue has been more strongly articulated since the labour shortages in several sectors appeared in industrialised countries (OECD). Since the creation of a common market, the individual member of the countries of the European Union received the right to move freely within the common space even earlier. At the time, the creation of a common space was not so much motivated by the attraction of foreign talent, but by the reduction of economic disparities between the various regions of the member states. Although several limitations exist, for examples for citizens of the new European member states, the member states and the European commission try to reduce the barriers, introduce a common migration policy and even support the mobility of certain groups actively. The Lisbon agenda, the agreement of a common migration policy in Tampere and the establishment of the student exchange programmes such as Socrates and Erasmus are examples which aim to promote the international mobility within Europe. The goal is to increase the competitiveness of the member states of the European Union by stimulating their ability for innovation and knowledge transfer. In other political arenas, other motivations to support the international mobility of highly skilled professionals are articulated. For example, on a global level, governments find mechanism to deregulate short term international mobility which is related to the international trade of goods and services (OECD, WTO). Apart from the attraction of talent, the reduction of disparities, the decrease of labour shortage, the stimulation of innovativeness and the lubrication of economic globalisation, various national statistical offices in central and eastern Europe point at the continuous decrease of their work force in the coming five decades. The political initiatives in Europe and the US are increasingly perceived as an international 'war for talent'. Florida addresses in his recent book the increasing danger that the US American cities loose this ability to attract and to retain foreign talent. European countries are becoming increasingly successful competitors for creative talent, in his view .

All accounts use imaginations of international migrations which expect positive outcomes. This is a recent development. Since the oil crisis in the early 1970s, immigration was stopped in most European states, because the incoming labour was seen as a competitor for the home nationals. In many countries only transferees of trans-national companies were successfully able to apply for a labour permit. Although those negative threats are less articulated in the public now, the mechanism of the international migration of highly skilled are not fully analysed. Who is internationally mobile? Why are trans-national migrations engaged in certain industries? How long do they typically stay? What effects does their presence have on the region, in particular on the economy and the housing market? Which cities and regions are attractive and what are the drivers behind their success?

2.5 The upcoming paradigm

The firm related perspective has been central in the study of international migration of the highly skilled, because many researchers assumed that this migration flow was largely demand driven. Apart from labour migration, other motives exist. Personal motives like family unification and marriage are the most prominent. Another important factor is education. But asylum seekers and refugees start a new life in other countries, too. In addition to that, an increasing number of cases are reported, when highly skilled migrants decide to live in a country because of the interesting cultural environment and the offered amenities as it was described by Florida too. Then, immigrants settle in the country first, and look for work later. In other words, the variety of reasons to settle in a certain country might be larger than the reasons which are found in the immigration legacy of the country in question.

In the Netherlands, for example, about one third of the immigrants entered the country due to employment related reasons, another third because of family related reasons and one sixth started with their studies in the Netherlands. Of course, these numbers needed to be treated with caution, because they are strongly related to the immigration categories which exist in the Dutch law. Firstly, immigrants use and tend to be classified in categories which gives them the best access to the host country. Research (Kanjapan 1995) shows that immigrants tend to switch between the categories to a large extent. Secondly, important motives such as large differences in the house prices in border regions which are not relevant in the legal framework are not mentioned in the legal framework.

The heterogeneity of expats increases. Apart from the seconded transferees who work in large companies, an increasing share comes on their own steam. Due to the removal of immigration barriers for labour migration within the EU and the stronger support of student mobility in the EU, but also internationally, the socio-economic background and the motives of trans-national migrants diversify (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006a; Scott, 2006b). According to Scott, the group of expats is diversified. Young professionals who come in their early career or stay on as graduates, international Bohemians who enjoy the cultural amenities and assimilation-settlers who marry a partner in the host country are new groups that have not gained enough attention. An overview of the nationality of foreign highly skilled immigrants in the Netherlands shows that the immigration of highly skilled persons cannot always be related to economic linkages between the countries. Nearly 50 % of the highly skilled foreign nationals who lived 2000 in the Netherlands come from countries which either had strong colonial ties to the Netherlands such as Indonesia or Suriname, or were the recruiting countries of the former guest workers such as Turkey and Morocco or where the home countries of a larger highly skilled refugee population such as Iraq, Iran or Afghanistan. Less than one third of the foreign highly skilled in the Netherlands, however, derive from Western OECD countries. Using the nationality as an indicator of the migration motivation is, of course, problematic too. Firstly, this approach assumes that persons with a similar nationality share the same motive. Secondly, these immigrants are formally highly educated, but it is unclear, if they can use their educational credentials in their job. In addition to that, many foreign nationals are born in the Netherlands, although they hold a foreign passport. They cannot be considered as migrants.

The new heterogeneity of the skilled migrants leads also to a larger diversity of residential choice between the foreign highly skilled. The former orientation on the higher segments of the housing market in the suburban areas fades in favour of the increasingly popular and therewith more expensive inner city on the one hand, and lower priced flats on the other. Due to the strong urban orientation of creative workers, the overall preference for inner city location might also be emphasised by foreign creative workers. Furthermore, the duration of the stay appears to change to. Expats which typically live between two to five years abroad are accompanied by trans-national migrants who settle for a longer time frame or even permanent in the foreign country. In addition to that, the possibilities to access the labour market of creative knowledge workers might also vary with their demographic background. Kibbelaar (2007) points out that foreign migrants who are not part of the classic expat population in the Netherlands often struggle to find positions in the creative knowledge industries on the one hand. On the other hand, they are less likely to choose a creative knowledge profession, because they consider those occupations as less prestigious and economically less rewarding .

Therefore, an analysis which identifies how many persons work in the creative knowledge economy and are of foreign descent might give a more accurate number about the real inflow foreign creative knowledge workers than an approach which only identifies the formal education of immigrants. A comparison between the results of both approaches identifies the scope of the brain waste of immigrant human capital, because it will identify the scope of access of foreign highly qualified workers to these industries.

2.6 Settling and staying: Highly skilled migrants in the host society

While the trans-national mobility of highly skilled migrants receives increasing interest and attention from academic researchers and policy-makers, much less attention has been given so far to their experiences after their move and their preferences in terms of residence, amenities and relations with the host society. Integration in the host society, for example, is generally hardly considered a problem since most highly skilled migrants are expected to stay a few years at most and since they are expected to have a well-paid job. Another generalizing assumption often made is that highly skilled migrants most often come from societies that are very close to the host society in terms of norms, values and behaviour, so they would hardly have adaptation problems. These assumptions might apply to most expatriates, but as we have seen in the sections above and will see again in our empirical analysis, this group is actually only a small part of the highly skilled migrants coming to and travelling within Europe. Highly skilled migrants quite often stay for more than a few years, they do not always come with the guarantee of a job, their job is not always well-paid, and they also come from non-Western developing countries. While this heterogeneity in the broad category of highly skilled migrants is gradually acknowledged, we hardly find evidence of this in the international academic debate so far. As far as matters of settling and staying of highly skilled migrants are discussed, mostly the focus is strongly on the sub-category of expatriates, and most attention is given to the housing and real estate market.

Expatriates are often merely seen as affluent corporate movers that can rely on relocation services. Because of this view, they are often discussed in terms of dualization of world cities. Several studies (Freund, 1998; Glebe, 1986; White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003) show that immigrants from OECD countries differ in their housing preferences strongly from other, often lower skilled migrant population. The residential pattern is often very similar to home nationals with the same socio-economic status. “[T]he settlement of migrants from North America, Australasia and other parts of Europe has tended to occur most strongly in those parts of London with the highest occupational status”, observes White. This pattern varies between different OECD nationals. Japanese corporate transferees and their families show the strongest segregation of all national groups in London, in Düsseldorf and Frankfurt/Main. They live more often in suburban locations, and share less often similar housing patterns with similar status groups. The high concentration is often ascribed to the activities of relocation services and Japanese real estate agencies, the importance of public transport access to work, security of the residential environment, quality of the dwelling (cleanliness of kitchen) and proximity to school and other community institutions (Glebe, 1986; Glebe, 1997; White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003). In particular the proximity to schools is often stated as a pivotal point for all OECD nationals too, although this view is also contested. Generally, expatriates rent more often than home nationals due to their temporary status, although the rental sector is with some 10 % of the dwellings relatively small in some of the investigated cities such as London. Rarely the flats of the transferees are owned by their companies. Instead White and Hurdley observe that other ethnic entrepreneurs who hold these flats as property investment let these high-priced dwellings to Japanese in London. This untypical demand in the rented sector leads to a rise of rent prices in those residential neighbourhoods. A similar connection between the rise of housing prices and immigration is described for Vancouver. This is properly the most prominent and extreme example which illustrates how activities of affluent immigrants lead to a significant increase of housing prices (Brosseau et al., 1996; Hiebert, 2000, 31ff; Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Olds, 1998; Olds and Yeung, 1999). Because of the transfer of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic China, wealthy Chinese immigrants and entrepreneurs fled to Canada. They acquired the Canadian citizenship by doing large investments. Often they spent large amounts of money in the regional housing market and transformed the suburban residential landscape, because they constructed houses which were conceived as monster-houses by the older population of English descent. Due to their acquisition of large suburban properties the prices in the higher housing market segment rose. In addition, entrepreneurs built malls and developed larger inner city housing projects (Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Olds, 1998; Olds, 2001).

The examples from London and Vancouver, however, show how the effects are firstly related to global flows which are linked to each city. Secondly, they show that the aims of the incoming educated population from the industrialized countries and the effects of their inflow can vary considerably. Recently, Scott underlined that an increasing heterogeneity of highly skilled immigrants stream into European cities. Apart from the typical expatriate population, overstaying students, family migrants and international bohemians live in the metropolitan regions. Also Conradson and Latham point at the ‘middeling trans-nationalism’ in large European cities such as London which comprises an increasing number of mobile middle class individuals. Compared with the typical expat population, the residential preferences differ. They are more oriented towards inner city neighbourhoods. Due to their lower income,

they are not able to afford a rented dwelling in the upper housing segments. Since they travel more often individually, they can also not rely on relocation services to find accommodation. On contrary, they are more likely to compete with the local middle class. In other words, the chances of trans-national migrants and expats to access the labour market and the effects of their presence are as much related to their socio-demographic background as to the local and national regulations.

2.7 Conclusion

As we have seen, the study of migration and especially labour migration of highly skilled workers is growing in relevance in the urban research agenda. Nevertheless, it is complicated to analyse migration to Spain following these theoretical corpus. As we shall see in chapter four, migration to Spain is a relatively new phenomenon started in the 1990s and with different features than previous processes in Europe. Until the beginning of 1980s migration trends to Spain were based on emigration rather than immigration. Between the 1950s and the 1970s an important part of the Spanish workforce emigrated to other western European countries as temporal workers. Even that this trend stopped in the 1980s for most of the workforce, it continued for skilled workforce specially those working in investigation and research, which found better opportunities in Europe and the United States for the development of their careers. Following the theories on skilled migration, traditionally Spain has suffered a 'brain drain' of researchers without significant 'brain gain'.

As migration and especially high-skilled migration is a new phenomenon in Spain, the body of research developed for the Spanish case is still being developed. Nevertheless some elements must be taken into consideration in the analysis of migration to Spain. In first place, following the theory of migration systems, the close cultural and economic relationship between Latin American countries and Spain is key to understand migration flows to Spain. In second place, the social networks of migrants explain at great extent their geographical distribution in the territory. For instance, eastern European workers tend to concentrate in Madrid Metropolitan Region, whereas Latin American migrants do the same in the Barcelona Metropolitan Region. Finally, in the case of these two large metropolitan areas theories on qualified migration in general and particularly Florida's theories on the Creative class seem to be useful to understand the attraction capacity of these cities. The main difference between Madrid and Barcelona in this regard is the fact that, whereas Madrid is a financial capital, with the headquarters of large companies, Barcelona has a more diversified profile with small and medium companies as its main features.

In fact, the economic profile of Barcelona and its recent international migration increase determines the approach to analyse high-skilled migration. Cultural proximity with the origin country and social networks must be taken into consideration as well as the role of non-economic factors such as cultural milieus, climate and diversity.

3 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SPAIN AND THE BARCELONA METROPOLITAN REGION

3.1 Internationalisation of the economy in Spain and the Barcelona Metropolitan Region

3.1.1 Introduction

Internationalisation or globalisation is essentially a process of growing interrelation and interdependence between different societies and economies. Broadly speaking, globalisation involves interrelation in the following areas: trade, production, business, finance, technology, culture and migration flows. The driving forces behind globalisation have changed in each era. Trade brought about the first kind of economic globalisation. In recent decades, by means of foreign direct investment (FDI) and financial flows, the production and business sectors have brought globalisation to a peak. Liberalisation has had a major influence on economic globalisation in domestic markets and in terms of trade and investment flows. Technological advances have also favoured globalisation, and have affected all aspects of economic activity and of cultural globalisation. New technology has brought markets closer and aided their expansion. It has also spectacularly increased information and communication flows worldwide.

The expansion of multinational companies has major economic effects on both the home country and the host country, in terms of the degree of integration into the world economy, technological development, employment, the strategic capacity of the country and its influence on the world economy.

In this chapter, we will analyse the internationalisation of the Spanish economy and of the BMR, mainly on the basis of the internationalisation of production. In other words, we will assess the impact of the expansion of multinational companies into our region and the effect on the Spanish economy of the recent expansion of Spanish companies into the rest of the world.

Migration flows are analysed in a later chapter. Cultural aspects of globalisation are outside the scope of this study.

3.1.2 *The internationalisation of the Spanish economy*

For various reasons, all aspects of Spain, including its culture, remained relatively closed to the outside world during much of the 20th century. However, the 1960s and 1970s marked the beginning of economic opening, whose main components were tourism and the arrival of multinational companies. Both of these components made essential contributions to the Spanish economy, whose growth up to 1973 was approximately 7 per cent per annum. In addition, tourism was a key factor in the opening up of Spain, due to its impact on the economy and the fact that it made Spanish society more accessible to other countries. The main source of FDI at this time was the USA, which accounted for over 40 per cent of the total.

In the 1980s, Spanish society began a rapid process of opening up, which was brought about by Spain attaining democracy at the end of the 1970s, its entry into the EU in 1986, the liberalisation of its economy and, in general, by the process of globalisation that began in the global economy.

Membership of the EU and the subsequent process of liberalisation were particularly important in both the domestic and overseas markets. Joining the EU generated prospects of economic growth and market expansion. It also removed impediments to trade and, subsequently, to investment. Economic liberalisation eliminated the monopoly power that had existed in some domestic markets (communications, energy, hydrocarbons, tobacco, etc.) and led to the privatisation of the companies that operated in these sectors, in some cases as monopolies. The result was a process of economic opening that was faster than that found in the economies of other developed countries. The impact of this was felt, above all, in the 1990s. This opening up or internationalisation occurred in all aspects: trade, foreign direct investment (FDI), technology and migration flows.

Thus, in 1985 Spanish foreign trade in goods and services stood at 41.1 per cent of GDP, whereas by 2007 it had reached 60.1 per cent. This rapid increase in the trade-to-GDP ratio¹ enabled the Spanish economic opening to approach that of the rest of the EU countries. However, although the pace of economic opening has been rapid, the growth in FDI both within and outside the country has been even faster. The FDI is an indicator of economic and financial internationalisation. Therefore, it is also an indicator of the expansion of foreign multinational companies with operations in Spain and that of Spanish multinational companies overseas. In fact, Table 3.1 shows the evolution of the main indicators of Spanish economic openness, in relation to the GDP, which indicates the size of a country's economy. The Table indicates that whilst trade openness increased from 36 per cent to 59.3 per cent, the weight of foreign investment in the Spanish economy rose almost three-fold. The weight of Spain's FDI outflow increased almost fourteen-fold in the same period. Thus, leaving aside trade, the economic opening up of Spain has followed a logical sequence, which began with FDI inflow and has ended with FDI outflow. Spain has been investing abroad since the 1990s.

¹ The trade-to-GDP ratio is the sum of exports of goods plus imports divided by the GDP.

Table 3.1 - Evolution of the economic openness of Spain (as a percentage of GDP)

	1990	2000	2006
Trade of goods and services opening index	36.0	61.0	59.3
Inward FDI stock ²	12.5	26.7	36.2
Outward FDI stock	3.0	28.6	41.4

Source: Bank of Spain, UNCTAD, EUROSTAT and own calculation.

Table 3.2 shows the main indicators of economic openness for some countries. It indicates the degree of internationalisation of the Spanish economy, which is similar to that of other EU countries and notably higher than that of countries such as the USA and Japan. In particular, Spain currently has higher FDI and more foreign subsidiaries than EC countries such as Germany and Italy, as well as the USA and Japan.

Table 3.2 - Economic internationalisation indicators for some economies (as a percentage of GDP), 2006

	Trade-to-GDP ratio	Inward FDI stock	Outward FDI stock	Number of foreign subsidiaries
France	54.2	34.8	47.8	10,713
Germany	85.1	26.2	32.4	9,193
Italy	56.2	11.1	20.3	7,181
Japan	30.1	2.3	9.8	2,185
Netherlands	131.3	70.6	101.1	-
Spain	59.3	36.2	41.1	9,255
UK	60.4	44.9	62.2	13,667
USA	27.7	12.9	20.4	5,331

Source: Bank of Spain, EUROSTAT, UNCTAD and own calculation.

3.1.3 FDI inflow

In the 1960s and 1970s, the aim of foreign investment flows was to penetrate the domestic market, which had high growth and was very protectionist, and to establish an export platform. Initially, the direct investment flows were low. However, according to the Ministry of Trade, by the end of the 1973 twenty per cent of jobs in Spain were financed by foreign investment. FDI in Spain took off after the country's entry into the EU in 1986 and remained high until the beginning of this century. It began to decrease slightly in 2002 (Canals and Moguer, 2007).

During the 1960s and 1970s, most of this investment was made in manufacturing sectors, including the chemical, petrochemical, pharmaceutical, automobile, glass, food and graphics industries. Subsequently, during the 1990s, most foreign investment was made in the service sector. From 1993 to 2007, the service sector accounted for around 54 per cent of the total

² We used the foreign capital stock established inside and outside the country, as this value fluctuates less than FDI flow.

FDI in Spain. During the first few years of the 21st century, FDI in property increased, attracted by the housing boom.

Table 3.3 - Percentage and number of foreign firms in Spain (in 2005 and 2006) by source of FDI

	FDI stock as a % of the total (2005)	Number of firms (2006) in Spain
USA	19.9	664
France	17.5	1,142
UK	16.3	300
Germany	7.8	853

Source: Chislett (2007) and City Council of Barcelona-Generalitat (Autonomous Government of Catalonia) (2007).

Since the 1960s, the USA has been the main source of FDI in Spain, as discussed above. However, when Spain joined the EU, the flow of US investment was interrupted. At this time, European countries, headed by France, the UK and Germany, led foreign investment in Spain. Subsequently, during the 1990s, the flow of US investment was re-established. Asian countries, particularly Japan and Korea, have played a more minor role, and have focused on investment in manufacturing. The USA continues to be the main investor in Spain, in terms of the stock of capital invested. In addition, the investment made by US and UK companies has been focused on companies with higher capital than the average FDI in Spain (Table 3.3).

As can be seen from the number of foreign subsidiaries in Spain (Table 3.3), foreign investment has been made in diverse sectors. However, the role of FDI in the following sectors is particularly notable: automobile, with 18 car plants in Spain; chemical and pharmaceutical products; the food industry; commercial distribution; software, hardware and services related to new technologies.

Furthermore, a significant number of industrial companies and those involved in distribution activities have chosen to use Spain as a strategic base from which to control their activities in southern European and northern African markets. Companies that have established their European headquarters in Barcelona and Zaragoza include IBM, Pepsico, Coors Brewing and Akzo-Nobel.

To sum up, the initial aims of FDI were to infiltrate the Spanish market and to establish export platforms. Now, the objective of FDI is also to create bases in Spain from which companies can control regional markets in various sectors in southern Europe and northern Africa, and even establish strategic and economic alliances with Latin America.

3.1.4 Main recipients of FDI in Spain

The distribution of FDI by region shows that there is a high concentration of investment in Madrid and Catalonia. However, Madrid is the main destination of FDI in most sectors, due to its centrality and the fact that it is the capital. This makes it essential for foreign companies to establish a base there.³

Madrid is the recipient of over 61 per cent of the total foreign investment in Spain (Table 3.4) and of a higher percentage of investment in the service sector, in which this region clearly specialises (see WP2). In addition, it attracts approximately two thirds of investment in the sectors selected in Table 3.4. Catalonia is the recipient of over 14 per cent of the total foreign investment registered in Spain and 13.5 per cent of the investment in the selected sectors. Around 90 per cent of the total investment in Catalonia is made in the BMR.

Table 3.4 - FDI by regions and sectors (as a percentage of the total)

	Total FDI	Total FDI in the service sector	Total FDI in selected sectors ⁴
Total FDI	100	100	100
Catalonia	14.2	12.6	13.5
Madrid	61.3	67.0	66.1

Source: Ministry of Industry, Trade and Tourism (MITYT) and own calculation.

However, as we will see below, the percentage of multinational companies established in Catalonia and the BMR is much higher than the percentage of FDI registered for this region. This can probably be explained by the effect that Madrid, as the capital, has on the registered FDI and the resulting discrepancy between the recorded and actual investment.

3.1.5 FDI outflow

FDI outflow is the most recent element in the Spanish economy. Membership of the EU in 1986 and the subsequent economic liberalisation and privatisation are two factors that explain this phenomenon.

In fact, economic liberalisation and the opening up of the market meant that Spanish companies had to face greater competition. Secondly, due to their size, many companies were targeted for purchase by foreign companies (Chislett b). Numerous companies were taken

³ As it is the capital, there is more investment registered for Madrid than there is real productive activity. A significant part of FDI in Madrid corresponds to production that is undertaken in other regions of the country.

⁴ The selected sectors are: "Publishing, graphic arts, and reproduction of recorded media", "Manufacture of machinery and computer equipment", "Manufacture of material and electronic equipment", "Manufacture of material and medical-surgical equipment", "Transport-related activities", "Banking and other financial intermediaries", "Insurance and pension plans (except social security)", "Activities related to financial intermediation", "Computing activities", "R+D", "Other business activities", "Education" and "Health and veterinary activities". Transport-related activities were included as this category includes logistic activities, which we consider knowledge activities.

over.⁵ Consequently, many small companies decided to access other markets as a way out of this situation, which meant that they had to expand and take the offensive.

One of Spanish companies' main assets in the internationalisation process is their experience of managing deregulation in Spanish markets, including the telecommunications, energy and public services (water, gas and electricity) sectors, and their operating experience in regulated markets, such as financial services and infrastructure. This experience and knowledge is an intangible asset that represents a specific advantage (Guillén 2006, Chislett 2007b). In fact, Spanish companies in these sectors (banking; telecommunications; oil; water, gas and electricity distribution; and construction companies that subsequently became infrastructure managers) led internationalisation in the country.

Nevertheless, we should make a distinction between large public or private companies that operate in public service and/or regulated markets, and traditional industrial companies, which operate in manufactured goods markets with no special regulations. This type of industrial company has been less involved in internationalisation and its expansion model has had different, specific aspects in each case.

3.1.6 FDI of large Spanish companies

The Spanish FDI outflow began in 1990 and two phases can be distinguished in its development. In the first phase, from 1990 to 2000, investments were made in Latin America. In this period, the Spanish FDI outflow amounted to approximately 13.1 billion Euros per annum, of which 61 per cent was destined for Latin America, 22.5 per cent for Europe, 9 per cent for the USA and Canada, and the rest for other countries. During part of this period, Spain was the largest investor in Latin America. It even invested more in this region than the USA. In the second phase, from 2001 to 2006, the Spanish FDI stood, on average, at 26.8 billion Euros per annum, of which 16 per cent was allocated to Latin America, 67 per cent to the EU-15, 6.4 per cent to the USA and Canada and the rest to other countries.

Three fundamental factors explain this investment process. Firstly, according to Guillén (2006), Latin America was the "easiest path" for Spanish FDI, due to its proximity in terms of language and in the development situation of the sectors that were involved. In fact, Spanish companies invested in regulated sectors (see above) that were in the process of liberalisation and privatisation. Spanish companies had extensive management experience of this situation, as they had been through the same process in Spain in previous years. Therefore, they were familiar with the field in which they were going to work and knew how to manage it successfully. This was their specific advantage.

Secondly, when Latin American companies became available for purchase, potential buyers were distracted by other problems: the capital of other European countries was tied up in Eastern Europe countries; there were problems with Japanese capital, due to the financial

⁵ Companies in the automobile sector, such as Seat, Motor Ibérica, Pegaso or Santana, which did not have the strategic capacity to face a global market, were purchased by foreign multinational companies. A similar situation arose in the pharmaceutical sector, for example.

crisis and subsequent deflation in Japan; and US capital had just recovered from the Latin American debt crisis, which had affected much of the US banking system. This meant that Spanish capital could be used to access a significant segment of the Latin American markets.

Thirdly, the actions of the Spanish regulatory agencies contributed positively to the process of internationalisation. The liberalisation and privatisation of companies led to mergers in strategic sectors and sufficient capitalisation to make purchases. As the process was controlled and supervised by the Spanish government and the Bank of Spain, it led to bank mergers and a consolidated banking system. This was the basis of the competitiveness of these entities and of their ability to make purchases abroad. The change in FDI in 2001 was the consequence of two factors: the alarm caused by the Argentinean crisis and its effects on the profits of Spanish companies in the region; and the fact that Spanish companies were ready to tackle other markets, particularly in Europe, which had initially been harder to access.

The following are some of the main, large, international Spanish companies that operate in regulated markets, public services and infrastructure management: Telefónica (telecommunications), Banco de Santander and BBVA (finance), Repson-YPF, Cepsa and Gas Natural (oil and gas), Endesa, Iberdrola and Unión Fenosa (electricity), Agbar (water distribution), Acciona, Ferrovial, FCC and ACS (infrastructure management).

3.1.7 FDI in manufacturing companies

In general terms, Spain is not a major industrial manufacturing power. Instead, its economy is focused on services. This is one of the reasons why the investment in manufacturing companies does not represent a significant proportion of the Spanish FDI. This lack of industrial potential is also linked to a certain degree of technological backwardness in this aspect. Consequently, the internationalisation of Spanish companies has generally not been based on their productive and technological potential, but on their management experience.⁶

3.1.8 The impact of internationalisation on the Spanish economy

It is interesting to analyse the relation between the internationalisation of the Spanish economy and the country's technological capacity and development. In general, FDI inflow involves technology transfer. This is true of many companies that have set up subsidiaries in Spain, particularly in the automobile sector. Some of the car plants established in the country are ranked among the most productive in Europe, according to their executives (Chislett, 2007 a). These companies consider that a positive factor in Spain is the capacity of the work force to adapt to a productive system. In this respect, there seems to be a degree of agreement over one aspect that still lacks verification: the R+D production of the Spanish economy is higher

⁶ In manufacturing activities, ingenuity or skill in creating simple products has generally prevailed over engineering. Two companies in the food sector that have expanded globally serve as examples: Nutrexpa, whose success is based on one product (Cola Cao) and past advertising skill; and Chupa Chups, whose success is based on something as simple as putting a sweet on a stick.

than registered, as some R+D is undertaken in projects that are developed by multinational companies established in Spain. This idea is supported by the fact that the headquarters of manufacturing companies tend to gather the results of any R+D carried out in the company's subsidiaries, wherever they are located.

However, there is a clear lack of R+D in the Spanish economy (see WP2), as can be seen in the figures for research spending as a percentage of GDP. This figure had reached around 1.2 per cent by 2006, due to the considerable effort that had been made since 2000, when the percentage was 0.91 per cent of GDP.

This has determined the type of international expansion of Spanish companies. Such expansion has been based on the specific advantages that companies acquired in oligopolistic sectors that had been deregulated and privatised; and on the competitive advantage provided by the Public Administration's efficient regulation of the sectors in which this expansion occurred, including banking, energy and public services (Guillén 2006). The expansion of Spanish multinational companies has not been based on their technological strength as much as on their organisational and management capacity. These specific advantages have been applied to the management and organisation of activities in specific markets.

In addition, the predominant type of Spanish multinational company, which tends to be a service company with a certain degree of monopoly power, has meant that economic internationalisation can be combined with access to more advanced technology. In this respect, Spanish companies have successfully combined economic internationalisation with technological internationalisation, and have even become driving forces behind technological advances. Internationalised Spanish companies have also successfully boosted their intangible assets: their brands (Guillén, 2006). This has given them added value, as it is of great importance in global markets.

This is particularly important for a telecommunications company such as Telefónica, which has the second largest number of transnational assets in its sector worldwide. This company can now produce the highest level of technology and has research and development facilities in the 22@ district of Barcelona.

Some of the most competitive activities that have the greatest potential for future growth are renewable energies, water treatment, desalination and biotechnology.

3.1.9 The internationalisation of the BMR

Around 2,700 foreign companies have set up subsidiaries in the BMR, which is approximately 30.5 per cent of the total number in Spain. Eighty per cent of foreign companies have been established in the region for over ten years. Therefore, it can be classed as a region with a long industrial tradition. In most cases, the FDI involved creating a new subsidiary. In just 27 per cent of cases, an existing company was purchased. Some foreign companies have a particularly high presence in the BMR in comparison to other areas of Spain, as can be seen in Table 3.5. This can be explained by the region's industrial tradition and by the attraction and clustering that can occur among companies from the same country.

Table 3.5 - Number of multinational corporations (MNC) in the BMR and the percentage of the total number in Spain (2006)

	Number of companies	BMR/Spain (%)
France	635	56.0
Germany	467	55.0
USA	359	54.0
Italy	320	49.5
Holland	178	46.0
Japan	133	63.0
UK	126	42.0
Switzerland	100	61.0

Source: City Council of Barcelona-Generalitat (Government of Catalonia), 2007

3.1.10 Types of companies in the BMR

An analysis of the sectors and activities of multinational companies in the BMR reveals a predominance of businesses in the manufacturing sector. However, foreign companies in the BMR are increasingly oriented towards service activities with higher added value. Table 3.6 shows the sectors that have received FDI. Traditional manufacturing sectors are particularly predominant, including the chemical, metal, electrical/electronic and automobile industries.

Table 3.6 - Main foreign MNC sectors in the BMR⁷

Sector activity	Percentage
Chemical	17
Metal	14
Electrical/electronic	10
Automobile	9
Pharmaceutical	7
Energy	7
Telecommunications	6
Construction/Property	5
Business services	5
Food and agriculture	4
Consumer goods	4
Publishing	4
Financial	4
Others	23

Source: City Council of Barcelona-Generalitat (Government of Catalonia), 2007

⁷ The sum of all the percentages is over 100, as some companies are included in more than one sector.

However, the activities of the multinational subsidiaries in each sector are diverse and are not always related to manufacture. Thus, Table 3.7 shows the specific activities of each subsidiary. As in Table 3.5, the diversity of many companies' activities means that the sum of all the percentages is above 100. Only 33 per cent of all the activities involved manufacture, that is, approximately 20 per cent of all of the cases. The remaining activities were sometimes knowledge intensive and with high added value, such as R+D, design, administration and finance, logistics and marketing.

Table 3.7 - Main activities of foreign MNC in the BMR

Activity	Percentage
Sales and marketing	61
Manufacture	33
Logistics	29
Services	23
Administration and finance	19
R+D	10
Design	5
Others	3

Source: City Council of Barcelona-Generalitat (Government of Catalonia), 2007

In addition, an analysis of Tables 3.6 and 3.7 indicates that the manufacturing activities and the knowledge-related quinary sector activities that are carried out by multinational companies in the BMR are complementary and interact.

Another important factor is the orientation of the activity of multinational companies established in the BMR. Two aspects are notable. Firstly, the companies are significantly oriented towards export: 24 per cent of their production is for export, mainly to nearby countries.

Secondly, the BMR is important as a strategic base for multinational companies. Twenty-one per cent of foreign multinational companies in the BMR are centres where decisions are made about other subsidiaries in geographic areas outside of Spain. This is significant, as strategic management activities involve intensive knowledge.

In addition to the aforementioned generic factors that are applicable to Spain as a whole, the factors that attract FDI to the BMR are as follows: the geographic location (close to clients and suppliers); the quality of life and the human capital; the relationship between quality of the work force and salary cost; and the diversified economic environment that provides quality and competitiveness.

The least attractive factors in the region include the lack of language knowledge and the costs of transport and property.

In terms of Catalan companies from the BMR that have become international, unlike the rest of Spain, there is a higher proportion of manufacturing companies than public service companies or companies that manage infrastructures. As indicated previously, the following are notable among the manufacturing companies: Freixenet, Nutrexp and Chupa Chups

(food); as well as Mango, Pronovias and La Seda (textiles). The most notable public service and infrastructure management companies include Agbar, Gas Natural and Abertis.

Some of the BMR's future challenges are the same as those of the rest of Spain, such as improving the technological capacity by means of greater investment in R+D and improving training of human capital, particularly in engineering and in knowledge of foreign languages. However, the BMR also has its own goals, such as consolidating high added value service activities that can complement the existing industry. The long-term attainment of this goal could be aided by attracting the investment of foreign multinational companies, but also by the establishment of Spanish companies. Public initiatives (such as 22@, parks, etc.) should be able to accommodate these activities.

3.2 The creative knowledge economy in the metropolitan region

3.2.1 Current situation of the creative knowledge workforce

During the last decade, the creative and knowledge industries have continued to evolve⁸. Several sectors of these industries have a long history in the Barcelona Metropolitan region. The industrialization of the region was based to a great extent on the textile industries and designer fashion activities. In fact, the first industrial centres of the future metropolitan region – Barcelona, Sabadell, Terrassa and Mataró – were based on textile industries. Publishing is another of the region's traditional activities, even before the industrialization process. In more recent times – with the return of democracy in the 1970s – the performing arts and record industries became important actors in the region. Over time, these sectors have evolved at different rates and have obtained different results in terms of their economic relevance and their rates of employment. The analysis of the creative sectors that have emerged since the mid-nineties is also an important task.

The transformation of the designer fashion sector

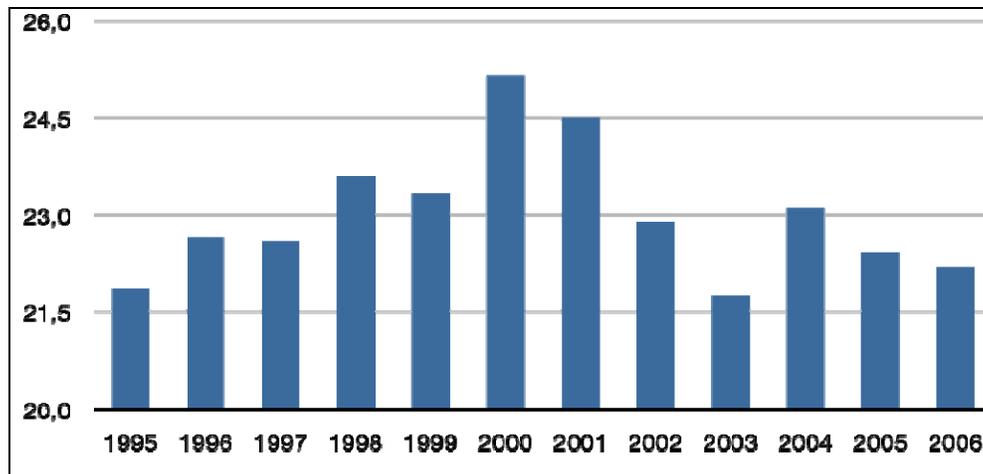
Textile industries in the BMR were traditionally based on low-productivity activities, mainly manufacturing. Global competitiveness and the delocalization of manufacturing to Morocco and China have generated a continued loss of employment in the sector. Today the sector focuses on design and R&D, but the process of destruction of non-skilled workplaces continues. Between 1995 and 2006, the textile industries lost 16,000 jobs. As current statistical data do not distinguish between creative and non-creative activities in each sector, this loss of jobs affects the data on creative employment.

The creative activities rooted in the economic tradition of the region have shifted, from a model based on low productivity towards the new economy. On the other hand, new sectors have emerged and consolidated, especially ICT and software development. Whereas the

⁸ The ACRE project includes the following sectors as forming the creative and knowledge industries: **Creative Industries:** advertising, architecture, arts and antiques trade, computer games, software and electronic publishing, designer fashion, music, visual and performing arts, publishing, video, film, music, photography, radio and television. **Knowledge industries:** information and communication technologies (ICT), finance, law and other business services, research and development and higher education.

transformation of traditional sectors has meant a decrease in employment (due to the destruction of non-qualified jobs), the rise of new activities has created new jobs. The result is an intermittent growth in employment in the creative and knowledge sectors, as can be seen in figure 3.1. The growth reached a peak in 2000, with employment in the creative and knowledge sectors representing 25 per cent of the province's total employment. After 2000 the number of jobs fell gradually, reaching 22 per cent in 2006. This slight decrease can be explained by the continued downturn in the textile industries as well as the falls in finances, ICT, and software development after the dotcom crisis. Nevertheless, the changes in employment in the creative industries have not been large, reflecting around 1 or 2 per cent of the total workforce. Between 1995 and 2006 the workforce in the creative industries remained between 20 and 25 per cent of the total employment.

Figure 3.1 - Evolution of creative and knowledge employment with regard to total employment in the province of Barcelona



Source: EPA (INE)

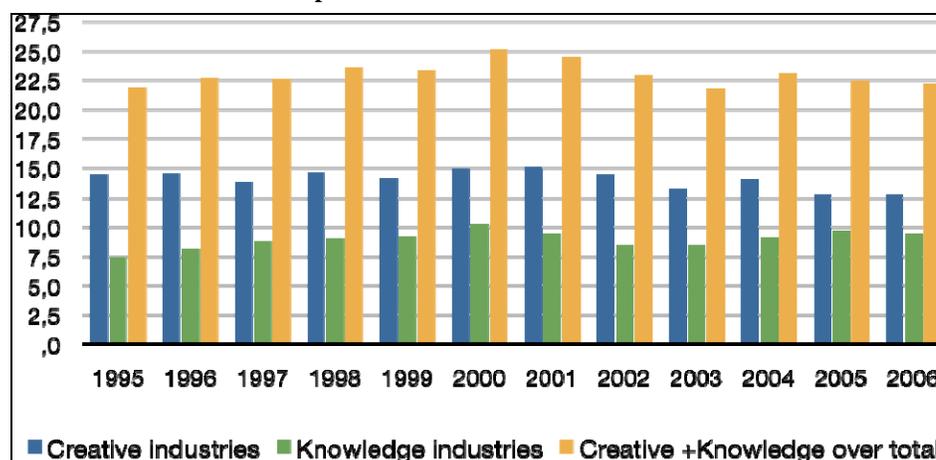
As stated above, employment in the traditional creative sectors is declining, whereas new sectors are growing rapidly. Table 3.8 shows the percentage of employment in different creative subsectors with regard to total employment, as well as its evolution between 1995 and 2006. The evolution of the contribution of the different sectors to the total workforce reveals that designer fashion and arts and antiques trade continue to be the main contributors but have also been the sectors that have grown the least between 1995 and 2006. In the case of designer fashion, jobs fell between 1995 and 2006.

Table 3.8 - Evolution of creative and knowledge industries ranked by evolution of employment

	Percentage of the total workforce (2006)	Evolution employment 1995/2006
Creative industries		
Computer games, software and electronic publishing	1.1	3.8
Architecture	1.4	3.3
Publishing	0.7	1.9
Video, film, radio and television	1.0	1.7
Music, visual and performing arts	0.9	1.6
Advertising	0.5	1.5
Arts and antiques trade	3.8	1.2
Designer fashion	2.9	0.8
Knowledge industries		
Law and other business sectors	3.3	2.1
Finances	2.6	1.6
ICT	2.3	2.0
R+D and higher education	1.2	1.5
Total creative industries	12.3	--
Total knowledge industries	9.4	--
Rest of activities	77.8	--
Total	100.0	--

Source: EPA (INE)

The statistical data reveal a certain shift in the leading creative industries, with increasing diversification and the emergence of new activities in the labour market. Moreover, the data reveal the transformation of certain sectors from an extensive, unskilled production towards a knowledge-based system in which creativity plays a key role. In this regard, there is a shift from low-knowledge manufactures towards intensive-knowledge manufactures in which fewer unskilled workers are needed. Figure 3.2 shows the increasing role of knowledge industries and the loss of jobs in the creative industries.

Figure 3.2 - Evolution of the workforce in creative and knowledge industries (percentage of the total workforce in the province of Barcelona)


Source: EPA (INE)

We should stress that this growth has taken place inside a general framework of economic growth and rising employment in Spain. In fact, after the economic recession of the 1990s, the Spanish economy started to grow, based to a great extent on the real estate sector. In the BMR the real estate sector has also played a key role, although the diversification of the economic activities allowed for more sustainable growth. Only between 1995 and 2000, 900,000 new jobs were created. This economic growth between the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century did not allow a profound transformation of the productive structure towards the knowledge economy. Therefore, most of the industries in the country were based on low-productivity patterns. With the rising globalization process, most of the industries were unable to compete with companies in emerging countries. Now the Spanish economy must take on the transformation delayed by the extraordinary growth of the last few years. In the case of the BMR in the 1990s, the political leaders tried to modernize the industrial framework and convert it into the knowledge economy. In this long-term strategy, the next few years will be crucial for the consolidation of the knowledge economy in the region. Furthermore, a new approach based on creativity and innovation is complementing the efforts towards this consolidation.

3.3 Policies promoting the creative knowledge economy

The recent economic development of the BMR reflects the increasing relevance of creative and knowledge activities. Nevertheless, the strong diversification of economic activity in the region and the nature of the industrial activity (small and medium companies based on family businesses) to some extent hides this increasing role and the contribution to GDP and employment of these industries remains relatively small. In spite of this, the relevance of creative and knowledge sectors in the policy strategies for the region is clear. In fact, since the beginning of the new century, creativity and knowledge have been at the centre of policy discourses on the city's economic growth. The city's knowledge-based strategy is supported by the city council and by the regional and national governments, and after a long period during which the new objectives were defined, creativity and knowledge are now key features of the new regional strategy.

The strategy for promoting the creative knowledge economy in the BMR is twofold. First, it involves trying to attract new creative and knowledge-based activities by generating infrastructures and facilities for companies and by reinforcing elements that can attract talent to the region. Second, it reinforces endogenous growth by fostering entrepreneurship in the city. In this respect, the role of the institutions is vital. Institutions such as "Barcelona Activa" are helping in the creation of new companies and promoting their sustainability over time, providing advice for new entrepreneurs in the form of free consultancy services and economic support through business incubators that allow small companies to hire offices and facilities. Recently, Barcelona Activa has created the program "creamedia" which provides training, consultancy and networking for creative knowledge businesses.

Second, the city council is promoting new institutions for cultural development. Its most important project bears the name "factories of creativity". This project aims to set up a series of creative workshops, not only for directly market-oriented activities but also for artists with

difficulties in finding affordable spaces in which to pursue their activities. The idea of the plan is to foster a “cultural milieu” and allow young artists and emerging creative ideas to crystallize in the city. The idea can be understood as a political response to the demands of the cultural sectors. Since 1999 the city council has promoted a strategic plan for culture in order to coordinate the activities of the public, private and societal actors in the cultural industries. In the plan drawn up in 2007, these cultural agents demanded new spaces for creativity. The “factories for creativity” project aims to reinforce the city’s cultural basis and to generate a creative environment able to attract new activities and allow new ideas to emerge.

Main features of the 22@ district:

- An extension of 200 hectares of the old industrial district is being transformed to hold the knowledge-based economy.
- 5 strategic clusters are being developed: design, energy, ICT, media and biomedicine
- Combines knowledge-intensive companies with residence and commerce (mixed use)

In parallel to these strategies aimed at fostering entrepreneurship and creative milieus, municipalities in the metropolitan region are promoting urban renewal programs linked to the growth of the creative and knowledge economy. One of the most important in the BMR is the 22@ district. After the Olympic Games of 1992, the city

council of Barcelona started to plan the transformation of the city’s old industrial district to create a knowledge-based area with mixed uses where people could live, work and spend their leisure time. After long negotiations with private agents, landowners and neighbourhood associations, the urban renewal of the 200-hectare area finally started in 2000. In 2007 the project has entered a new stage in which attracting companies and talent from abroad is central. The plan envisages the creation of 130,000 workplaces, most of them in the creative and knowledge activities (Piqué, 2008) and close interaction with the science parks, universities and creative and knowledge industries in the region. The project is reinforced through policy action at various levels. For instance, the Spanish government has moved the offices of the regulatory commission of the telecommunications market from Madrid to the 22@ district, reflecting the role of Barcelona as the knowledge capital of Spain and a new political perspective based on sharing economic competences between Madrid and Barcelona. The Spanish government has also reinforced the communication between the two cities through the high-speed train and is strengthening internal railway communication within the region. Another important project in the BMR is the creation of a biomedicine cluster in L’Hospitalet, in the first ring of the metropolitan region. The project aims to take advantage of the public oncology research centre at the “Hospital de Bellvitge” and to attract research companies in this field. This project is especially important because its aim is to transform economic activity in a traditionally industrial zone with high population density.

As stated in previous ACRE research, the policies for promoting the knowledge and creative economy present both problems and challenges. In the first place, there has been a certain lack of coordination between the different projects of the BMR both between municipalities and between the different political levels (Pareja-Eastaway et. al 2007a). Second, as empirical research on the 22@ district reveals, urban renewal programs to promote the knowledge economy may actually represent an obstacle to creativity and the cultural milieu of a neighbourhood or district. In fact, the creation of big infrastructures and the settlement of large knowledge companies can hinder the emergence of creative and cultural milieus (Martí

and Pradel, 2008). Nevertheless, the implementation of policies in the region opens up new opportunities for the development of the workforce in the creative and knowledge sectors.

3.4 Conclusion: Future prospects for growth in the creative knowledge economy

The rapid shift from an economy based on manufacturing and low productivity towards a knowledge economy in the BMR generates a variety of challenges in terms of both social cohesion and labour shortages. As we have seen, in several sectors unskilled jobs are disappearing, while new jobs based on knowledge and creativity are emerging. The ageing process of the population structure makes it difficult to adapt the workforce to the new needs. A detailed analysis of the evolution of creative knowledge industries shows that the sectors related to knowledge are creating employment; they are likely to need skilled workforce in the near future, and will need to attract it from abroad. Since the dotcom crisis in 2000, the ICT and software sectors are again growing in importance and generating jobs. Previous research in the ACRE project reveals that managers of ICT and software development have difficulties in finding suitable candidates for jobs (Pareja et al. 2008), because of the lack of coordination between universities and the labour market and the rapid, strong growth of these sectors. The region also lacks large corporations and companies; the industrial basis of small and medium companies does not allow for a complex analysis of future employment needs. Strategies for promoting growth of local companies and for attracting headquarters and large companies from abroad are on the policy agenda of local and regional authorities. In fact, the development of the main projects for the consolidation of creative and knowledge industries in the region will influence the need for creative and knowledge workforce in the near future.

4 MIGRATION TO SPAIN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the main immigration trends to Spain, focusing on the evolution of migratory flows, policies on immigration and the situation of highly skilled immigrants in the country. The statistical analysis of immigrants shows some problems. In the first place, as immigration is a very recent phenomenon in Spain, the statistical data on this issue are limited. Although detailed data are slowly becoming available, it is difficult to find data in relation to work or qualification. Moreover, in the literature there are very few reports of the situation of qualified immigrants. Secondly, it is difficult to analyse European immigration in Spain. As González Enriquez states, “it is much more difficult to know the number of EU immigrants than the number of non-EU migrants” (González, 2008). New patterns of residence of EU immigrants with temporary or seasonal stays in the country make it difficult to establish reliable statistical data. For this reason we stress that there is a part of this immigration that may not appear in the official statistics. As we shall see, this is an important issue, as most qualified immigrants in Spain are mainly from Europe.

4.2 Evolution of migration flows in Spain

In Spain’s recent history, the main migratory trend has been emigration. In a mainly agricultural country dominated by the nobility, the advent of industrialization and the growth of trade caused large-scale territorial movements of the population. In the last 150 years, migration flows in Spain have had two major trends: either from the countryside to the urban centres, or abroad. With the consolidation of the Industrial Revolution, part of the Spanish population left for the former colonies of Latin America, which, for cultural and economic reasons, were the ‘natural’ destination of emigrants. With the Civil War, the repression of Franco troops forced many Republican Spaniards –both soldiers and civil population– to leave Spain to seek asylum in a variety of destinations¹. In the 1950s, the partial economic recovery generated strong internal migration flows from the countryside to the urban centres where the economic industrial activity was concentrated. At the same time, part of the rural workforce started to emigrate, mainly to countries in Western Europe. In fact, after the Second World War, most of the European countries were reconstructing their economies along Keynesian lines and were in need of temporary labour. Spanish workers emigrate to France, Germany, Switzerland and other European countries as *Gastarbeiter* or guest workers

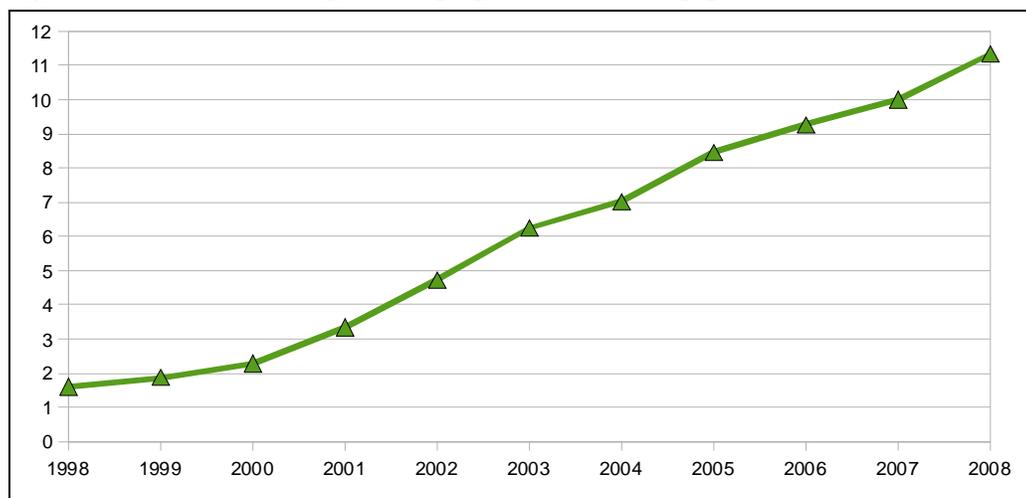
¹ Around half a million people are believed to have left for a variety of countries, mainly France, Mexico and the Soviet Union.

for limited periods of time. This trend came to an end in the 1970s, partly because of the economic crisis of 1973.

The exodus from the Spanish countryside to the urban centres had a profound effect on the configuration of the Barcelona Metropolitan Region, as working class neighbourhoods sprang up on the city's outskirts and the cities in the metropolitan region becoming places of residence for the working class. The absence of any clear policy on the part of the Franco regime generated a high level of social segregation and many social problems in these areas which were not solved until the democratic transition. The transformation of the economy during the 1960s was based not only on Fordist industry but on the emergence of the tourist industry along the coast. During the 1960s a first wave of European foreigners, mainly from United Kingdom, Germany and France, arrived (González, 2008), most of whom were retirees seeking a high quality of life and cheap prices. Nevertheless, the proportion of these migrants with regard to the total population was negligible.

It was not until the 1990s that immigration to Spain started to grow. In fact, immigration to Spain is not only a recent phenomenon but also one that has taken place in a very short period of time. Until the mid-nineties, immigration to Spain was hardly perceptible. In 1995 there were 500,000 foreign citizens in Spain, half of whom were European citizens, and their arrival –apart from the continued flow of retired workers looking for a high quality of life– was related to Spain's entry to the EU in 1986. Between 1986 and 1998, the Spanish population grew by 1.3 million, but since 1998 it has grown by 6.2 million. These immigration flows have followed to a great extent the residential patterns of the earlier internal migration flows, concentrating in the major cities of Madrid and Barcelona, in the neighbourhoods occupied in the 1960s by the internal immigrants. Figure 4.1 shows the increase of the immigrant population in this period. In 1998 the foreign population of Spain was 1.6 per cent of the total population, one of the lowest percentages of the EU, but by 2008 it had risen to 11.3 per cent, one of the highest rates in the Union.

Figure 4.1 - Evolution of foreigners as a proportion of the total population



Source: INE and our own data

Immigration has been a major contributor to the increase in Spain's population, which has risen by more than six million in the last ten years. During this period 4.6 million people came to Spain, representing 75 per cent of the total population increase. The Spanish population has made considerable efforts to accommodate the arrival of so many immigrants in such a short period of time. In the last eight years, between 370 and 700 thousand migrants have arrived in Spain per year. This has had a major effect on birth rates, employment, housing demand, education, and social services. Thus, the impact of immigration on Spanish society has been wide-ranging. Between 1976 and 1996 Spain's fertility rate fell from 2.8 per thousand (one of the highest rates of EU) to 1.16 per thousand (the lowest rate in the EU). As a consequence, the profile of the age groups started to change. As an example, every year since 1993 the sixteen year old group has been smaller than the same group in the previous year, and in 2010 the native population between 16 and 35 years is expected to be smaller than in previous years. Nevertheless, the potential active population – population between 16 and 64 years – has been increasing due to migration. The potential active population rose from 26.3 million people in 1998 to 27.1 million in 2007. Thus, migration has compensated for the reduction in the native workforce.

The increase in migration reveals a shift in the patterns of migration to Spain, from qualified European migration in search of quality of life and leisure, to an international migration that is much more diverse both in terms of origins and social status. Hence, two different patterns of migration can be identified since the mid-eighties. On the one hand, Spain's entry into the European Union, and the development of its economy since then, started to attract foreign workers from the rest of the Union. In fact Spain's openness to external markets attracted transnational companies to set up in the country, mainly in Madrid and Barcelona. This also brought the first flows of expats and qualified workers to these cities. On the other hand, the improvement of the Spanish economy also attracted migration from neighbouring countries from Africa –Mainly Morocco– and from Latin America. In this chapter we will analyse the evolution of these immigration flows, focusing our attention on the skilled foreigners working in qualified jobs in the creative knowledge economy. As we shall see, most of this qualified, creative workforce is from Europe or from other developed countries. The possibilities for pursuing a professional career are higher for those who hold European citizenship. In fact, as we shall see in the next section, international migration to Spain has been progressively controlled by laws regulating entry.

4.3 Spain's immigration policy

During most of the twentieth century Spain was a country of emigration. The economic scarcities generated by the civil war and the dictatorship forced many Spaniards to leave, and did not attract foreigners to settle in Spain. Moreover, one of the main characteristics of the Franco regime was a fierce nationalism and a rejection of foreign ideas. For this reason, during the dictatorship, immigration was not seen as an issue; the efforts of the Spanish authorities were concentrated on guaranteeing fair treatment for the Spanish emigrants in western European countries. To this end, during the 1960s the regime created the "Instituto Español de Emigración" (Spanish Emigration Institute), which established legal channels for temporary emigration. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of migration to Europe was to a great

extent illegal, and most Spaniards entered their host countries on tourist visas. These emigration flows to western and northern Europe continued until the mid-seventies. For this reason, no legislation on foreign nationals' rights in Spain was drafted until the democratic transition. The first law explicitly regulating migration in Spain was introduced by the Socialist government in 1985, the *Ley de extranjería* (the Immigration Act) which lists the rights and duties of non-citizens residing in Spain (Garcia & Pradel, 2004), and has been the basis of all Spain's migration policies since then. However, the Act was passed because it was a prerequisite for Spain's entry to the European Union rather than as a response to a concrete need to legislate migration flow. In fact, the legislation was barely applied until 1996, when immigration to Spain started to grow. Since that time, the Act has evolved in line with the growth of the migration flows into the country.

In fact, in the late 1990s, Spain became a major destination for immigrants. The new situation generated strong public debate and the issue appeared both in the media and the political agendas. It also highlighted the lack of formal recognition of the phenomenon on the part of the institutions. Because of the weakness of the official structures, informal organizations, mainly civil society organizations, initially played a major role in providing support to immigrants and helping them to settle in the country. As immigration tended to be concentrated in the main economic centres of the country – that is, the large metropolitan regions of Madrid and Barcelona – the city councils started to provide services and solve problems linked to immigration. Nevertheless, as migration issues did not formally come under the city councils' jurisdiction, the social integration strategies that they implemented were based on the strong support from civil society, especially in Barcelona. The process to reform the Immigration Act began in 1999, when the international context and the migration flows made it evident that a new approach to immigration was required.

The new Immigration Act introduced a wide range of rights for immigrants. The first version of the Act passed in 2000 (Law 4/2000) entitled foreign residents to vote in the municipal elections or to elect representatives of their communities to participate in debates and decision-making at local level (Pradel, 2004). The law also gave immigrants labour rights and granted them access to public services and posts. Although the Act came into effect in early 2000, the conservative government led by Jose Maria Aznar, re-elected in March of that year with an absolute majority, modified it by linking these rights to the possession of a residence permit. The new version of the Act, also passed in 2000 (Law 8/2000), distinguished between legal and illegal migration and restricted the right to vote in local elections. Only residents from EU countries are allowed to vote. In the same vein, the right of immigrants' representatives to participate actively in policy-making was substituted by the right to be consulted and to give their opinion. Three years later, the government modified the law further in order to restrict the legal entry of immigrants. The new version established that only immigrants who had obtained a legal work permit in their country of origin would be granted entry.

After the general elections of 2004, the Socialist party returned to power and passed new legislation on immigration. The laws renewed the emphasis on the labour market as a mechanism for the integration of immigrants, and linked the processes for social participation and rights to legal employment (Rojo, 2008). Accordingly, immigrants must obtain a contract of employment in their country of origin before coming to Spain. However, immigrants who

are in the country to complete their studies or research were mentioned for the first time, and were exempted from this obligation. The focus on employment in immigration policies can also be seen in the organization of the government: under the conservative PP government, immigration had been the responsibility of the ministry of the interior, but now came under the jurisdiction of the ministry of employment and social affairs.

Table 4.1 - Evolution of legislation on immigration in Spain

Ley Orgánica 7/1985 (the 1985 Immigration Act)	1985	Stipulates limited rights for immigrants (based on Spain's tradition of emigration t)
Ley Orgánica 4/2000 (the 2000 Immigration Act)	1999	Stipulates the rights of immigrants in Spain. Confers the right to vote in local elections, equal social rights for immigrants and Spanish nationals, guarantees access to the public welfare system and special access to justice and the legal system
Ley Orgánica 8/2000 (the first reform of 2000 Act)	2000	Restricts the rights granted in the previous version of the Act. Distinction between legal and illegal immigrants. Establishes the government's capacity to control immigration and if necessary, to prevent it.
Second de facto modification of the Act	2001	Council of ministers' decision to restrict migration with a quota system
Third reform of the Act	2003	Legal work permit, obtained in the country of origin, becomes necessary to enter Spain.
Royal Decree 2393/2004	2004	Emphasis on the labour market and the integration of immigrants through the labour market

Source: García and Pradel, 2004 and own data

Apart from the general policies on immigration in Spain, several policies to attract talent have been enforced in recent years. The main program for attracting researchers to Spanish universities and research centres is the *Ramón y Cajal* program. Its main aim is to enable Spanish researchers in foreign countries to pursue professional careers in Spain; due to the country's economic model, based on low productivity and innovation patterns, research has traditionally played only a minor role and young researchers and graduates have tended to seek better opportunities abroad. The Spanish government realized that labour conditions must be improved to attract again this national talent from foreign countries. Recently, the program has been opened to foreign researchers wishing to move to Spain. The expansion of the *Ramón y Cajal* program is an attempt to boost R&D expenditure, which is still far below the European average: 1.1 per cent compared with the average of 2 per cent. In spite of the Spanish government's professed intention to raise R&D expenditure and investment to attract researchers, in November 2008 the European Commission reported Spain to the European Court of Justice for failing to implement the EC directive to create a scientific visa for foreign researchers. Only Cyprus and Spain have not drawn up legislation in this area. As we will see in the following chapters, the lack of efficiency is hindering the attempts to attract or retain talent in Barcelona.

In summary, the evolution of the legislation on immigration should be understood in the light of the growth of the phenomenon since the late 1990s and the political and media reaction. In fact, immigration flows to Spain rapidly became an issue for debate in the public sphere and the country's main political parties have called for a strict regulation of immigration flows.

Nevertheless, since 2000 immigration to Spain has continued to grow, leading to three rounds of extraordinary regularization in 2000, 2001 and 2005. Since 2000, following the European agenda, immigration policy in Spain has concentrated not only on controlling entry but also on promoting immigrants' integration. In 2004 the new Socialist government focused on the labour market as a mechanism for integration and created a new institution known as the State secretariat for immigration and emigration. As immigration in Spain is a recent phenomenon, there is no policy tradition in this field. The policies for integration are based on the participation of all the tiers of government, from municipalities to the central government, including the regional governments and the autonomous communities (Lopez de Lera, 2008).

Summarizing, Spanish legislation on immigration has been based progressively on bilateral agreements between Spain and individual countries regulating the entry of foreign nationals. Moreover, the entry of some eastern European countries to the European Union in 2004 has changed both the political status of immigrants from these nations and the bureaucratic processes for their entry to Spain. Given the high percentage of eastern European immigrants in Spain, the Spanish government was opposed to giving them full rights as European citizens, and imposed a moratorium on these rights. At the same time, Spain is still timidly trying to attract talent in the fields of research and innovation. The main policies in this regard are based on attracting Spanish researchers working in foreign countries.

As we shall see in detail in the next section, most of the immigrants arriving in Spain have tertiary education. However, most of them work in unskilled jobs, and some are employed in the informal economy. Spain's model of economic growth, with a major role for the real estate sector and rapid growth in employment linked to services, did not allow most qualified immigrants to find jobs corresponding to their skills. The economic model also explains the lack of consistent policies for attracting and retaining qualified workers. In fact, the demand for workers in the creative and knowledge sectors has remained stable in recent times. Moreover, the strict legislation on immigration makes it difficult to attract qualified workforce. As we will see, in the case of the BMR, public and private institutions are promoting strategies for attracting workers in the creative and knowledge sectors to the region. Chapter five presents a detailed description of the recent efforts in this direction.

4.4 Brain gain and brain drain in Spain

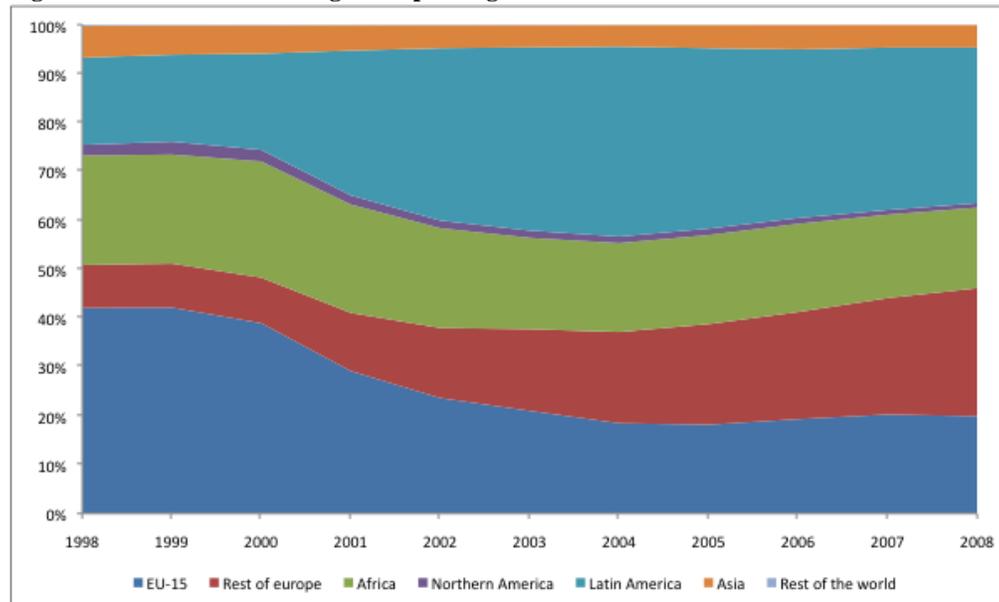
4.4.1 Main features of immigration in Spain

As has been stated above, there has been a shift in the origin of foreigners arriving to Spain since the 1990s. In fact, until the mid-nineties most foreign residents in Spain were from the European Union, that is, from countries with similar or even higher economic development. In 1998 EU-15 migrants accounted for 43.6 per cent of all foreign residents. Nowadays, most immigrants are from countries with lower economic development, principally from Latin America and North Africa. Figure 4.2 shows the contribution of different countries and nationalities to the overall migration. As can be seen, until 2000 the most relevant part of the

migration was from EU-15 and Africa, whereas since then Latin American migrants and migrants from the rest of Europe are increasing in relevance.

In spite of this, there are two elements to bear in mind when speaking about European immigrants. In the first place, in spite of the decrease in their relative importance in the total immigration flow to Spain (from 43.6 per cent to 20.8 per cent) their number grew almost four times between 1998 and 2008. Today there are 1.1 million European immigrants in Spain. In the second place, geographically they tend to prefer the tourist areas of the coastline and the islands, meaning that an important part of the European immigrants are not involved in productive activity.

Figure 4.2 - Distribution of migration per origin



Source: INE

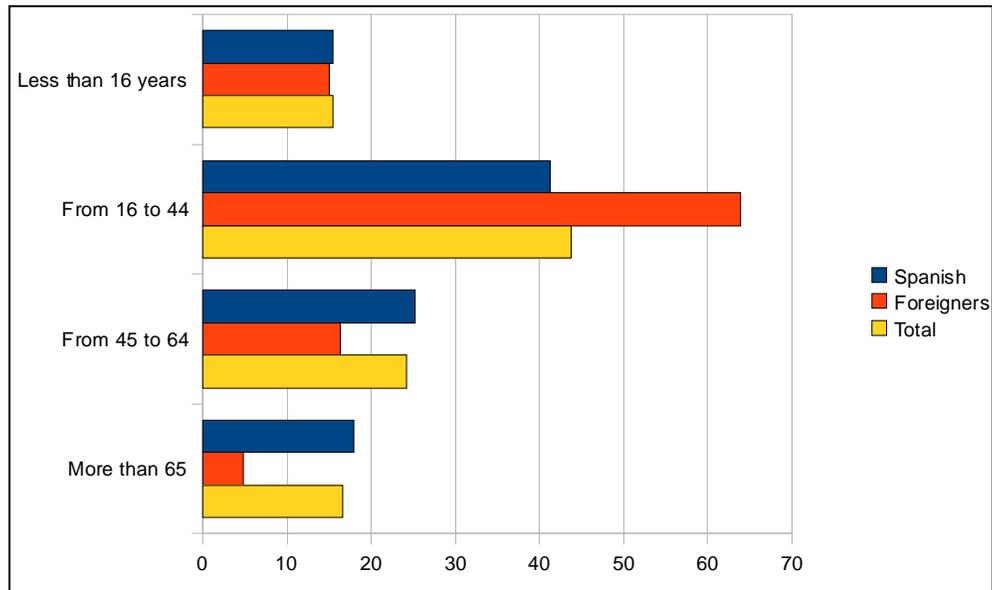
Foreigners from outside the EU are mainly attracted by the geographical proximity of Spain to their countries – as in the case of North Africans – or by cultural and linguistic proximity, as in the case of Latin Americans. In recent years the flow of immigrants from Eastern Europe has grown considerably. Table 4.2 highlights the national concentrations of immigrants. Romania is the most populous group, followed by Morocco (the most important from Africa) and Ecuador – the major contributor from America, and the third most important overall.

Table 4.2 - Spanish immigrants by origin. In percentages

	1998	2003	2008
TOTAL FOREIGNERS	100.0	100.0	100.0
EUROPE	49.1	35.2	44.1
EU(15)	43.6	22.1	20.8
EU(27)	45.4	30.8	40.1
Romania	0.4	5.2	14.0
UK	11.9	6.1	6.7
Germany	9.5	4.9	3.5
Italy	3.0	2.5	3.0
Bulgaria	0.2	2.0	2.9
Portugal	5.6	2.1	2.4
France	5.6	2.6	2.2
EUROPE (NON-EU)	3.7	4.4	4.0
AFRICA	23.2	19.6	17.2
Morocco	17.4	14.2	12.3
Algeria	0.9	1.4	1.0
Northern America	2.2	1.6	0.9
LATIN AMERICA	18.5	39.3	33.2
Ecuador	0.6	14.6	8.0
Colombia	1.6	9.2	5.4
Bolivia	0.2	1.1	4.6
Argentina	3.0	4.1	2.8
Peru	3.1	2.1	2.3
ASIA	6.7	4.8	4.9
China	1.8	1.9	2.4
REST OF THE WORLD	0.3	0.1	0

Source: INE and own calculations

As regards gender, 53.2 per cent of foreigners are men whereas 46.8 per cent are women. Conversely, 49 per cent of the native population are men and 51 per cent women. That policies fostering family regrouping have lessened gender differences. Secondly, almost 64 of the foreign population is aged between 16 and 44 (see figure 4.3), compared with 41.3 per cent in the native population.

Figure 4.3 - Spanish and foreign population age composition

Source: INE

The distribution of immigrants in the country varies in different parts of the country. Table 4.3 shows the destinations of immigrants by country of origin in 2008. Most of the foreign population is concentrated in the Mediterranean coast and the centre, that is, the Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, Valencia, Andalusia and Madrid. Immigrants from European countries (EU-15) tend to settle in areas with strong tourist activity as Andalusia, Canary Islands, Catalonia and Valencia. German and British immigrants are mainly concentrated in these regions. In the majority of cases these immigrants are not engaged in any productive activity.

Table 4.3 - Main destinations of the foreign population in Spain 2008

Origen	Number	Main destinations										
		Andalucía	Baleares	Canarias	Castilla y León	Castilla - La Mancha	Cataluña	Valencia	Galicia	Madrid	Murcia	BCN
EU(15)	1,086,991	18.6		12.3			14.8	24.9				9.9
Romania	728,967					11.7	12.1	17.5		25.9		4.4
UK	351,919	28.3	6.3	10.7				38.3				3.3
Germany	180,650	13.3	18.3	21.8				23.0				8.0
Italy	157,435			15.3			27.7	13.8		13.4		22.2
Bulgaria	153,664	6.7			17.6			22.3		19.9		3.6
Portugal	126,651				11.5		12.2		14.6	11.9		7.0
France	112,349	12.3					29.8	17.9		12.9		19.3
AFRICA	898,489	13.4					30.7	11.4		12.6		17.9
Morocco	644,688	14.4					32.1			11.8	9.0	19.3
NORTH AMERICA	26,247	16.4					21.2			27.7		18.4
LATIN AMERICA	1,735,025	7.8					22.0	11.3		26.2		17.5
Ecuador	420,110						19.1	12.2		32.2	11.2	16.9
Colombia	280,705			7.7			16.4	15.4		23.6		11.3
Bolivia	239,942	9.2					25.2	12.7		23.8		21.4
ASIA	253,447	7.3					39.2	10.5		22.1		32.7

Source: INE and own calculation

Most immigrant workers are distributed according to their productive activity between Madrid, Catalonia and Valencia. In these cases social and family networks in the country of origin contribute to explaining the high levels of concentration of nationalities in particular Autonomous Communities, counties and even in cities. Table 4.6 shows the impact of immigration in Autonomous Communities with an above average percentage of immigrants. Table 4.4 shows a concentration of EU-15 immigrants in the tourist areas like Canary Islands or Balearic Islands, whereas Latin American immigration, for instance, accounts for roughly the half of the total in Madrid and Barcelona.

Table 4.4 - Foreign population in certain Autonomous communities in Spain. 2008

	Spain	Aragón	Baleares	Canarias	Cataluña	Valencia	Madrid	Murcia	Rioja	BCN
Pop AC*/total Spain	100.0	2.9	2.3	4.5	16.0	10.9	13.6	3.1	0.7	11.7
Imm Pop/Pop AC*	11.3	11.6	20.8	13.6	14.9	16.7	15.9	15.7	13.7	13.7
Foreigners in each AC by origin (in percentages)										
EU(15)	20.8	6.8	40.2	47.3	14.6	32.3	8.1	15.0	13.2	14.5
Romania	14.0	36.9	4.6	1.9	8.0	15.2	19.1	5.1	23.6	4.3
UK	6.7	0.5	9.9	13.4	1.9	16.1	0.9	8.9	0.5	1.6
Germany	3.5	0.5	14.9	14.0	2.1	5.0	0.9	1.4	0.3	1.9
Italy	3.0	1.1	6.4	8.5	4.0	2.6	2.1	0.9	0.8	4.7
Bulgaria	2.9	3.5	3.6	0.8	1.1	4.1	3.1	3.0	2.0	0.7
Portugal	2.4	3.0	1.1	2.0	1.4	0.8	1.5	1.2	10.3	1.2
France	2.2	1.1	3.5	2.6	3.0	2.4	1.5	1.3	0.8	2.9
AFRICA	17.2	20.3	13.5	9.9	25.1	12.2	11.4	30.3	21.9	21.7
Morocco	12.3	9.7	9.2	5.7	18.9	7.8	7.7	25.9	16.3	16.7
USA and CANADA	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.6
LATIN AMERICA	33.2	23.0	29.4	29.7	34.8	23.5	45.9	37.6	25.4	41.0
Ecuador	8.0	7.4	6.0	2.1	7.3	6.1	13.7	20.9	6.5	9.6
Colombia	5.4	4.7	4.5	7.6	4.2	5.1	6.7	3.0	7.4	4.3
Bolivia	4.6	0.8	3.7	1.6	5.5	3.6	5.8	9.2	6.0	6.9
ASIA	4.9	2.9	3.0	4.8	9.1	3.2	5.6	1.6	7.1	11.2

* AC= Autonomous Community

Source: INE and own calculation

4.4.2 Impact of immigration on the labour market

Table 4.5 shows the relation between the evolution of the overall population and the various components of the active population. Between 1998 and 2007 the population rose by 5.35 million people. Nearly three quarters (72.6 per cent of this increase was due to the arrival of foreign population. In the 16 - 64 age group, the increase amounts to 3.96 million people, of whom 79.3 per cent are immigrants. These figures represent a major increase in the workforce, which has had an effect on employment, unemployment, and the active population. In fact, in parallel to the increase of population between 16 to 64 years old, the active population has risen and unemployment has fallen. Therefore, in spite of the increase in the workforce there has been a general trend among the potential active population to seek employment. The immigrant workforce has appeared inside the context of a dynamic economy and has not been perceived as a threat to native workers. The sum of foreign and native workers who have entered the labour market has led to an unprecedented growth of employment in the Spanish economy as well as a fall in unemployment.

Table 4.5 - Spanish increases of population and employment 1998-2007

	Total increase	Migration contribution	Migration contribution (%)
Increase of population	5,348,086	3,882,469	72.6
Increase of population 16-64 years	3,962,826	3,143,733	79.3
Increase of the workforce	5,108,920	--	--
Increase in employment	6,451,820	--	--
Increase in unemployment	-1,342,900	--	--

Source: INE and own calculation

Obviously, the long period of economic expansion of the Spanish economy –with fourteen years of continuous growth, some of them with high increases in GDP rates – is the main contributor to the evolution of employment. Nevertheless, we should also highlight other elements that explain the changes in the labour market and the role of immigration in these changes. Between 1998 and 2007 there has been a major increase in the activity rates in the Spanish economy, as can be observed in table 4.6. Apart from the general rise in activity rates, from 52 to 59 per cent, there is a notable increase in the female rate.

Table 4.6 - Active population (percentages)

	1998	2007
Total	52.0	59.1
Men	65.5	69.2
Women	39.2	49.4
Foreigners	-	75.3

Source: INE

For Pajares (2007), the role of immigration has been the key factor in the adjustment of Spanish labour market. Immigration has been particularly important in sectors such as construction, the hotel industry, personal services, agriculture and extractive activities. The immigrant workforce has met the demand in these sectors, sometimes in subordinate positions. The huge increase in female employment can be explained in this way. Immigration has also been an important in the sustained economic growth. As mentioned above, since 1994 the Spanish economy has seen one of its longest periods of economic expansion, and this period has also coincided with the huge upturn in immigration. The immigrants were attracted by economic growth, but they have also contributed to sustaining it. Several studies have shown that Spanish economic growth has been produced to a great extent by the growth in employment, in which female and immigrant employment have played major roles². Furthermore, these two kinds of employment are interrelated and the increase in female activity rates can be attributed to the immigrant employment, mainly through the increase in immigrant domestic servants, which has allowed the women from the native population to

² Dolado (2006) and Pajares (2007), and the President's Economic Office attribute an important role to employment in the economic growth of the last decade. This is also reflected in the reports published by Caixa de Catalunya (2006) and La Caixa (2006).

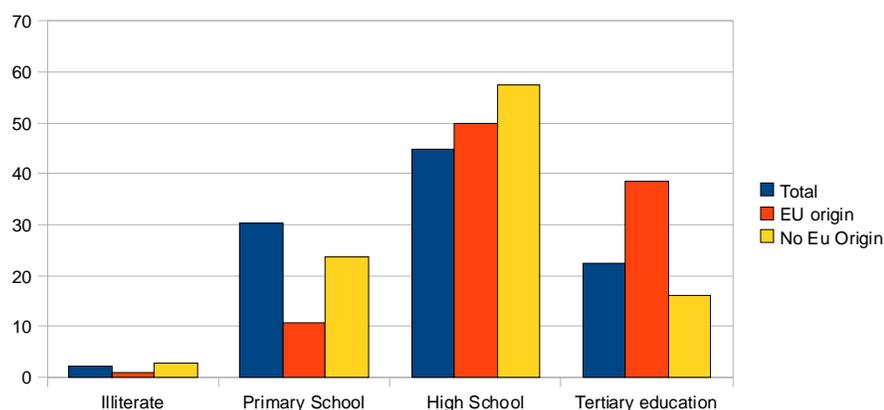
enter the traditional labour market³. The 2006 report of the President's Economic Office described the effect of the growth of immigrant employment on economic growth, stating that 20 per cent of GDP growth in the period 1996-2005 was due to the immigrant employment and that the trend was increasing; from 30 per cent between 1996 and 2000, it had risen to 50 per cent by 2005. According to Dolado (2006) 39 of GDP per capita growth between 1996 and 2005 can be attributed to immigrant employment. In a similar way, the increase in immigrant employment has contributed to the increase in the fiscal surplus.

Finally, we should stress the role of immigrants in the creation of companies and businesses, which has contributed to Spain's economic dynamism and is an additional element in economic growth and competitiveness. Nevertheless, the huge increase in employment in Spain is also related to the low increase in the economy's productivity. During the last decade the annual increase reached almost 1 per cent, as a consequence of the reduction of capital stock per worker.

4.4.3 Main features of highly skilled migration to Spain

The qualification of immigrants depends to a great extent on their country of origin. Figure 4.4 shows the educational level of immigrant workers in Spain according to data from the fourth quarter of 2006 compiled for the EPA (Encuesta de Población Activa, the Active Population Survey). As the figure shows, immigrants from EU countries present higher levels of tertiary education than those from non-EU countries. Roughly 40 of EU immigrants have tertiary education, compared with only 15 per cent in the case of non-EU immigrants. Moreover, the percentage of tertiary education is higher in EU immigrants than in the Spanish population.

Figure 4.4- Education levels of migrant and national population (2001)



Source: INE

³ This reflects Adam Smith's classic conjecture: if I hire a housekeeper, the national income will increase by the magnitude of her salary; if I marry her, the national income will decrease by the same amount.

To explain this fact we should stress the origin of FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) to Spain, which comes basically from the rest of the EU27 countries. So there is a correlation between investment and qualified migration from these countries, which explains the role of foreign companies in attracting qualified personnel from their countries of origin.

These differences can also be seen taking into consideration the qualification of jobs and the sectors in which the immigrants are employed. Differences in the origin of immigrants hide strong social differences. Two main patterns are found: those who come from developing countries to find a job of any kind, and those who come from developed countries seeking qualified jobs. Table 4.7 shows the occupation per origin showing the main differences between EU-14 migrants, Spaniards and other immigrants. The table shows that the percentage of EU-14 entrepreneurs is similar to that among Spanish citizens, but in the case of the rest of Europe, Africa and Latin America the percentage is lower. In the case of immigrants from the rest of the world, including developed and other developing countries such as China, the percentage is also high. As for the self-employed, almost twice as many people from the EU-14 are self-employed as Spaniards.

Table 4.7 - Occupation per origin

	EU-14	Spaniards	Rest of Europe	Africa	Latin America	Rest of the world	Total
Entrepreneur	8	6	2	3	1	7	6
Self-employed	24	11	6	6	5	15	11
Civil servant	4	17	1	4	2	8	14
Employee	64	65	90	86	91	67	68
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Gonzalez, 2008

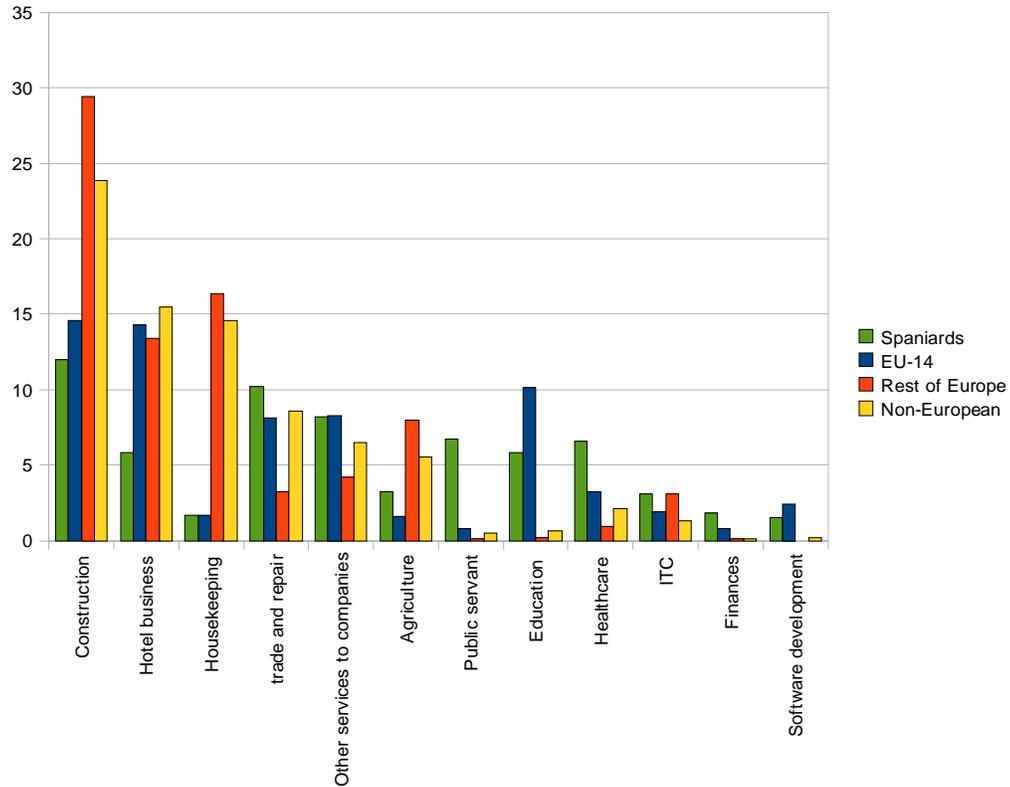
Looking at the degree of skill of the activity of immigrants we also find differences depending on the origin. Half the EU-14 migrants are employed in qualified jobs – lawyers, senior officers, scientists, academics, or associate professionals. Roughly 40 per cent of the migrants from the rest of the world have also qualified jobs. Most of them come from developed countries such as the United States or Canada.

Table 4.8 - Qualification of jobs per origin

	EU-14	Spain	Rest of Europe	Africa	Latin America	Rest of the world	Total
Lawyers, senior officials and managers	16	8	2	5	2	12	8
Scientists and academics	18	14	3	3	2	14	12
Associate professionals	16	13	2	2	4	13	112
Office clerks	7	10	4	2	5	6	9
Customer service clerks	12	15	15	16	22	24	15
Agriculture professionals	1	3	2	2	1	1	2
Arts and crafts and industrial professionals	14	15	29	29	20	12	16
Machine operators	6	10	9	7	6	6	9
Unskilled workers	9	11	34	35	38	13	15

Finally, looking at the main sectors in which immigrants are employed in Spain, differences also appear. Figure 4.5 shows the main sectors in which foreigners are employed and the difference between EU-14 migration, the rest of Europe and non-Europeans. As can be seen, construction is the sector that has created most employment both for immigrants and Spaniards. Nevertheless, it is far more important among non-European and non-EU-14 immigrants than for the rest. Tertiary activities related to hotel business show a similar trend between EU-14 migrants and the others.

Figure 4.5- Evolution of the workforce in creative and knowledge industries (percentage of the total workforce in the province of Barcelona)



Source: Gonzalez, 2008

In addition to the differences between EU-14 immigrants and other foreigners, we should also take into consideration the importance of different flows of qualified immigrants to Spain. First, there is a sizeable inflow of Latin American undergraduates and graduates who come to Spain to continue their studies, attracted by the similarities in culture and language, as well as the quality of the university. Second, the tourist industry is attracting qualified foreign workers to provide services to long-term tourists. German, English and French tourism based on housing tenure has generated a flourishing tourist industry, in most of the cases organized and promoted by foreign immigrants.

5 **MIGRATION IN BARCELONA**

5.1 **Introduction**

This chapter analyses the migration flows to the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona (BMR) by briefly reviewing immigration patterns in the last few decades and describing the size of the different immigrant groups in the region. The number of immigrants and the composition of the immigrant population in the BMR and in the rest of the autonomous community of Catalonia are compared. The second part of the chapter describes the situation of skilled immigration to the BMR and provides data on the professional activities of foreigners in this region. Finally, the last section looks at immigration policies, including which institutions promote these policies and which specific policies exist for skilled professional immigrants.

5.2 **Migration flow in the BMR**

The BMR and, by extension, Catalonia, has traditionally been a recipient of immigration. Throughout the 20th century, there were waves of internal migration to Barcelona from Spain's less industrialized provinces. Migrants were attracted by the industrial development of the region. Therefore, from the 1940s until the 1970s, internal migration was a key factor in the demographic and economic growth of the BMR.

However, from the beginning of the 1980s until the mid-1990s, the population of the BMR stagnated. At this time, the metropolitan region had a total of 4,250,000 inhabitants and there was no population growth. The number of inhabitants in the central city, Barcelona, dropped and the population was ageing. Birth rates were low and there was constant movement of the population from the centre to the inner and outer zones around the city. The foreign immigrant population was insignificant, with percentages among the lowest in Europe. In 1998, in the province of Barcelona—which represents over 91 per cent of the total population of the BMR – only 1.7 per cent (data from the INE, Census) of the population were foreigners.

In the mid-1990s, significant contingents of foreign immigrant population began to arrive in the BMR. In the last ten years, there has been an explosion in the number of foreign immigrants arriving in the region. This has contributed decisively to ending the period of demographic stagnation and has led to the growth of the BMR's population. Currently, the BMR has a population of 4,856,579, of which 12.8 per cent are of foreign nationality; 53.5 per cent men and 46.5 women (Census, 2007).

The arrival of the new population had a demographic impact and was striking because it occurred highly intensely in no more than a decade. The percentage of the total population of

Barcelona Province that was made up of immigrants raised from 1.7 per cent in 1998 to 12.5 per cent¹ in 2007. Barcelona city is the main point of arrival for foreigners in the BMR. Therefore, the percentage of the immigrant population in the city has always been higher than in the rest of the region and the province. In 2007, out of a total of 1,595,110 citizens in Barcelona, 15.4 per cent were immigrants (IDESCAT, census).

In Barcelona Province and Barcelona city, the largest immigrant group is that of South Americans, who make up 37.4 per cent of the immigrant population in the province and 39.8 per cent of total immigration to the central city (INE, census). Ecuadorians predominate within this population group. They represent 29.0 per cent of all South American inhabitants in the Barcelona Province. The second largest group of foreigners is that of Africans, who make up 22.4 per cent of the immigrant population in the province. In third place, with 15.4 per cent, are people from the rest of the EU-25. Within the group of European immigrants, there are most foreigners of Italian nationality. Out of 103,691 Europeans, 29.1 per cent are Italians, followed by 22.1 per cent of Romanians. There are more foreigners from the continents of America and Asia in the BMR than in the rest of Catalonia. The presence of these two groups of foreigners is particularly notable in the central city in comparison with the rest of Catalonia, in which there are more Africans and Europeans from the old EU-15. The differences in the composition of immigrant groups in the BMR compared to those in the rest of Catalonia is related to the presence in Barcelona of nationalities that have higher activity rates in the service sector. It is also related to the way that some nationalities arrive² (Bayona, J.; Gil, A., 2008).

Table 5.1 shows that the flow of foreign immigrants to Barcelona Province has slowed down since 2004. It is expected that the current national and international crisis will further reduce the number of foreigners arriving. In addition, the current economic climate may affect the mobility of citizens inside the EU.

Table 5.1 - Percentage of foreigners in Barcelona province (1998-2007)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
EU-25	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.9
Africa	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.1	2.8
Central America	0.1	0.1	0.16	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5
North America	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
South America	0.3	0.4	0.5	1.0	1.9	3.0	3.6	4.2	4.5	4.7
Asia	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.4
Oceanía	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total foreigners	1.8	2.0	2.5	3.8	5.6	7.9	9.2	10.9	12.2	12.5

Source: INE, Census

¹ These data were taken from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and are based on annual municipal censuses. Figures provided by the INE and the Statistical Institute of Catalonia (IDESCAT) do not take into account immigrants who are considered illegal by the state mainly because they do not possess residence permits.

² “The number of Morrocans in Barcelona, for example, was significant at the beginning of the 1980s” (Bayona, J.; Gil, A., 2008).

5.3 Highly skilled migration in the BMR

In this chapter, and the preceding one on the immigration situation in Spain, two main criteria are used to define the concept of skilled immigration: level of education and job type. However, particularly in the case of immigrants and the specific economic sectors studied, an individual's job does not necessarily correspond to their educational level. If the type of job is taken as a reference, the data shows that the skills of immigrants in the BMR are closely related to their place of origin. The same situation is found in the rest of Spain. Table 5.2 shows the professional activities of immigrants who reside in the autonomous community of Barcelona. Out of the total immigrant population in Catalonia, 72.2 per cent live in the BMR. The table shows that two main trends can be found. Among immigrant workers from developed countries, including the EU-15 and North America, there is a high percentage of highly qualified individuals: 21.9 and 53.3 per cent respectively work in engineering jobs that require graduates from either 3 or 5 year degree courses (Table 5.2). This percentage is higher than the average for all the workers in the region, which stands at 18.4 per cent.

Table 5.2 - Professional activity of workers in Catalonia by origin, 2007

	Engineers, degree-holders, diploma holders in technical subjects, experts, heads of administration and workshops	Non-qualified assistants, administrative officers	Subordinates, skilled labourers and unqualified staff	Total
EU-15	21.9	19.8	58.6	100.0
Africa	0.8	1.8	97.5	100.0
Latin America	4.2	7.7	87.8	100.0
North America	53.3	22.5	24.3	100.0
Asia	3.4	4.8	91.8	100.0
Total workers	18.4	15.5	65.8	100.0

Source: Pajares (2007) and own calculation.

A different trend is found for immigrant workers from developing countries. Among workers from Africa, Latin America and Asia, there is a high percentage of people who occupy subordinate positions. This major difference in the kind of job undertaken by workers from different areas of the world does not correspond with the educational level of immigrants on arrival in Spain. For example, there is an imbalance between the 16.2 per cent of non-EU immigrant workers with higher education qualifications (see figure 4.3 in the previous chapter) and the low percentages of immigrants to Catalonia from Africa, Latin America and Asia who work in jobs that are appropriate for this level of education, as shown in Table 5.2.

According to data on social security registration, EU and North American immigrant workers appear to be more willing to work for themselves than immigrants from other areas of the world or the Spanish working population. This type of social security registration is related to activities carried out by professionals, freelancers or individual companies that occasionally contract another worker. In this respect, there are no major differences between Catalonia and Spain.

Table 5.3 - Percentage of self-employees out of total workers in each group (2007)

Origin	Percentage of self-employees	
	Catalonia	Spain
EU	18.9	22.2
Africa	4.6	4.6
Latin America	3.0	3.6
North America	24.3	25.9
Asia	12.5	19.1
Total workforce	16.8	16.3

Source: Pajares (2007) and own calculation.

As explained above, it is difficult to find a relationship between education and job type, in order to define the concept of the skilled professional immigrant in the BMR. In addition, it is not easy to define profiles that are closely linked to the creative sector. Such professions are normally eclectic, heterogeneous and badly defined by the more traditional professional categories. In Barcelona, the private, not-for-profit association “Fostering Arts and Design” (FAD) has created a database of creative professionals. This is a register of the local and foreign professionals who live in Barcelona city or towns in Barcelona’s metropolitan area and work in creative fields related to design, architecture, fashion, photography, advertising, etc. The database currently includes 2,743 registered creative professionals. Fifty-three foreign nationalities are represented in this database. Twenty-five percent of the creative professionals, that is 686 people, were born abroad. Argentineans make up 19.7 per cent of the total number of foreign creative professionals in the database. They are followed by Italians, who represent 11.9 per cent of the total. In each category, Germans, Portuguese and Brazilians represent 7.9 per cent of the total number of foreign professionals.

5.4 Migration policy in the BMR

In Spain, the central government is the only entity that is responsible for regulating foreign immigration and controlling migratory flows. However, the autonomous and local governments³ have increasing power in matters that have a direct impact on migration policies (Rojo, 2005). In particular, the approval of the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 2006 led to an increase in the Catalan government’s responsibility for the integration and reception of the immigrant population and for regulation by managing the allocation of work permits.

The integration policies are the same in state, regional and local government. At the level of regional and local administration in Catalonia, integration policies have been approached from a cross-departmental perspective. In other words, specific policies have not been created

³ As explained in this and our previous works, although the RMB is a recognized regional and economic unit, it does not have a representative political body. Therefore, political authority is dealt with at autonomous or local levels.

for immigrant groups, as this could lead to the occurrence of parallel strategies in the governments' different areas of authority. The autonomous government (the Generalitat) does not have a ministry devoted exclusively to immigration. Likewise, in local government, there is generally a lack of areas dedicated exclusively to immigration. The Department of Social Action and Citizenship (DASC) handles immigration and social inclusion policies in Catalonia, among other matters.

Through the Secretariat for Immigration⁴, the DASC created the Citizenship and Integration Plan in 2005. This plan includes a set of principles, objectives, priorities and programmes that act on the impact of the arrival of the immigrant population in Catalonia. This plan has a crossdepartmental rather than an interdepartmental approach to immigration policies. It states that the objectives of the different Generalitat departments may vary, but the actions that they aim to carry out are the same (the Generalitat of Catalonia, 2005). The aim of the plan is to ensure social cohesion in the region through a series of specific immigration objectives linked to issues such as reception systems, interculturality in education, access to healthcare and education, the fight against social exclusion, the fight against discrimination, etc. In addition, the plan highlights the need for legal changes and changes in responsibility with respect to central government, so that the autonomous government can have a more profound effect on citizenship and immigration policies.

At municipal level, local immigration plans are promoted. Such plans are mainly focused on awareness-raising activities, training professionals in the region, encouraging the participation of the new population and facilitating intercultural communication, among others. The role of the local authorities should be highlighted, despite the fact that they do not have direct responsibility in the area of immigration policies. In general, it is the local authorities that meet the challenges of cultural interaction in a region: *"the councils formally don't have responsibilities on migration; they must solve the problem at local level focusing on the real problems. Local governments collaborate and finance migrants' associations in order to establish mechanisms of dialogue with migrants communities"* (Pradel, 2004).

As we have seen, the public policies on immigration, particularly at a regional and municipal level, aim to have an impact on the sector of the immigrant population that is most vulnerable and has the least skilled jobs. This is the largest sector of the immigrant population in the BMR and in Spain. Policies for the skilled immigrant population are basically related to attracting and keeping talent. Explicit policies for attracting talent are particularly relevant in the private sector. In recent years, companies themselves or other non-public institutions (foundations, universities and private schools, etc.) have boosted programmes for attracting and keeping talent.

Public universities also play an important role in attracting skilled foreigners. In particular, master's degrees and postgraduate courses attract foreign students to the BMR and, in addition, represent an opportunity to make contact with potential employers. In other words, the universities not only attract talent but also help to keep it. Through postgraduate and

⁴ The Secretariat for Immigration is responsible for proposing criteria that encourage coordinated actions, giving support and boosting the activities of the Generalitat departments and managing and running programmes and activities.

doctoral courses, non-EU citizens have the opportunity to make contact with companies, obtain contracts or ensure that they can remain in the country until they can regularize their work situation. This role of the public universities in attracting and retaining talent is more limited in the case of immigration from EU countries. European citizens' opportunities for internal mobility and the lack of courses taught in English, as well as the small number of companies in the BMR that work mainly in English, are some of the reasons for this.

In some cases, the municipalities also have strategies for attracting local and international talent. In Barcelona city, the municipal company 22@, which manages the new economic and innovation district of the city, also aims to attract talent for the type of companies found in the clusters that it is promoting. This company, which was formed through public initiative, is fostering programmes that enable national and international students to work for a period in companies in the economic district. In addition, 22@ is promoting networks and programmes for developing talent. This is an innovative experience, in which the public and private sector are working together through the involvement of the companies and the driving force of the local public institutions.

6 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

This section of the research analyses the drivers behind the decisions of transnational migrants to settle in the Barcelona metropolitan region. The final aim is to understand the role of soft factors such as the quality of space, the cultural environment, the atmosphere and the quality of life. The analysis is focused on mobile, qualified migrants who select global cities in which to develop their careers. These migrants, who are described in policy discourses as ‘talent’, are the target of most of the attraction policies developed in metropolitan regions. However, what is the reaction of ‘talent’ to metropolitan regions? We analyse why qualified migrants move to the BMR as well as the evolution of their interaction with the city. There are two different levels of analysis. In the first stage, we assess migrants’ personal reasons for coming to Barcelona and their opinions of the city. In the second stage, we analyse the role of soft factors in attracting and retaining skilled migration.

The aim is to understand migrants’ reasons for coming to and remaining in the BMR and to gather general opinions of the region and its environment. We used a qualitative research method. Such methods analyse dimensions related to the values, expectations and motivations that explain behaviour and attitudes in context. In our approach, qualitative methodology was used to interpret qualified migrants’ reasons for coming to the Barcelona metropolitan region, and to understand their interaction with the city’s institutions and cultural framework. This approach is based on symbolic interactionism and is complemented by the quantitative analysis of qualified migration in the Barcelona Metropolitan Region that was presented in previous chapters. This quantitative information was used to structure the sample, in order to form a representative group of transnational skilled migrants.

Symbolic interactionism is a sociological and anthropological theoretical orientation that adopts a critical vision of the traditional quantitative methods and focus on micro-scale, taking into consideration the relevance of the individual interpretation of social life. Individuals use the meanings they give to their perceptions to orientate their actions. These meanings are strongly influenced by the social interactions of the each person with the rest of actors. This interaction between individuals and the world is seen as a dynamic process. The research method of symbolic interactionism is based on collecting and understanding information of the actions and interactions of individuals in the place in which they develop through qualitative methods such as the participant observation and the in-deep interview.

We used semi-structured interviews to collect the information. Each interview was based on the same outline and adapted to the requirements of each case. This method is useful for interviews that are basically “life stories” and those that involve a significant amount of subjective assessment. Each interview was made up of two parts. In the first part, information on reasons for coming to Barcelona was collected. The main issues in this part were the

moment that the decision was taken and the process of adapting to the city. In the second part, the main issues were related to opinions of the city, whether expectations were met and plans for the future.

The interview had five main topics that were distributed between these two parts:

Part one: The decision and arrival

- Initial situation and decision to come to Barcelona
- Working life and studies in the region

Part two: Assessment and the future

- Assessment of the city and its features
- What kind of social networks does the interviewee have?
- Plans for the future: remaining in the BMR or moving away

Finally, to aid the analysis of the interviews, the outline included a table for basic data on the interviewee, including their age, nationality, length of time in the BMR, etc.

The four interviews with experts were more open, in order to obtain better information about the issues. The main objective was to use the specialised knowledge of each of the respondents to identify the factors that influence qualified migrants' decisions to settle in the BMR. Other key issues during the interviews with the experts were the relevance of the economic sectors that were analysed and the influence of companies' locations. The selected interviewees were experts in different fields, including members of postgraduate institutions and consultants in the field of attracting talent.

6.2 Structure of the sample and selection of interview partners

The sample was based on 27 case studies of qualified transnational migrants working in creative and knowledge industries, and five experts in attracting talent and in migration. In order to make the sample representative of all the skilled migrants working in the creative and knowledge industries, the selection was based on several criteria.

Firstly, the sample was split into creative and knowledge workers. Thus, 13 creative workers and 14 knowledge workers were selected. We also took into consideration the size of the companies in which the interviewees worked. This enabled us to include different job profiles and non-voluntary skilled migrants, that is, workers who were relocated to the region by their company. In addition, we tried to include creative and knowledge migrants from all the sectors in the creative knowledge industries.

Participants had to have been in the region for more than six months, as some questions and issues concerned the interviewees' experiences of 'living in the city'. For such experiences to be properly assessed, migrants needed to have a personal trajectory in the region and to interact with institutions. Moreover, in former research in the ACRE project, interviewees

emphasised that their perceptions of Barcelona changed after a year of living in the region (Pareja et al. 2008).

Other criteria were used to obtain a balance in nationality and gender. We used available data on qualified migration and the kind of jobs migrants have to obtain a sample that had similar numbers of migrants from developed countries and from developing countries. As indicated in Chapter Four, most migration to Spain is from Latin America and Africa. However, migrants from Europe and North America tend to be more skilled than those from Latin America and Africa. Thus, we tried to include interviewees from different countries of origin. In addition, we tried to balance the sample according to gender.

The first stage in the process of selecting respondents involved meetings with the public and private institutions that promote creative and knowledge-intensive sectors. These meetings facilitated access to the respondents. The information provided by the public institution 22@ was especially relevant. The municipal society 22@ facilitated contacts in two ways: firstly it provided access to the database of creative professionals in Barcelona Terminal B (www.terminalb.org), which is promoted by another institution, the Promotion of Arts and Design (FAD). Secondly, 22@ put us in touch with Barcelona Network, an association of knowledge companies. This Network provided data on human resources in knowledge-related activities. Finally, 22@ gave us the names of specialists and experts for the interviews.

FAD (<http://www.fadweb.org/cat/index.html>) is a non-profit private association based in Barcelona and its surroundings. The main objective of FAD is to promote certain creative disciplines, such as architecture and design. The aim of Terminal B is to attract talent by connecting creative professionals with the entrepreneurial world. To achieve this, the organisation has compiled a database of creative professionals. This database can be accessed by creative professionals and entrepreneurs via a webpage. All creative professionals living in Barcelona and its surroundings can register on the webpage free of charge, and anybody can search for information. The database currently includes information on over 2600 creative professionals of all nationalities and with different employment categories (freelance, contracted, managerial, entrepreneur, etc.). The database includes the following professional categories: audiovisual, multimedia, photography, advertising, design and graphic communication, architecture and interior design, industrial design, art, fashion design and jewellery. We used this database to select respondents from the creative sector and took into consideration profession, nationality and employment category.

Barcelona network (www.22network.net) is an association of institutions and companies in the 22@ Barcelona district of innovation (www.w22barcelona.com). This association was created as a result of the non-institutional, civic initiative of companies that wished to participate in consolidating the new innovative district of the city. Its aim is to foster networks between companies and institutions in 22@ and to seek interrelations with the associative network in the region. Barcelona Network currently includes 82 companies. It provided contact information for some of these companies. We selected those that were directly related with knowledge-intensive sectors, to obtain respondents who work in large, transnational companies. Nevertheless, contact with these large companies was not the only way we used to find interviewees who work in the knowledge sectors. The fieldwork undertaken in previous

stages of the ACRE project made it possible to obtain tiers of creative and knowledge professionals. Some of the respondents in our study were provided by former collaborators.

6.3 Interview situation and analysis of the interviews: Coding scheme, problems

There the same number of interviews with creative workers as with knowledge workers. Out of the 27 interviewees, 13 were from the creative sector and 14 were involved in knowledge activities. Regarding nationalities, the survey included 15 interviews with EU migrants. The remaining interviews were with migrants from other parts of the world. There was an uneven distribution in the size of respondents' companies in the case of the knowledge-intensive sector. The sample contained too few highly skilled migrants working as freelancers or in small companies in this sector. This is because it is difficult to find knowledge professionals who are not linked to medium and large companies or institutions such as universities. More men were interviewed than women: there were 7 female interviewees and 20 men. In Spain, it is quite difficult to find female employees in certain sectors, such as the knowledge sector. Furthermore, as stated in previous ACRE reports, fewer women are in employment in the Spanish labour market than men.

Table.6.1 - Relation of Creative interviewees

	Age	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Size of the company	Time in RMB	Family Status
1	29	Male	Portugal	Web design and computer games	Freelance	2003	Living with partner
2	29	Male	Mexico	Photography, cinema and television	Freelance	2005	Living with partner
3	33	Male	UK	Web design	Freelance	2003	Living with partner
4	38	Male	Syria	Web design and graphic communication	Freelance	2004	Partner living in the home country
5	31	Male	Chile	Architecture	Small-medium	2006	Living with partner
6	28	Male	El Salvador	Advertising & web design	Small-medium	2005	Living with partner
7	32	Male	Scotland	Television and cinema, music	Small-medium	2002	Living with partner
8	35	Female	Japan	Publishing	Small-medium	1998	Living with partner and son
9	36	Female	Chile	Architecture	Small-medium	1995	Living with partner
10	39	Female	Colombia	Fashion design, Architecture	Small-medium	1998	Living with partner and sons
11	35	Male	Iran	Photography	Large	1983	Single
12	45	Male	USA	Visual arts	Large	1988	Divorced with sons
13	32	Female	Venezuela	Architecture	Large	2002	Single

Source: Own elaboration

Traditionally, in the BMR and in Spain in general, research on migration has been linked to an analysis of extra-EU migrants with low education levels or those working in unskilled jobs despite their education. Moreover, for obvious reasons, most policies, programs and institutional strategies on migration have focused on this kind of migration. These factors, together with the fact that the knowledge economy is a new phenomenon, have made it difficult to find experts who are specialised in this region of research. To solve this problem, we contacted experts in culture, innovation and talent detection sectors and focused on the role of qualified migration in their field of knowledge. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the final distribution of the sample, with regard to nationality, profession and size of the company. Table 6.3 summarises the experts interviewed.

Table 6.2 -List of knowledge interviewees

	Age	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Size of company	Time in RMB	family status
1	?	Female	Belgium	Consultancy	Freelance	2000	Living with partner and 2 daughters
2	41	Male	Germany	ICT and software development	Small-medium	2001	Single
3	50	Male	Germany	Law and other business services	Small-medium	1988	Divorced with children
4	38	Male	Belgium	Business services (logistics)	Large	2004	Living with partner
5	42	Male	Belgium	Business services logistics	Large	2008	Partner in the home country
6	28	Female	Italy	Consultancy	Large	2006	Living with partner
7	48	Male	Italy	ICT	Large	2001	Partner and sons in the home country
8	43	Female	France	Research and development	Large	1999	Living with partner and sons
9	41	Male	France	Education	Large	2000	Living with partner and 2 daughters
10	34	Male	Brazil	Research and development	Large	2001	Living with partner and sons
11	33	Male	Chile	Education, Architecture	Large	2003	With partner but living on his own
12	39	Male	Brazil	Research and development	Large	2008	Living with partner and sons
13	43	Male	Mexico	Research and development	Large	2007	Living with partner and sons
14	29	Male	Argentina	Research and development	Large		Living with partner

Source: Own elaboration

Table 6.3 - List of experts

	Name	Institution, expertise
1	Max Porta	Terminal B, creative migration
2	Xavier Martí	Digitalent, attraction of talent
3	Lluís Bonet	Universitat de Barcelona
4	Agustí Ten	IL3- University of Barcelona

Source: own elaboration

The analysis of the interviews was based on the above interview structure. Several topics were detected and analysed for each issue. The information was grouped according to the issues. The list of topics analysed is presented as follows:

- Initial situation and decision to come to Barcelona: role of the image of Barcelona, bureaucratic process, social networks and family in the city before arriving.
- Working life and studies in the region: entrepreneurship, working environment, working culture, quality of studies.
- Assessment of the city and its features: the main features of the city, the main negative aspects and the relevance of soft factors (climate, geography and the environment).
- What kind of social networks does the interviewee have? Social networks with locals, social networks with other migrants and the relationship between social networks and professional life.
- Plans for the future: remaining in the BMR or moving.

7.1 Introduction

The analysis of the interviews presented in this chapter has the same structure as that of the questionnaires (see annex). The first section analyses why and how the respondents moved to the BMR and the aspects that assisted or hindered their arrival and accommodation. The second section describes the development of the respondents' professional lives and focuses on the working environment, the cultural aspects of their work and the relevance of creativity in the city as a factor for improving their careers. Moreover, this section also describes bureaucratic problems that make it difficult to establish a career in the BMR. The third section is based on an analysis of the social lives and takes into consideration their social networks and how settled they are in the cultural and social life of the region. Finally, the fourth section includes opinions of the city, its positive and negative aspects and the respondents' prospects for the near future.

This kind of analysis is complex, due to the wide range of activities in the creative and knowledge sectors¹ and the variety of interviewees' careers. Several aspects must be taken into consideration. Firstly, the relevance of the different sectors to the economic structure of the city is of key importance, as is their historical role in the development of the city. Some creative and knowledge sectors, such as publishing or architecture, have a historical tradition in Barcelona, which influences qualified migrants' decisions to establish their careers in the BMR. If a sector is well-established, there tend to be more job opportunities, professional networks and contacts that can help people to start businesses and self-employment initiatives. Moreover, recent political action has been focused on consolidating some sectors. In the entire region the knowledge sector is being promoted through the creation of science and technology parks that attract large transnational companies. In the city of Barcelona, the 22@ district, which has been promoted by the city council, is focused on attracting knowledge companies and companies linked to media production. Thus, we can appreciate differences between sectors, if we take into consideration their historical development and their relevance in the policy agenda. The second aspect to include in the analysis is the country of origin and qualified migrants' previous careers. In fact, opinions of Barcelona as a place to develop a career were strongly determined by previous experiences. In addition, Barcelona was frequently compared with other cities and countries of origin. Finally, in relation to the above aspects, the conditions under which qualified migrants had come to the BMR were of great importance. As we shall see, different situations exist, from

¹ In the framework of the ACRE project, the following activities are included in the creative and knowledge sectors: advertising, publishing, trades and antiques, fashion design, radio and television, cinema, video and radio activities, music and performing arts, architecture, computer games, software and electronic publishing, ICT, R&D and education, law and business activities and finances.

expatriates working in large transnational companies to creative workers developing their own small businesses. These elements must be included in the analysis in order to understand the actions of the interviewees.

7.2 Moving in

According to Florida (2004), people employed in the creative economy are mobile and aim to develop their careers in vibrant and dynamic environments that reinforce their creativity. The interviewees follow also this pattern; most of them had extensive experience as ‘mobile workers’ and had spent some time in other cities before arriving in Barcelona. Furthermore, in some cases, the interviewees had moved from city to city since their childhood. As we shall discuss in depth later, the ‘cultural milieu’ of the city played a key role in attracting some of the qualified migrants who came to develop their professional lives. However, some of the migrants came to the BMR for reasons that were not directly related to their professions. Factors such as personal ties, the quality of life and the weather were strong determinants of the choice to come to the city in these cases. Thus, we found three main reasons for coming to Barcelona: a) to improve a career, b) for personal reasons (including quality of life and family reasons) and c) to have a personal experience in a foreign country. Except in the case of some of the ‘expatriates’, the decision to move to the BMR was due to a combination of these three main reasons, although one factor was usually predominant.

7.2.1 Factors that influenced the decision

Barcelona and its metropolitan region are well-known for being on the Mediterranean coast with good weather and a high quality of life. Furthermore, the city is seen as a dynamic place with strong cultural life and dynamism. In the last two decades, the city has become fashionable and has attracted tourism and business. This has strengthened the image of Barcelona as a dynamic city. Political bodies have promoted policies that reinforce this image and attract more visitors. This international image of the city influenced the decision of interviewees, who had a positive opinion of aspects of the city before moving to it. In most cases, interviewees had first experienced the city as visitors, and their decision to come to Barcelona was influenced by their first visit. In other cases, they had indirect information about the region from relatives or friends living in or visiting the region. Regardless of how interviewees had found out about the city, its general image made it an attractive place to live, and the idea of Barcelona as a ‘cool’ place to develop a professional life had also attracted them. Therefore, the specific factors that influenced interviewees’ decisions to move to Barcelona included its geography, its cultural life and its image.

One of the most highly valued assets of the city of Barcelona is related to its morphology and its geographical position. Barcelona is seen as a city on a human scale. It is especially important for migrants from large cities such as Mexico D.F. or New York to be in a region that has ‘the right scale’. This was an influential factor in a Mexican freelancer’s decision of where to work:

[I chose] Barcelona because it is a small city that is easy to live in and you can travel by bike.

From an interview with Creative 2

As can be seen, this kind of assessment is closely related to the opportunity to travel by bike or on foot within the city, which is difficult in larger cities. For the interviewees, the scale of the city means that transport is easier than in other cities. Thus, this factor influenced the decision to live in Barcelona and is one of the most highly valued aspects of the city. Barcelona is a compact, high density city with a good public transport system. This compact city and the first zone of the metropolitan region are in contrast to the rest of the region, in which there is lower density in villages and small towns. This fact was relevant to these interviewees, as it enabled them to choose between different environments that are very close to each other:

You are near the sea, there are ways to escape, and you are not living in a large city without oxygen.

From an interview with Creative 13

According to the interviewees, another salient feature of the city is its geographic position. For most of the migrants, the fact that Barcelona is a Mediterranean, coastal city was a key factor. The combination of sea and good weather makes the city highly attractive. Likewise, the fact that there are mountains close to the city was considered another advantage. Thus, the geographic position of the BMR was seen as a factor that made the city unique. In fact, in comparisons with other cities, most migrants considered that the position of Barcelona was better:

One of the best things about Barcelona is that it is a city of the sea, if you take into consideration the metropolitan region this is even more evident. It is a city with a harbour, beaches, the sea, and places like Garraf, with small coastal villages... above all if you come from Milan, which has the same problem as Madrid: they are in the middle of plains. And the fact that there is Tibidabo, this is very nice: sea and mountains.

From an interview with Knowledge 7

The presence of mountains and the sea near the city was seen as a factor that improves the use of leisure time. For some of the interviewees, it was important to be near the sea to go walking or running along the beach. For others, the opportunity to go climbing or mountain biking was taken into consideration in their decision to move to Barcelona. Furthermore, the geographic position of Barcelona was also relevant to the interviewees, as it is well-connected to the rest of Western Europe by plane and most flights to the main European cities are short:

Barcelona has interesting aspects... such as the transport connections. It is very near the French border, which can be useful for companies.

From an interview with Knowledge 3

The positive aspects of the geographic position of the BMR are also related to positive opinions of the climate. In fact, the good weather is a well-known attraction, and was highly rated by all of the respondents. The good weather has a direct impact on the quality of life in the region and indirect consequences on professional development. For instance, for some interviewees the sun and the good weather also have an effect on their work and make it more colourful. Although opinions about the weather were positive in all cases, this aspect was particularly important for people from northern European countries. The northern migrants considered that the weather was an important aspect. This was particularly true of those who had moved with the idea of remaining in the region in the future. For interviewees from countries with similar weather, the good weather in the region meant that they chose it over other candidates such as London or Berlin, which were considered more dynamic in all aspects other than climate. A Syrian architect living and working in Barcelona emphasised the relevance of these factors for people who are used to the sun:

I know lots of people who go to London to work, but two years later they are stressed, depressed... it's because of the weather, it's very dark there, there's no sun. These factors matter to Mediterranean people.

From an interview with Creative 4

Latin American migrants chose Barcelona because of its similarity to their home countries, not only because of the weather, but also because of the cultural proximity. In this respect, the Spanish language is key to understanding certain immigration decisions. An Argentinean knowledge worker referred to the importance of language in his decision to move to Barcelona:

The factors that influenced my decision were that Barcelona meets my needs, in terms of climate, the environment, the academic and labour market possibilities... but I also took into consideration my citizenship and my language. Let's say that I couldn't work in Norway.

From an interview with Knowledge 14

Thus, the geographic position of Barcelona, its size and its weather were considered intangible aspects that boost the quality of life in the region. These factors significantly influenced the decision of creative and knowledge migrants to move to Barcelona. Nonetheless, there are many Mediterranean cities with a similar climate, a human scale and a good geographic position. What makes Barcelona different? Firstly, Barcelona is considered a nice city, with attractive architecture and pleasant surrounding areas. The urban regeneration of the city in recent decades is highly valued and the image of the Olympic Games still remains. In addition, for some migrants, the city is in some ways picturesque, as some authenticity can still be found in its people and places.

But the most important aspect of Barcelona's difference is its creative atmosphere and its cultural life. These aspects are considered intangible and are created by synergies between diverse people. For most of the creative interviewees, the cultural atmosphere can be explained by the influx of foreigners and the dynamism of cultural institutions, which are mainly dependant on public bodies. Thus, the action of public authorities in

fostering culture and creativity was seen as positive. Most of the policy actions are linked to the consolidated creative sectors of the city, such as design or architecture. This may be due to the strong institutions in these sectors, which push public authorities to implement appropriate policies.

In fact, as we shall analyse in depth in the next section, the consolidation of some sectors reinforces a certain image of the city, which, in turn, attracts creative professionals in these sectors. Architecture, for instance, plays a key role in the current image of the city. Consequently, the BMRBMR attracts architects from abroad. Besides, creative professionals perceived Barcelona as a city with a consistent ‘creative milieu’ that enables new ideas to emerge. One of the interviewees, an American art director, emphasised the relevance of the multidisciplinary of Barcelona and the image of the city in the world:

When I started to meet people here I started to notice something that I like very much, and that's important. I came from New York, where there is high specialisation in all respects [...]. Here I saw something that attracted me a lot: professionals like Mariscal, Peret... doing very interesting, multidisciplinary things. [...] It is clear that Barcelona has a good image in the global creative sector in general. It is not by chance that people from Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles, London or Paris want to come here. There is a general creative atmosphere.

From an interview with Creative 5

For most of the migrants, the cultural life of a city is defined as the cultural goods and services on offer, as well as the wide variety of creative initiatives that emerge. According to this definition, the strength of the cultural life is measured by the city’s private and public cultural institutions and cultural offerings and by the small initiatives that are usually promoted by civil society. Such initiatives are of utmost importance to migrants:

I think that the city has good cultural offerings, with good museums and exhibitions that are good or have been to other parts of the world. But this is only a part of the cultural life. I am interested in the high number of small groups that are involved with culture, through the Internet, for instance.

From an interview with Creative 9

Hence, creative interviewees’ opinions of the cultural life of the city embraced the companies, institutions and civil society initiatives that emerged around activities like design, architecture or software development. Not surprisingly, interviewees who worked in less consolidated sectors assessed the cultural life in different terms. For them, the cultural life of Barcelona was not as relevant as other factors such as the quality of life. Thus, for most of the migrants, in addition to the good weather and the morphology of the city, the key to its attractiveness lay in its cultural and creative atmosphere, in comparison to that found in other relevant European cities. According to one interviewee, the combination of these elements is the key to the success of the city:

Barcelona has the scale of a small city, but the sense of a large and important metropolis.

From an interview with Creative 4

This view illustrates that there is a balance in Barcelona between being a small city with a high quality of life and being a city with a strong cultural and social life competing in the global arena. The balance between local and global was generally given a positive assessment. However, opinions depended to a great extent on the careers and needs of the migrants. Although the cultural life is quite good, for some the global atmosphere is over-estimated:

The environment is colourful and funny, but also interesting. I like to go out, not only to drink something... here the level of cultural activity is very high and perhaps too international.

From an interview with Knowledge 6

According to these interviewees, the authenticity of the local culture is disappearing, due to global pressures and the high number of tourists.

Conversely, another group of interviewees considered that the culture and leisure in Barcelona was very local and less dynamic than in other places. For those who had lived in cities like London or New York, Barcelona was not comparable, even though it has an image of a global and cosmopolitan city. For these migrants, Barcelona has a limited cultural life and a small and local creative environment:

I think it is small in comparison to the world. This is not New York, London or Paris, I think that [Barcelona] still lacks something... they want to sell the image of cosmopolitanism but I feel like I'm in a village. You have an easy life and quality of life, in that sense it is good, but if you want activity, action... there are festivals and the cultural offerings of the city, but I think that this is not enough.

From an interview with Creative 9

The fact that the interviewees compared Barcelona to these large international cities reflects the image of a global city that is attractive to the creative class. It seems obvious that a comparison is not possible, but as many authors have pointed out (Brenner, 2004; Boix and Fageda, 2004), Barcelona is not in the same rank as New York or London. In terms of the creative and knowledge sectors, such cities bring together many of the global leaders, and act as global capitals.

Despite their opinions of the city's cultural life, most of the interviewees were satisfied with the city. For them, the climate and the quality of life in the BMR were important enough to renounce the cultural life found in more dynamic environments. Furthermore, the low competitiveness makes it easier to develop a creative career. In this respect, the small size of the city contributes to fostering creativity in a different way than in global cities in which there is more competitiveness. The combination between a small city, an easy life and creativity can be summarised as follows:

It is easy, you arrive, you get a workshop, a space, you share it with people, you don't have to spend so much money on transport because you buy a bike, you go to the market and you buy something to eat...you are more free in this sense.

From an interview with Creative 9

On the other hand, salaries in Barcelona are lower than in other European cities. However, according to the above quotation, some creative and knowledge workers prefer to have an easy life than to have a better salary in a city that is more competitive. Migrants from northern countries, namely the United Kingdom, use this kind of argument to explain their decision:

You can earn more money there, but money doesn't matter if I'm earning enough. I don't want a very good salary, only to feel good. I won't go back for that reason.

From an interview with Creative 3

Furthermore, some interviewees had the opportunity to earn a better salary working in the United States, but they turned the offer down, because of the quality of life in Barcelona and its dynamism. Thus, they admit that they would go to New York or other dynamic American cities, but not to other places in the United States. An architect with a sister working in Miami stated that she did not want to work there:

You think and realise that if you go to earn that money, perhaps the city is not interesting enough. You balance things and you think: I won't earn 100 thousand dollars, but with 20 thousand I can live, and I am in a lively city, in which things are always happening. I would like to go to New York or San Francisco but not to Miami in Florida.

From an interview with Creative 9

Finally, in comparison with global cities, Barcelona is seen as a place with a lower cost of living, but with an excellent reputation in terms of creativity. Therefore, some interviewees who could not afford to live in London and continue their training there chose Barcelona as an alternative. For instance, an architect who was studying in Madrid stated that his teachers had recommended continuing his studies in Barcelona if he did not have enough money to go to London. Although he preferred to go to London or New York, Barcelona was the affordable alternative.

To sum up, the combination of Barcelona's geographic position, cultural life and cost of living explain many of the migrants' decisions to move to the BMR. This is especially true of those who took the decision to come to the city by themselves and were looking for a creative environment in which to develop their careers. However, the situation of qualified migrants working in the knowledge sectors is different. Some qualified migrants came to the city under other circumstances. Most of the knowledge migrants moved to the area as expatriates. For them the choice of Barcelona as a place to live was quite limited. In most cases, they chose Barcelona because of its weather and the general way of life, but the cultural milieu was not as relevant. In fact, for most of the interviewees from the knowledge sectors, cultural life is of secondary importance in

their general assessment of the city. For them, the dynamism of the city is less relevant than other factors related to the quality of life.

There are several reasons for this view of cultural life. Firstly, the development of work in the knowledge sectors is not related to the cultural life of the city. In the creative sector, a strong cultural environment is needed to create a labour market and for people to perform their jobs. The knowledge sectors do not depend on these factors. For people working in medium-sized and large-sized companies, social networks are less important for the development of their jobs, as a result of their company's value chain. Secondly, the life projects of most of the knowledge interviewees differed from those of creative workers. This affected their material and intangible needs and their opinions of the city. Hence, knowledge migrants had higher living standards and gave more importance to their quality of life and that of their relatives. For most of them, quality of life was linked to values such as tranquillity and a good relation with the environment. For these knowledge interviewees, the geographic and climatologic assets of the BMR were very highly appreciated, but the dynamism of the city was sometimes seen as a factor that could disturb them. Therefore, some knowledge migrants chose villages in the metropolitan region as their place of residence. In fact, half of the knowledge workers chose to live outside the city of Barcelona. Nevertheless, most of them worked in the city of Barcelona and all of them remained connected to the city's cultural life:

I like to go into the city for the cultural activities, to go to a concert, but not to live inside it, because of the noise, the pollution and the lack of space.

From an interview with Knowledge 1

In fact, for some knowledge interviewees, there is a higher quality of life outside the city, as there is less noise and pollution. For them, the transport infrastructure is essential to their daily life, and they tend to give more importance to these factors than other interviewees living in the centre of the city. In general, public transport was rated highly, although there were some complaints about a lack of public transport facilities.

The public transport is quite good here, I suppose that there are other places [in the metropolitan region] in which it is not that good, but for me it is fantastic.

From an interview with Knowledge 1

As most of the knowledge workers had moved to the city with their partners and children, they were also concerned about other kinds of infrastructure. For example, education facilities were considered a positive asset of the BMR that provided good education for their children:

I want a Spanish education for my sons, because of the infrastructure it has, and I'm speaking internationally. The English [education] is not complete here, but the United Kingdom is very near, just two hours away by plane.

From an interview with Knowledge 13

As in many other factors related to welfare state provisions and living standards, the assessment of education and infrastructure depended to a great extent on the country of origin. Interviewees from Latin American countries tended to consider that the

education facilities were very good. An interviewee from Japan gave an interesting example of the cultural differences in the education system:

The education level in Japan is much better than here, but the school environment is worse. It is a very square way of thinking, it kills your creativity; everyone has to study the same to reach the same level. It is very different from here.

From an interview with Creative 8

Therefore, we can conclude that although the so-called soft factors (climate, geographic position, cultural development etc.) were of utmost importance to all the interviewees, the sample can be divided into two main groups: people who were looking for a very cosmopolitan environment and quality of life; people who were looking for high living standards in tranquil places and wanted to enjoy the city without living in it. The former were mainly from the creative sectors and tended to live in Barcelona city, whereas the latter were mainly from the knowledge sectors and lived in the rest of the metropolitan region. The factors that attracted each group were also different, although the geographic position of the city and the weather was relevant for both groups. Differences can be found mainly in the relevance of the creative atmosphere. Notwithstanding these differences between the creative and knowledge sectors, some creative migrants worked in large companies and lived in the metropolitan region, and some knowledge freelancers wanted to live in the city centre. Thus, relevant factors include the sector in which qualified migrants work and their way of understanding work and professionalism.

7.2.2 *Moving to the region: methods and difficulties*

For those who move to the BMR to develop a career, one option is to continue their studies in this region. Thus, a significant number of the interviewees had arrived in Barcelona to finish their training. The BMR has strong public and private training institutions, particularly for business-related postgraduate studies. As one of the experts explained, these institutions play an important role in attracting and keeping talent. In terms of the creative and knowledge sectors, business and design schools are of great importance. Thus, qualified migrants who want to continue their training consider Barcelona as a possible destination. This is particularly true in the case of studies linked to industrial and interior design. In these fields, the image of the city as a dynamic place for designers influences the final choice of destination:

I went to Barcelona to do a master's degree in industrial design. At the beginning, I had other cities in mind, but in Barcelona the course offering was interesting and accessible [...] and it was said that in Barcelona there were lots of new design proposals. I remember that the year after I arrived was the year of design. It was a city that was opening up to these issues and taking lots of initiatives.

From an interview with Creative 13

According to the interview results, some students who moved to the BMR remained in the region to develop their careers. Usually, the decision to remain is not made prior to arrival. As we shall see in the next section, the professional environment and the strength of certain sectors have a key influence on this decision, as job opportunities arise after the completion of postgraduate studies. Moreover, the lack of job opportunities in the country of origin may affect the decision to remain in Barcelona. This is particularly true of migrants from Latin America, as their country of origin might be unstable and have a continuously changing political regime.

Some qualified migrants continue their studies in the BMR as a way to overcome bureaucratic problems linked to residence and work permits. In fact, as students, migrants are given residence permits for Spain and can undertake professional activity through agreements between the university and the hiring company. Simultaneously, if a migrant undertakes studies, it gives them time to obtain a permanent residence permit. Latin American migrants are the main group who use this strategy, and they look for affordable master's degrees. An art director from El Salvador who is working in a small company explained his decision as follows:

I started my PhD in order to continue working, the PhD was a way to remain in Spain legally [...] I gave myself three years to improve.

From an interview with Lopez de León

Furthermore, companies looking for foreign talent also pay for master's degrees and PhD courses for their employees, in order to solve bureaucratic problems and to employ them under the special conditions available to students (taken from an interview with Expert 1). This reinforces the strong role of education in the BMR and partially explains why Latin American migrants are some of the main customers of educative institutions.

However, postgraduate education not only solves bureaucratic problems with residence and work, but also brings students into contact with professional networks in the BMR. Contact with lecturers and other postgraduate students generates the first social framework for qualified migrants, which fosters their subsequent introduction into the creative labour market. The condition of being a foreigner and the sense of helping each other make the student relationships stronger. The existence of wide networks of professionals from the same country of origin is also significant. Moreover, as the experts explained, postgraduate schools are improving their role in formally connecting students and the labour market. To achieve this, schools are trying to adapt their syllabuses to the needs of companies and are promoting programmes that generate contact between students and companies. Most of the postgraduate schools are moving to the new 22@ knowledge district, in order to build closer relationships and more contact with creative and knowledge companies (from an interview with Agustí Ten).

Another problem that qualified migrants have to face is how to find affordable housing. In recent years, housing prices in the BMR have risen dramatically. The number of people living in their own properties has increased, whilst rental properties have received little attention. The lack of rental properties means that prices are high and that

it is difficult to rent a dwelling. Sometimes these problems are even greater for migrants, who may be discriminated against:

I was living in a hotel with my wife and my daughter and I wanted to rent a flat, but they didn't want to rent the flat to me. My company had to write a letter explaining that I was an employee.

From an interview with Knowledge 12.

The lack of houses or flats for rent means that migrants usually look for a dwelling in an informal way. Thus, social networks are used to find a house and to find a way to pay the rent. Some common solutions are to share a flat with other migrants or foreigners or to stay as a temporary guest in a contact's residence. In spite of this, most of the qualified migrants did not feel that it was especially difficult to solve housing-related problems, because of their experience in moving from city to city. For creative professionals, it was very common to share a flat with other migrants in the first few months after arrival. Shared flats are usually in the city centre, where there is a strong creative atmosphere, but also a lot of noise, tourists and people in general. Therefore, once they have established their careers, qualified migrants look for other places to live in the city and in the rest of the region. Regardless of a migrant's place of residence, the city of Barcelona is still important for their work. A designer with his company and residence in Granollers (15 kilometres north of Barcelona), explained that he continues to go to the city of Barcelona for professional reasons:

I was tired of the city, too many people, too much movement; I was living in a place with too much noise. I was tired of the metropolis and I went to the countryside. I go to Barcelona once a week, for some events, to visit some institutions, to meet colleagues...

From an interview with Héctor Balut

In the case of expatriates who are transferred to Barcelona by their company, it can be harder to find a place to live. Although companies usually cover the costs of housing, workers have to find a house by themselves. In this case, social networks in the workplace are essential to start the process. A Mexican software developer who works for a large company was disoriented when he moved to the BMR, but his colleagues helped him:

I was helped by a colleague from Brazil, who arrived two months before me and had more experience than me about what to do and what not to do. The company did not give me added value. You have to put your own energy in.

From an interview with Knowledge 13

Most of the knowledge workers moved to the BMR with their families. In some cases, they were in the process of bringing their families with them. In other cases, their relatives were from the BMR. The process of bringing the family is a major concern for workers who have to solve bureaucratic problems related to their situation and that of their family. For instance, those who do not move in the summer find it difficult to enrol their children in a school. Moreover, in some cases, only one member of the family

obtains a work permit. A Mexican software developer working for an energy company explained the main problems he faced:

My wife, due to migratory problems, cannot work [...] that has been an obstacle for her because she had a very active life in Mexico, and now she has arrived and become a housewife.

From an interview with Jaime Raúl Mendez

Moving in

- The decision to move to the BMR is related to different interlinked factors, such as the desire to improve a career or to have a personal experience in a foreign country. Personal reasons, such as political instability in the country of origin or having a partner or relatives in the city, are also relevant.
- Different factors influence the choice of Barcelona as a place to live. Firstly, migrants are influenced by the professional opportunities and good educational offerings in the city. Secondly, Barcelona's geographic position, its scale and climate are relevant. Finally, its cultural life and dynamism is also of great importance. All these factors form part of an image of Barcelona that influences qualified migrants' decisions to come to the area. The influence of these factors depends on the sector and the country of origin.
- There are different ways of moving to the BMR. The main method is to undertake postgraduate studies in the area. Most knowledge workers come to the area as 'expats'. This is particularly true of Latin American migrants working in Spanish transnational companies.
- Qualified migrants face different bureaucratic problems in terms of visas, residence and work permits. Social networks and the company's assistance are essential to overcoming these kinds of problems. Some migrants use postgraduate studies as a way of remaining in the area and trying to obtain a residence or a work permit.
- Migrants face the problem of finding a place to live and in some cases must resolve their families' situation, e.g. find schools, etc.

7.3 The development of professional life in the BMR

During the interviews, career development was a central topic in relation to the BMR. In this section we will analyse the factors that influence the development of professional life in the region. We will take three factors into account: a) the development of work and the working environment in the BMR, b) the strength of some sectors, which strongly influences the attraction and retention of certain professionals, and c) to what extent qualified migrants' decisions to come to the region and remain in it are related to career development.

7.3.1 Daily work

An analysis of the interviews reveals that different elements influence the development of professional life in the region. Regardless of the competitive advantages of Barcelona in their specific sector, all the interviewees agreed that Barcelona has an attractive work culture for different reasons. The region provides an entrepreneurial environment and professionalism, but, at the same time, it has a relaxed atmosphere and less competitiveness than larger metropolises. As a creative qualified migrant working in the music sector stated:

If you live in London there is lots of music and high competitiveness, but you can also be depressed for years, because if you are not competitive and you aren't lucky enough to win, you suffer. If you live here, people don't take things so seriously, but at the same time that makes things more human, more personal, quieter and happier.

From an interview with Creative 7

According to this interviewee, the lack of competitiveness reduces the stimulus to work, but also creates a relaxed way of doing the work, which leads to a better quality of life. In fact, for migrants from northern countries with competitive economies, the relaxed atmosphere in the workplace is a positive factor. However, despite this positive evaluation, some of the interviewees stated that they needed to change their mentality in order to adapt to the working environment. Moreover, the fact that there is less stress than in other cities affects another factor: in Barcelona salaries and payments for projects are lower than in other European countries or the USA. In addition, jobs are carried out with less efficiency. In a comparison of his hometown in Germany and Barcelona, a knowledge worker revealed differences in work culture:

In Germany [work] is based more on efficiency, quality... in our agency music is on all the time, I was not used to that, I was used to silence in order to concentrate on my work. I complained about that in the past, but I don't do it anymore. In Germany it is unthinkable, as it reduces efficiency at work. Once you get used to that, it is more relaxed.

From an interview with Knowledge 2

In some cases, large companies take advantage of the low productivity by increasing flexibility and reducing work regulations. This has an impact on the services the company can offer. In this respect, a worker in a logistics company stated that management in Barcelona was more complex, because there were more problems, but at the same time there was more flexibility and capacity to work:

We did the management from Belgium for other harbours, but the problems we found in Barcelona didn't exist. But [in the other harbours] there wasn't the flexibility of services that there is in Barcelona. [...] In Barcelona a major effort is made, but there is also more flexibility and we give more to the company. We give a better service than the one that Mazda logistics gives to a German or Swedish contractor.

From an interview with Knowledge 4

In fact, Barcelona's economy, and the entire Spanish context, is based on low productivity patterns that generate low wages (Pareja et. al. 2007b). The cost of living in Barcelona is seen as very high, especially in terms of basic needs like housing. Nevertheless, most interviewees considered that the general quality of life was more important than salaries. Thus, for some of them, the relaxed working atmosphere is part of the quality of life that the city offers, and that quality of life is a reason for remaining in the region. Conversely, for immigrants from Latin American and African countries, salaries tend to be higher in the BMR than in their countries, whereas the working environment is more stressful. In some cases, such migrants considered that the cost of living was very high in comparison to that in their country of origin. In other cases, the existence of welfare state provisions was seen as an advantage that provides quality of life. Moreover, the conditions of work and employee rights were considered an advantage in comparison to situations in their countries of origin:

That is a good thing. For instance the holidays, in July in August, are kept. We work fewer hours in summer. And we don't work on Saturday or Sunday. There, I used to work Saturday and Sunday, I did not have holidays...

From an interview with Knowledge 12

Therefore, perceptions about the working environment in the BMR are strongly dependent on individual opinions. Nevertheless, the BMR has aspects that are attractive to people with a European work culture and to southern creative workers. The mixture between north and south attracts creative and knowledge workers, as well as companies seeking locations in southern Europe. A creative migrant summarised this as follows:

It seems that Barcelona is a balance between the attitudes in the north and in the south. That is enough to enjoy it.

From an interview with Creative 7

7.3.2 *The strength of consolidated sectors*

The historic development of some creative and knowledge sectors in the BMR has a strong influence on the decisions of interviewed qualified migrants. The strong development of some sectors has led to clusters of companies that generate job opportunities. In addition, it has resulted in a broad institutional framework, which includes public and private institutions that provide education and training; strong professional associations; and legislation enforcing legal mechanisms to develop the profession. All of these factors influence the attraction and retention of talent. In the BMR, architecture is the most consolidated sector.

In fact this sector has played an important role in economic activity since the second half of the 19th century, when industrialisation began in Barcelona. The expansion of the city and the construction of the Eixample provided the opportunity to develop new building techniques and new artistic movements linked to architecture. Simultaneously, the development of the Modernista style and Gaudí's work in the region defined a new identity for the city, which was linked to the bourgeoisie. The development of the Modernist movement generated a tradition in architecture studies, which continued,

despite the Civil War and the Franco Regime. Moreover, after the Olympic Games, the city became known as ‘the city of architects’, due to the dynamism of the new architectural pieces that were constructed in the urban renewal of the city (Pareja-Eastaway et. al., 2007a). Consequently, this sector has made an enormous contribution to the improvement in the international image of the city, and has become a benchmark of architect-led urban renewal processes. This development has affected the consolidation of architectural activity in the entire region. Architecture courses have international prestige and attract students from abroad, especially from Latin America. Due to the close relationship between Spain and most Latin American countries, architecture professionals have networks with Latin American universities. Thus, Latin American universities may recommend that their students complete their training in Barcelona. In the interviews, migrant architects saw Barcelona as a gateway to the European labour market that added international prestige to their careers:

I wanted to come to Europe. I let the director of my school advise me, and he had studied with a professor at the UPC. [...] I knew that here there were Catalan architects in the global ranking. At the beginning, it was the university and certain professors, but later you can see the attractiveness of the city [...] I didn't know that there were so many professional architects.

From an interview with Creative 5

Furthermore, the strong architectural legacy of the city also attracts students and architects from other countries, which generates synergies with other sectors. An expert explained the relevance of the Sagrada Família in these terms:

If you are interested in geometric architecture, for different specific reasons Barcelona is a point of reference in the world. For instance, research on the Sagrada Família involves researchers from all over the world. In Australia, here and in other parts of the world research is carried out about something very unique that requires software and a particular aesthetic, which is what makes Barcelona a node in this research. This is the result of a history that also has its consequences in terms of tourism. [The Sagrada Família] is the most visited monument in Catalonia.

From an interview with Lluís Bonet

Similarly, a Japanese architect cited the role of famous architects in her decision to come to Barcelona:

After finishing my degree, I wanted to do some practice. I decided to come basically because of Enric Miralles, a celebrity who is known all over the world. Moreover, Barcelona is well-known for its architecture and Gaudí's Modernista works, and it also has the Mies Van der Roë Pavillion.

From an interview with Creative 8

Finally, the consolidation of the architecture sector enables other related creative activities to exist, such as interior or industrial design. Moreover, the ‘architecture cluster’ attracts new professionals who come to the region to complete their training in new and different disciplines. Thus, interior and industrial design schools are closely

linked to the architecture sector and their students are architects, amongst others. In fact, although half of the creative migrants had a degree in architecture, only a few worked as architects. Some worked in publishing for specialised magazines, others in cultural management, industrial design and interior design. In the knowledge sector, some researchers and teachers were linked to this sector. This illustrates the relevance of this sector to other activities.

Nevertheless the consolidation of a sector also has negative aspects. Although the BMR is attractive to designers and architects, the existence of large institutions to some extent protects Spanish professionals. Therefore, qualified migrants may find it harder to establish their careers. For instance, it is very hard to gain recognition of some foreign architecture degrees, which can make it difficult to find a skilled job in this sector. The strong role of the Architects Association and the prestige of the degree generate these problems. Moreover, a consolidated sector is likely to be highly competitive and have fewer opportunities for start-ups.

If you want to work, it is very hard it is very competitive. Barcelona is full of architects and designers, which means that salaries are also lower, as there is a lot of offer.

From an interview with Creative 13

Furthermore, the prestigious image of Barcelona as a ‘city of designers’ generates great expectations that are not always fulfilled. Some creative design professionals consider that the BMR has created an image of excellence that is not real. Other creative professionals have experienced the opposite effect:

You are attracted to the city by the Modernista architecture and then you discover that its interior design is avant-garde, it is like a continuous surprise, walking through the city and finding new incentives that nurture your retina.

From an interview with Creative 9

The BMR creative knowledge economy includes other consolidated activities and sectors. Amongst services for companies, activities related to logistics and transport management are of great importance. The growth of the harbour and its transformation over the last century into the main Mediterranean port in terms of passengers and trade has created a strong tradition in logistics that is still present and continues to grow. The high level of activity in the harbour enables synergies to form between companies. In fact, logistics in Barcelona attracts transnational companies to the region, which generates opportunities for qualified migrants:

For me, coming here was like winning the lottery. In 98-98 Mazda decided to complete its agreement with the distributor in Spain. They created a distribution company that was 100 per cent owned by Mazda. I was managing distribution in Spain from Belgium but it didn't work [...]. The relevance of Barcelona as a logistic centre was growing and we decided to manage Italy, Portugal and Spain from Barcelona. Mazda decided that a presence in the territory was necessary. [...] They selected Barcelona because of its geographic position [...] that is unique in the western Mediterranean. Barcelona was and still is the only harbour with

good infrastructure for new vehicles. That is good for shipping companies, because they can drop cars off there and come back with a new cargo, as this is the point of export for Spanish production.

From an interview with Knowledge 4

Similarly, the expansion of Spanish companies into Latin America, particularly those working in the energy and law sectors, generates opportunities for qualified workers to come to Barcelona to improve their position in the company:

I decided to come to Barcelona for two reasons. The first one was my career. I think that Barcelona's role is to be the core of the industry's development [...] the gas industry is very strong here in Spain, in Barcelona. One of the main companies in the world, Gas Natural, is in America, Europe, Asia etc. but the core is here.

From an interview with Knowledge 13

In conclusion, we can see that the degree of consolidation of certain sectors is a variable that influences the decision of migrants to come to the BMR. The sectors with a stronger tradition, such as architecture, design, logistics or energy, generate work and development opportunities for qualified migrants. Conversely, less consolidated sectors do not attract qualified migrants. Thus, as we shall see later, factors that are not directly related to professional development, which are mainly soft factors, have a greater influence on migrants who work in sectors that are not well developed. For these migrants, the choice of Barcelona as the place to develop their career may reduce their professional opportunities to some extent. However, they feel that the city compensates for this in terms of quality of life or the opportunity to carry out their activities in innovative ways. A British musician who moved to the city for personal reasons (his partner wanted to move) expressed this idea as follows:

I was addicted to London because of the music, the scene... is a very important scenario. It was very hard for me to leave that behind. It is obvious: if you do cinema and you go to Los Angeles to work in cinema and then you decide to move to another place it'll be harder for you. But now I'm very happy to be here. I'm proud to be here and to be part of what is emerging here. When I arrived six years ago it was good to feel that the city was being renewed, with new workshops opening and lots of creative people doing their things. I didn't care about the lack of industry behind this, because this makes things more free, without having to think about money.

From an interview with Creative 7

Regardless of the consolidation of the sector, the image of Barcelona gives added value to the product or service delivered. For creative and knowledge professionals, Barcelona has an image of creativity that has an impact on their jobs:

Now that I have my studio here, if I work with a person in London online, for him it is good to be able to say: 'well my composer lives in Barcelona'. That's cool.

From an interview with Creative 7.

Thus, interviewees find in the city's image an opportunity to foster their projects and businesses.

Abroad, Barcelona has a very strong creative position and that is a great benefit for a company in the creative sector.

From an interview with Creative 6

Products generated in Barcelona make use of the 'Barcelona brand' and the image of Barcelona in different ways. The image of Barcelona is good for creative professional's careers. This attracts new professionals and talent to the city. To foster this synergy, different public and private institutions are trying to reinforce the image of Barcelona as a place where there are high quality products and services. For example, the association of creative professionals *Terminal B*, founded by a public-private partnership, is promoting the recognition of design from Barcelona as a quality brand, by means of the label 'created in Barcelona'. The project aims to reinforce the internationalisation and the global knowledge involved in products and services generated in the BMR (from an interview with Max Porta).

7.3.3 *Business and entrepreneurship: establishing a business in the BMR*

To develop their professional life in the BMR, most qualified migrants must undergo a bureaucratic process if they wish to become self-employees or to create a business. In fact, this was one aim of most of the creative professionals we interviewed. The evaluation of opportunities to attain this objective in the BMR depended to a great extent on the country of origin. For migrants from countries with a strong entrepreneurial tradition, such as the United Kingdom, the United States or some Latin American countries, Spanish taxes for self-employees are too high and the bureaucratic process too complex. Self-employees in Spain pay a fixed tax regardless of their income. This is a shock for those coming from countries whose systems are based on fostering entrepreneurship:

[In the UK] it is easy to start a business [...] and it is possible to have an income without making a big investment at the beginning. Here, people are discouraged from creating. What people do is to work illegally [...] To create a company you have to be rich.

From an interview with Creative 7

In contrast, for migrants from countries with a stronger welfare state, such as France, the taxes for self-employees are considered to be appropriate and the proceedings simple. A Belgian environmental researcher expressed her views in the following way:

It is easier to be a self-employee here. You pay the same tax once a month. In France, it is complicated and you pay much more. You pay less in terms of social charges, but you have less social protection... the quality of social security in France or Belgium is higher.

From an interview with Knowledge 1

These evaluations are also related to perceptions of the general cost of living in the home country and the BMR. Some qualified migrants who live in the BMR have their customers in countries with higher salaries. However, this does not mean that they earn money at foreign rates. Instead, costs are lower for the professional and the customer. Hence, creative professionals can offer their services abroad at lower prices.

To sum up, evaluations of the development of professional life in the BMR depend to a great extent on the migrant's career and their country of origin. The study revealed common trends between different groups of migrants. Migrants from Latin American countries see Barcelona as a gateway to the European market, not only in terms of developing their activity but also in acquiring customers. The similarities between the culture and the way of life in Spain and Latin America help them to adapt to the European context. In this respect, Barcelona acts as an intersection between Europe and Latin America: it attracts creative and knowledge workers from Latin America, as well as workers from Europe who want to open up their activity to the Spanish language market.

European creative and knowledge professionals are attracted mainly by the creative atmosphere in the BMR, the image of the city and the position of Barcelona in some sectors. Even though it can be difficult to develop a career in the region, its atmosphere and aspects such as the quality of life attract migrants from developed countries. In the next section, we will analyse the social life of migrants in the BMR and to what extent social lives are related to the creative atmosphere of the city.

On professional life

- The working environment is seen as more relaxed than in northern Europe, but more 'serious' than in the south. This has positive and negative consequences: there is less competitiveness, and it is easier to develop creativity with no pressure. Nevertheless, perceptions of the work environment and conditions are strongly dependent on the cultural context of origin.
- Some sectors attract certain professionals to the BMR. These sectors, such as architecture, design, or ICT applied to energy industries and logistics, have a strong tradition in the region and are well-known abroad.
- The image of the city attracts creative workers, who find that this image gives added value to the products, services and processes they offer.

7.4 Social life in the BMR

7.4.1 Social networks and professional life

In terms of social life in the BMR, there was a significant difference between the creative and knowledge workers. Most creative workers arrived in the region on their own to complete their training or to try to develop their careers. Their participation in local institutions (as users or providers) widened their social networks and they were, to a great extent, rooted in the social and cultural life of the city. Most knowledge workers arrived in the region with the prospect of remaining there. In most cases, they moved with their families or partners. Their social life was often more limited and based on their relations within the company. Thus, two types were found: creative migrants with wide social networks with other creative workers, in which professional and personal relations mix; knowledge workers who are more settled, with a family and a social network that is determined by the company and not essential to the development of their profession.

For the creative workers, social networks were of utmost importance from the very beginning. As stated in the previous section, some migrants had friends or relatives in the metropolitan region before their arrival. They used these networks to solve housing and bureaucratic problems. The existence of social networks in the city made adaptation to the region easier, and was the first step towards the consolidation of wider social networks. Creative workers who did not initially have social networks in the region created them rapidly, mainly through the institutions in which they participated.

In fact, one of the most important roles of postgraduate schools is to create social ties between highly skilled professionals. Hence, most of the social networks of qualified migrants who came as students were based on contacts made in these institutions. Consequently, in most cases, social networks were mainly based on relations with other foreign creative or knowledge professionals. In fact, a sense of solidarity was generated between such professionals, as they were in similar situations and had to face the same problems. Thus, social networks play a major role in adapting to the BMR. Moreover, it is easy to contact the local community of foreign professionals. An architect explained her experience when she arrived in the region:

Like many other colleagues, I was connected to the architecture environment, they were already here. There was a large network related to architecture.

From an interview with Creative 13

These networks are of central importance to the creative environment in the BMR. In addition, new professional opportunities emerge in the context of such networks. However, they are not only professional, but also personal. In this respect, sharing a flat, looking for a job and coming from a similar country strengthens social relations. For creative migrants, these kind of horizontal networks are of key importance to their professional development and it is difficult to separate the personal network from the

professional network. Consequently, creative migrants also share ideas and creative projects, which may lead to new businesses:

During the PhD I met other graduate students, we became friends and we created a company. We are two doctors and three graduate students.

From an interview with Creative 5

In contrast, knowledge workers, who generally work in large companies, do not have extensive social networks. Social connections are not essential to their work. The social networks of knowledge workers are based on the workplace, and largely involve professional relations. This may sometimes lead to more personal relations. Moreover, in most cases, knowledge workers frequently visit their countries of origin, in which they have relatives and social ties. Most knowledge migrants move to another city with their partner and children, as a result of a professional decision. Relatives are the focal point of the social network. Consequently, knowledge workers' social networks depend on their contacts in their workplace and the social relations of their partner.

For both knowledge and creative workers, the length of stay directly affects their social life and how well-established they are in the BMR. Over time, creative and knowledge workers tend to expand their networks and to become more connected with the local society. Thus, it is important to analyse the aspects that affect the integration of migrants into the daily life of the city.

7.4.2 *Are qualified migrants rooted in the local social life?*

As stated above, creative and knowledge social networks are based mainly on relations with other migrants in a similar situation. Hence, except for migrants with partners from Barcelona, there appeared to be a gap between the local society and the migrants. However, this idea can be misleading. Some of the respondents had local friends, but most migrants considered that it was very difficult to access the rest of society. To what extent did these migrants participate in the social life of the region? What kind of relationships did they have with local people? For most of the migrants, it was difficult to become integrated into the local society. They distinguished the community of foreign people, in which they participated, and the locals, or members of Catalan society. It was seen as very difficult to get these two groups to mix:

In the city a lot of networks have appeared [...] but these networks are not mixed, you live in a world of foreigners.

From an interview with Creative 9.

The interviewees had different explanations for this situation. One group of migrants considered that a lack of connection with local people was a natural consequence of being a migrant, and that this can happen anywhere. For these migrants, local people carry on with their daily lives, and there were no common places to create social relations. Thus, their explanation of this situation was related to the fact that they were migrants, and not to the characteristics of the local society:

What I have learnt from travelling is that at the beginning when you are travelling you try to integrate with local people, but that will never happen.

From an interview with Creative 3

Moreover, interviewees with this point of view had long careers in the region and stronger social relations with locals than those who have arrived recently. Nevertheless, the most common explanation that respondents gave for this situation was that Catalans are a 'closed society'. This explanation contains different factors, such as cultural behaviour and the Catalan language. For migrants coming from the South, namely from Latin American countries, Catalans are considered 'cold' and not very sociable, which is very different from the image of Spaniards. In fact, many migrants feel they have a lack of communication with the Catalans:

The worst thing about the city is the indifference of people. [...] I was in the metro with six suitcases and the only person who helped me was a Latino. Now, I am very unpleasant when I take the train. I need to integrate with the society in that respect.

From an interview with Manuel Lopez de León

Behind these kinds of statements we can see foreigners' attempts to understand the local culture and to access it. In this way, migrants feel that their resources for establishing social relations are not useful in the BMR. Therefore, their complaints are generally that local people do not respond to their attempts to establish a relation. One common complaint is that Catalans are reluctant to invite people to their homes for dinner because this practice integrates people. If we analyse the case of migrants whose jobs are linked to public institutions, we can see a higher level of integration. Such migrants have stronger social connections with Catalan people, because they have a way to meet them and to be introduced in a local context. Migrants who work as freelancers, sometimes for foreign customers, are less connected to local social networks. For them, it is easier to establish relationships with people who have similar cultural codes, namely migrants from the same country or from similar cultures. For example, some Latin American migrants feel that they are very close to the Italians, and that it is very easy to establish relationships with them. For these migrants, Barcelona is welcoming because of the huge diversity and the number of foreign people living in it:

The city is welcoming because there are a high percentage of people in the same situation as you. That makes the city welcoming, because you can share your feelings, even with people from other parts of Spain. They sometimes feel a bit like foreigners because of the Catalan language, the culture, here it is different from the rest of Spain.

From an interview with Creative 13

As the above statement indicates, the Catalan language can contribute to this view of a fairly inaccessible local society. Prior to their arrival, some migrants did not realise that a language other than Spanish existed in the BMR. In contrast, for other migrants the existence of a different language was a stimulus and had positive consequences in terms of the local culture and the attractiveness of the city. All the interviewees agreed that the Catalan language did not hinder their careers or their daily lives, and that they could

continue their lives without knowing Catalan. Nevertheless, those who knew and spoke Catalan felt more integrated. This was the case of a Japanese architect who was married to a Catalan:

In the beginning I thought it [to learn Catalan] was not necessary. But to do everything, to go shopping, people started to treat me differently, more integrated. [...] A lot of people look at me as a foreigner and talk to me in Spanish, then I answer in Catalan and they say 'but you speak Catalan!' and I feel more comfortable. I can read Catalan I can understand lots of things about what is happening in Barcelona.

From an interview with Creative 8

Similarly, a British musician stated that he needed to learn Catalan:

I realise that I need to learn it, and I understand a lot of it now. I have only learnt Spanish and I realise how connections with people change. If I only spoke English I wouldn't know many people at all. And with Catalan it is the same.

From an interview with Creative 7

In this respect, Catalan can be understood as part of a code that leads to understanding of the local society. Although it is possible to live and work in the BMR without knowing Catalan, knowledge of the language enables migrants to become more integrated (from an interview with Expert 3, Lluís Bonet). Moreover, for some qualified migrants, understanding and speaking Catalan has a positive impact on their professional life, as they consider that it reinforces their image in Barcelona.

The view of Catalans as 'closed' is not linked to intolerance or segregation. In general, the respondents considered that Barcelona was tolerant, cosmopolitan and, in most cases, welcoming. Nonetheless, its environment cannot be compared with that of London or New York. Barcelona is seen as having a strong local culture, unlike the cosmopolitanism and global culture of New York and London. In fact, these cities have a long tradition of hosting migrants. Although Barcelona was a very multicultural city in the past, it did not receive significant migration or tourism until the last few years of the twentieth century. Therefore, the process of the local population's adaptation to the increase in the number of visitors in the city must be taken into consideration in an analysis of local attitudes. A university teacher from Belgium summarised these attitudes as follows:

Catalans are not very open, to protect themselves from tourism, from the people who come... also to protect themselves from Madrid and all the history. I can understand it and I experience it from the outside.

From an interview with Knowledge 9

To a certain extent, the respondents considered the attitude of the local society as understandable, due to the high numbers of tourists in the city. Migrants who had lived in the city for a number of years had similar feelings towards tourism and foreigners. Another relevant aspect of perceptions of Catalan society involves the image that

newcomers had before discovering the reality. Some European interviewees expected to find an open character, which they associated with southern Europe:

I thought that Spaniards were from the South... but Catalans are traders... I didn't expect that closeness. That surprised me.

From an interview with Knowledge 1

In contrast to these views of the local society, some migrants from northern Europe considered that Catalan society was open and warm in comparison to their home societies. For them, this aspect boosted the quality of life in the region:

It is said that Catalans are cold, they complain in the same way I complain about people from northern Europe. Here, if you pass a neighbour on the stairs and you say 'hello' you start talking with them. In London you can live in a flat and not talk to anybody, it is almost like not existing.

From an interview with Creative 7.

To sum up, opinions of the local society depend to a great extent on the number of years spent in the region and the degree of adaptation to the local culture. Other factors that influence this opinion are the migrants' experiences in other cities and feelings about being a migrant. For some interviewees, the process of adaptation is long and in some ways impossible to complete. For these migrants, cultural differences are an unavoidable aspect of living abroad and need to be assessed positively. A Mexican knowledge worker described this need for adaptation:

I feel that the city is welcoming. If I compare Spain [with Latin America], Spain is more rigid, European, it is not Latin at all, but that doesn't mean that I haven't had support from them. You receive support even from people you don't know. You won't get close to them, but you receive support, from anybody, anywhere.

From an interview with Jaime Raúl Mendez

7.4.3 *The sense of belonging*

In this context, it is hard to analyse to what extent qualified migrants feel that they are part of the city. In general terms, as migrants, they do not feel completely integrated into the BMR. Although this also varies in each particular case, many feel that it is very difficult for a migrant to become part of a place:

When you are a foreigner you always feel like a foreigner. When I come back from Venezuela, I feel that I'm at home, but I don't feel really from here.

From an interview with Creative 13

Nevertheless, a sense of belonging depends largely on the time spent in the region and future plans. As we shall analyse later, some migrants plan to move from the region in the more or less near future. Others are recently established and plan to remain in the region for the next few years. For the latter group, factors that determine their sense of belonging are whether they have a family life and children in the BMR, as well as the strength of their social networks:

I have two daughters. They were born here and they are growing up here. That roots me here, and I like the life I have here and I like the friends I have and the customers I have.

From an interview with Creative 12

Another factor that influences the perceptions of interviewees on this issue is the influx of tourism. Interviewees perceive themselves as part of the city rather than as tourists. Moreover, as we will see in the next section, assessments of the positive and negative aspects of the city do not differ from those of the local citizens. As ‘users’ of the city, qualified migrants face similar problems and take advantage of the same positive assets as locals.

Social life

- There are differences between knowledge and creative workers. The former have social networks that are rooted in the company, whereas the latter have diversified social networks, which mainly include other creative migrants.
- There is a general feeling that the Catalan society is ‘closed’ to migrants. Nevertheless, these feelings depend on the length of stay and the process of adaptation.
- Differences in perceptions of the openness of society also depend on the origin of migrants. For northern migrants, the local society is very open. In contrast, for those coming from the south it is ‘closed’.
- The Catalan language is not a barrier to establishing a professional and daily life in the area. Nevertheless, those who have learned the language feel that they are more integrated and a part of the local society.

7.5 Assessments of the city and future developments

7.5.1 From image to reality: the BMR from the outside

Despite the positive aspects of the BMR, there are common concerns about the recent evolution of the city and the increasing flow of tourists. As we have seen, one of the attractive elements of the city and its metropolitan region is its small scale and cultural life. However, for most of the interviewees, tourism is generating problems that put the city's model of society at risk. The flows of tourism are influencing both the quality of life and the innovative environment in the city. For most creative migrants who arrived in recent years, there was an initial stage in which things were better, and a subsequent transformation of the city into something more global. A German software developer explained the effects of tourism as follows:

Everything is expensive; it is a very touristy city. That annoys me a lot. There is too much tourism, it reduces the quality of life. It is very hard for people working and earning money here to go out for dinner, because the restaurants have very expensive menus and the quality is not good enough, going out for a drink is very expensive too. We should have 50 per cent less tourism.

From an interview with Knowledge 2

For those who support this position, tourism is not only making the cost of living higher, but is also contributing to the disappearance of the city's identity. According to migrants who hold these views, the city is losing its authenticity to become a global place, which makes the city less attractive:

The city is losing its authenticity; I have lived in the Born² since 2000 and I have seen that going to the city everyday is not as nice as before, as it is becoming like a theme park. Very nice but...

From an interview with Creative 9

Another undesired effect of the increasing flows of tourism is that—to a certain extent—they are incompatible with the creative sector. For some interviewees, there is a saturation of people from abroad, which is hindering the social networks that make the creative milieu of the city possible and influence the nature of the cultural market:

If there was less tourism, Barcelona would be a city of arts, more based on creation. Tourism tries to capitalise on art.

From an interview with Creative 1

This kind of argument must be understood in the general context of a redefinition of Barcelona's strategy after 12 years of continued growth and global positioning. After the success of the 1992 Olympic Games, the city council planned a new major event to be held in 2004. Thus, the strategy for growth of the city remained quite similar, with

² The Born is a neighbourhood in the centre of Barcelona. It was one of the first of the city's districts to be gentrified.

major efforts being made to complete the urban renewal and to attract tourism and investments to the city. After the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures, which was considered a failure in terms of civic engagement and international impact, there was a debate on the city model that involved not only political actors but also civil society in general. One argument in this debate was related to the sustainability of high numbers of tourists in Barcelona and the lack of policies for the inhabitants. As most of the interviewees feel that they are residents and not visitors, they also adopt this kind of argument:

The city should take care of its citizens, not just the foreigners. I would like the city to take care of its citizens, the people who can't live in Barcelona because there isn't any affordable space. They are working for tourism and it is true that a lot of people live from tourism, but we should also look after the people who build the city.

From an interview with Knowledge 8

However, tourism is one of the main factors that boost the economic growth of the city, and some creative workers benefit either directly or indirectly from the tourist flows. These creative professionals work for cultural and political institutions that aim to attract tourists to the city. For them, the debate is not the number of tourists, but the quality of tourism:

I have done projects to sell the image of Barcelona or Catalonia abroad, and sometimes to sell the image in Spain, and I am very proud of them. We need to consider what kind of tourism we attract.

From an interview with Creative 12

In fact, all the interviewees agree that Barcelona is a city that attracts tourists, students, and creative and knowledge professionals and that the image of Barcelona has contributed to this attraction. In turn, the image of the city has an impact on the products that are made by creative workers. The creative workers that can take advantage of this image are satisfied with the political efforts:

The way in which the city promotes itself is the best. [...] It is a city that promotes itself well. If you are from this city, you can promote your product as well. We make a lot of effort to sell, but we are supported by the international campaign to sell Barcelona, and this is good.

From an interview with Creative 4

Nevertheless, for some migrants, the image of Barcelona as a brand needs to be redefined and linked to the quality of its products. According to these migrants, lots of products take advantage of the Barcelona brand and not all of them are excellent. In contrast, there are many examples of design and creativity from Barcelona that is not correctly promoted. An expert on creativity and talent in Barcelona made the following statement:

Lots of things that surround us every day were designed in Barcelona and we don't know: the Volkswagen Touareg, or the last cover of the Rolling Stones album, for instance. We want to encourage people to take into account the credibility of

Barcelona when they start to work here or to look for professionals here. The Barcelona brand is claimed by tourists.

From an interview with Max Porta

For an English creative worker, this unknown local talent is partly explained by the lack of ambition of creative workers in Barcelona, which he links to a more relaxed way of life and the lack of competitiveness. However, for some migrants, the image of Barcelona is not directly related to one sector or professional activity, but to a general way of life. For the institutions that promote the internationalisation of creativity and design, it is essential to improve the image of the city as a place in which products and services are of the highest quality:

For most people, Barcelona means good weather, good transport links with the rest of Europe and a high quality of life but nothing else. [...] We want to show designs that were created in Barcelona that are very powerful.

From an interview with Max Porta

As can be seen in the above quotation, the image of Barcelona is closely linked to design. Recent policy approaches to creativity are trying to reinforce design as an interdisciplinary element that influences all creative activities. New strategic policies are being promoted such as ‘factories for creativity’ or the creation of a design cluster in the 22@ knowledge district. As stated above, for skilled migrants in the fields of architecture and design, Barcelona is considered a point of intersection. This is particularly true for migrants from Latin America. Nevertheless, the image of good institutions and their relevance extends to other sectors in which Barcelona is not a leader. In such cases, creative migrants feel disappointed:

I think they have sold more than what it really is, because when you are abroad, they say that Barcelona is the city of design, and when you arrive you realise that there are lots of things but not the best schools or the best designers or the best audiovisual creators.

From an interview with Creative 2

Behind this opinion, is the fact that the powerful image of the city generates great expectations in qualified migrants. However, most of the interviewees felt that what they found was more or less what they expected. Some of them only noticed slight differences:

When I arrived, I thought it would be a more artistic city, and I realised that it is a city of trends, of fashion.

From an interview with Creative 1

Despite the fact that most of the migrants found a Barcelona that was similar to their image of the place, there was a general sense that things were becoming harder in the city. The migrants who had lived in the city for a long time felt that when they arrived in the last few decades the pressure on migration was weaker, and it was easier to live in the city. Now there is more bureaucratic control on migrants and the cost of living is higher. One aspect that has a great impact on the cost of living is the housing market. As

has been stated in previous sections, there is a lack of affordable housing in Barcelona. For some interviewees that is also true of workspaces. Trends in the housing market are one of the major problems that interviewees experience in the city. An English creative worker compared the situation in Barcelona and Berlin:

We thought about buying a flat and we took a look to the prices in Berlin. And it is four times cheaper than here! A flat of 80 squared metres costs 80 thousand Euros, and here it costs 400 thousand. What has happened here, in London and in many other places is madness. We compared prices with Germany and there, for the same price, we could buy a huge flat and the studio of our dreams.

From an interview with Creative 7

For some interviewees, these problems discourage people from coming to the region, even if they are aiming to rent a flat, which involves similar difficulties:

To pay 750 € for a 50 squared meters is too much, and I have been looking and they asked for 900 €, that's madness! That should change because that can make people reluctant to come. I have been abroad and I have heard "I like Barcelona very much but it is so expensive". People don't want to come because it is expensive.

From an interview with Creative 3

The feeling that the situation in Barcelona is worsening may be due to a reaction to the global economic crisis, but also to the particular characteristics of Barcelona and the debate that is emerging about the city's model of growth. Moreover, in recent decades, Barcelona has attracted many migrants, including qualified migrants, which has given the city part of its dynamism and creativity, but has also contributed to its transformation into a global city with a higher cost of living.

The reality of daily life in Barcelona changed migrants' images of the city in different ways. For some of the interviewees, many of the problems in the city are related to environmental issues. They mentioned the pollution, particularly in the city centre, and a lack of care for the environment by the entire society. This opinion was mainly held by northern European interviewees, who think that the environment is gradually becoming an issue for Spanish society, but that it is not as relevant as in their home countries. In the case of migrants from other countries, environmental issues were not mentioned as one of the city's problems. Interviewees complained about different kinds of pollution. Firstly, most of them considered that the city was noisy because of the people and cars:

Although it is a small city, it is very noisy, with lots of racket. The traffic is heavy and you feel that if you work, you get more tired than in other cities.

From an interview with Oliver Bruhl

The second kind of pollution that interviewees mentioned is the air pollution, which is mainly generated by traffic. For some of the interviewees, there is too much traffic and the way of driving is aggressive. Most of the migrants who thought that the pollution problem was serious lived in the city centre, where there is heavy traffic and intense

human activity. In fact, for most of the creative interviewees, it was important to live in the city centre, as that is where the cultural life can be found. Nevertheless, the number of inhabitants and visitors in the city centre leads to noise and air pollution. Moreover, the flows of people make the streets dirty, a third form of pollution that the interviewees detected. Some migrants moved from the city centre to other parts of the city in order to avoid these undesired factors:

I lived in the Raval, then the noise, the night... in the beginning it was attractive, I always found it a bit dirty, but there are places to go out, the Gòtic... then you get exhausted by the people [...] Now I like the environment of not being in the city and being able to get there in 30 minutes and enjoy it almost like a tourist.

From an interview with Creative 5

7.5.2 Prospects for the future

When interviewees were asked about their professional and personal projects and their planned relationship with the region in the future, there were a wide variety of responses. In general, creative workers were uncertain about their futures. However, most of them wanted to be entrepreneurs and to work on their own projects with customers all over the world. To achieve this, new ICT technologies and cheap flights are essential:

My way of life is to go where I want at any time with my laptop and my customers.

From an interview with Creative 3

Creative workers considered that their way of life was based on being mobile and living in different cities. In some cases, interviewees had been migrants for many years, and had lived in several cities. In other cases, Barcelona was the first city in which the person had lived, apart from their city of origin. Most of the migrants for whom Barcelona was the first foreign city they had lived in, had clearer plans for the future. Although they felt comfortable in Barcelona, they wanted to go to more dynamic cities such as New York or London. For them, Barcelona was a gateway to these other cities. For instance, one of the interviewees from Lisbon came to Barcelona with an image of a very creative city, and it was, in comparison to Lisbon. Later, he travelled to New York and then he realised that there was an even more creative environment there. As a result, he decided that he wanted to move again in the future to a city like New York.

Conversely, migrants who had lived in different places considered that they might move in the future, but did not have clear plans. This may be because they had moved a lot already and were now older. Another variable that affected willingness to remain in the region was how long an interviewee had lived there. If a migrant lives in the city for a long time, they settle down and feel part of it. They develop social roots and sometimes find a partner in the city. In addition, they may get used to the way of life in the region and build up their professional contacts there. To move after being established for some time in a place is seen as starting again:

Now, I don't want to move. It is a great change, very hard, I want to be here after eight months, we are trying to have a normal life. Imagine coming from another country where you are well established.

From an interview with Knowledge 12

Furthermore, for some interviewees, the BMR is a good place to live when you retire. Hence, the region is an option for the distant future.

Regardless of whether or not they had specific plans for the future, all of the creative interviewees felt that they would continue to be linked to the region in some way. In some cases, their products were strongly linked to the Barcelona brand and they considered that it was good for their careers to remain linked to the city:

The world has given us mobility, and I don't know if I will remain here forever, but it is also true that I always imagine that I will have a part here, firstly because I have a big project here and in our plans for the company there is growth, we have planned growth, with our own brand, shops [...] and we believe that this space is suitable [...] but we can come for short periods, and keep moving.

From an interview with Creative 9

In the case of most of the knowledge sector interviewees, the prospects for the future are clearly different. Most of these workers have been relocated by a large company and have had to overcome major bureaucratic problems. For extra-EU migrants in the creative sectors, overcoming bureaucracy represents an opportunity to go to another European city in the future. In contrast, for knowledge workers it is a way of bringing relatives to the region. Thus, in most cases, plans for the future were to remain in the region and consolidate their position in their companies. Nevertheless, their future also depended to a great extent on their companies:

My hopes for the future are to remain here. But that is something that the company decides. If the company says that I have to go to another place, I go. I would sign a contract to continue working with the same conditions in Barcelona.

From an interview with Knowledge 4

Assessments of the city and prospects for the future

- A major concern about the city is its recent evolution. The increasing numbers of tourists are seen as bad for the city, because they diminish the quality of life, destroy the city's identity and hinder the city's creative milieu. Nevertheless some of the creative employees work for institutions that are directly or indirectly linked to tourism and consider that tourism is positive. Moreover, the opinion of the interviewees reflects a debate in the city on the future model of growth.
- Although the reality of Barcelona matched the image of the city that migrants had before arriving, this image needs to be linked to the concept of quality. Interviewees can use the image of the city to give added value to their products and services.
- The interviewees stated their concerns about different issues. With respect to environmental aspects, they considered that the dirtiness, noise and air pollution were negative aspects of the city. Other negative factors included the rising costs of living and the expensive housing market.
- In terms of plans for the future, the interviewees were reluctant to describe clear options. Nevertheless, there were two distinct profiles: those who wanted to continue travelling and living in different cities in the future and those who wanted to consolidate their professional and personal life in the region. All of the interviewees wanted to continue to have a link with the city in the future, in order to maintain professional and personal networks.

7.6 Summary: Different paths for qualified migrants working in the creative knowledge sectors

In this chapter, we have analysed the main elements behind the decision of qualified creative and knowledge migrants to move to the BMR. We have taken into consideration the relevance of soft factors and hard factors, as well as the opportunities that the region offers to develop a career and create strong social networks. In addition, opinions of the region and plans for the future were analysed. This information indicates that there are two ideal types of qualified migrants, with two different pathways. The first type refers to those who have good working conditions and come to the region because they have a contract with a company. As these migrants have established careers in their companies they also earn good salaries. This determines what they need from the BMR and their opinions. The second ideal type is the migrant who comes to Barcelona without a clear plan. This migrant is attracted by its powerful image as a creative city. They are looking for quality of life and a creative environment in which to develop their talent and interact with other talented creative professionals.

Although knowledge workers can be identified in the first type and creative in the second, some knowledge employees follow the path of the creative workers, and vice versa. In the boxes below, the two main pathways are defined.

Path A: Knowledge

These migrants arrive with a job or a good job opportunity. In most cases, they take advantage of their company's offer to work abroad. Therefore, this creative or knowledge worker has good working conditions.

On arrival, these migrants face bureaucratic problems and have to find a place to live. The social networks within the company and the company itself are used as platforms to solve these problems. Usually, the company pays the rent so the expensive housing market is not seen as very problematic.

These migrants try to bring their partners to the BMR, and have to solve related bureaucratic problems. In most cases, the expat is a man who brings his wife. In addition, difficulties might be experienced in finding schools for children.

Although he or she could have a better salary in a different place, this migrant prefer to reside in the BMR, due to the high quality of life.

They are seeking quality of life and a calm place, and positively rate the sea, the mountains and the weather. Therefore, they often live outside the city or in the neighbourhoods of the city in which these elements can be found.

They positively rate the existence of different factors, such as the airport, good transport facilities and the existence of public and private services for them or their families.

Their social relations are mainly based on their jobs. However, with time, their networks expand. Social relations are not seen as essential to their professional life.

They consider the cultural life of the city as an important asset and participate in it, mostly as customers.

They want to remain in the city in the next few years and establish their professional and personal life in Barcelona. Nevertheless this depends on the company's decision.

Pathway B: Creativity

These migrants arrive with no clear plans in the city, mostly as postgraduate students, and try to start or continue a career in the city.

On arrival, they have to face bureaucratic problems and find a place to live. The social networks formed in the education institutions and their own social networks are used as platforms to solve these problems. Usually, they adopt collective solutions to housing, due to high prices in the housing market.

They come to the area with no partner or have a foreign partner from a third country.

They seek a creative atmosphere and social relations, and positively rate the networks and the diversity of the city. Factors such as the geographic position and the weather are also relevant. They usually live in the centre of Barcelona (Ciutat Vella).

They seek a high quality of life and consider that soft factors boost both the quality of life and the creative environment.

Social relations are extensive, and it is difficult to separate personal from professional relations. Depending on how long they have lived in the city, relations are with other qualified migrants or with local people. Social relations are seen as essential to developing a creative environment.

They consider that the cultural life of the city is an important asset for professional life. They are attracted by the big events and by the micro-initiatives that emerge from creative networks and civil society.

They see the tourist-based economic development of the city as a menace for the creative milieu and consider that 'things are getting harder'.

They want to move to other cities but will always maintain a certain connection with the city. Barcelona is seen as a place to internationalise their activity and enter new markets.

Although these two profiles are extremely different, the BMR has elements that attract both types of migrant. In fact, the nature of the metropolitan region, with a compact city as its core and a periphery made up of small towns, means that tranquillity and activity are both attainable. Furthermore, the wide range of professional activities in the region attracts talented people from different disciplines, who can contribute in innovative ways.

Another significant factor that differentiated between the interviewees was their origin. For migrants from northern Africa or Latin America, Barcelona was seen as a gateway to Europe and a place with a similar Mediterranean or Latin culture. The expansion of Spanish knowledge companies into Latin American markets attracts knowledge workers to Spain. In addition, policy actions taken in the context of the 22@ district are aimed at attracting more knowledge companies from abroad, which means that more expatriates and foreign talent are likely to arrive from other parts of the world.

8.1 From a general perspective

Since the end of the 1990s, Spain has experienced a massive arrival of immigrants, especially from Latin America and the southern coast of the Mediterranean. Unlike other European countries, Spain's experience of migration is relatively new. Therefore, it requires a huge effort and a wide range of policy measures, which are designed and implemented by the different levels of government, to regulate and legalise these newcomers to the country.

Qualified workers represent a fraction of the total number of migrants to Spain. Most qualified immigrants come from the EU and the USA. The European Single Market theoretically favours mobility between countries, although certain difficulties are detected, particularly in terms of the recognition of qualifications and professional experience.

From a statistical point of view, there is little distinction between those who decide to live in the country after their retirement (whilst receiving a pension from their country of origin) and those that belong to the group we aim to analyse, that is, qualified immigrants working in the creative and knowledge sectors.

Therefore, there are two completely different groups of new arrivals, with completely different working and living conditions. In general terms, the degree of acquired/formal education is higher for immigrants than for Spanish nationals. Of course, this requires further research and discussion. In many cases, qualified immigrants in Spain have jobs that require lower qualifications than the education they have already received.

There is a high degree of correspondence between the country of origin of the foreign direct investment (FDI) and the nationality of the company's qualified immigrants. In many cases, the location of foreign companies in Barcelona requires workers to move from their original country. This is particularly true in the knowledge sector that we have analysed. In contrast, many talented Spanish workers, especially in the knowledge sectors, leave the country as they are offered higher salaries elsewhere. Currently, strategies are being adopted to stimulate their return to the country.

Certainly, most of the policies implemented in Spain since the 1990s have targeted non-qualified immigrants rather than qualified immigrants, as unskilled workers are the majority of newcomers. However, in recent months, a new European policy has been designed – still not implemented due to the reticence of certain Member States, to favour the circulation of non-EU qualified immigrants. This policy will certainly affect mobility (blue card). Most policies or measures that directly affect qualified immigrants are designed by the public administration (especially local government) and by the private sector and the universities.

The current economic crisis requires an adjustment in the labour market. This raises the issue of the effects of the restructuring on Spanish nationals and immigrant workers. In addition, the crisis might lead to certain companies returning to their country of origin, with a consequent loss of jobs. This would affect qualified immigration in particular.

This report is based on 27 interviews with qualified immigrant workers in creative and knowledge sectors living in the BMR. In addition, 4 interviews on the topic of immigration, and qualified immigration in particular, were carried out with experts.

Two factors determined the analysis of the interviewees' reactions throughout this report: their country of origin, with a particular distinction between migrants from EU countries and those from other parts of the world, especially Latin America; and the sector in which the respondents currently work, with a particular distinction between creative and knowledge sectors.

8.2 From a personal perspective

A considerable amount of respondents came from mobile families; many had already lived in numerous countries when they were children. They also had a certain preference for living abroad and were certainly used to it. Living abroad was part of their personal background. Many respondents wanted to leave their country before they arrived in Barcelona, in some cases they were offered a choice between alternatives (they were working in a company's headquarters in another country). This was frequently the case with knowledge workers. Some other migrants opted directly for Barcelona.

Broadly speaking, two different profiles were distinguished in the analysis of migrants' personal careers, depending mainly on which sector they worked in. Knowledge workers usually arrived in the BMR with their families as they already had jobs in the city. In all cases, Barcelona was seen as a welcoming city for children, in terms of the education offerings and the variety of child-oriented leisure activities. Creative workers usually arrived alone or with their partner, who was frequently also a "creative" person. Such workers were generally looking for work and influenced by the city's reputation as a "creative milieu". In particular, people arriving from Latin America considered that Barcelona was their gateway to Europe.

Certain factors should be taken into account when we consider the reasons for choosing Barcelona over any other European or Spanish city. First, migrants have an image of the city before they move there. Most respondents had already visited Barcelona before they went to live there, either as a tourist or as student of short (postgraduate) programmes, and they liked the lifestyle in the city. Several factors contributed to forming a prior conception of the city, for example, migrants who already had relatives or friends living in Barcelona might have had some preconceptions of the place. Non-qualified immigrants who arrive in Barcelona need an existing network of relatives and friends (a solidarity network) to facilitate their integration. In contrast, qualified immigrants, mainly contribute to disseminating a positive image of Barcelona as a welcoming place.

Among the freelancers in the study, particularly those belonging to the creative sectors, the benefits of living in one city and working in a different one were always stressed. They chose Barcelona, a city with a high quality of life, and worked in the global marketplace.

8.3 From a career perspective

The importance (and international knowledge and reputation) of certain creative sectors in Barcelona (architecture, cultural events, etc.) was a determining factor for some migrants in their selection of the city, regardless of whether or not they worked in this sector. Barcelona is a node in international economic networks in some sectors. In these fields, the city's attraction was stronger, as was its competitiveness.

Barcelona is seen as an easy place to network. This contributes to the creative atmosphere that many respondents referred to.

The process of the city's development in the last ten years was an issue for many respondents: they considered that "before" the housing market was more accessible and bureaucracy easier. In fact, ten years ago, only a few creative workers had selected Barcelona as their place of residence. A kind of agglomeration diseconomy was detected, as Barcelona has become more and more popular and international. For many migrants, the local market (on the demand side) has narrowed and therefore they are forced to internationalise, as are many Spanish nationals.

In general terms, wages are seen as an unattractive hard factor for many respondents. In many cases, migrants affirm that they would earn much more for the same work in another country. They have exchanged money for quality of life. In addition, some specific issues can be identified, according to the sector. In general, creative immigrants complain about their salaries in the creative sector. However, this is not the case of knowledge immigrant workers. This is related to the lack of qualified employees in some knowledge-intensive sectors in Barcelona. In addition, parameters used to fix knowledge workers salaries are different, as they are usually established by the company's headquarters, and are not dependent on where the employee is currently working. For instance, many knowledge workers do not pay for their housing, as the company pays it.

Respondents who work in large companies appreciate the "flexibility" of the labour market or, in other words, the working culture in Spain. They consider that in Barcelona workers may sacrifice their leisure and even their family time to finish a determined task but they can also take a break in the middle of the morning to have a drink with colleagues. The limits between professional and personal life are hardly defined. This flexibility is seen as the opposite of the rigid structures of European working cultures, such as the German one. However, this also depends on the country of origin of the migrants, as Latin Americans were less positive about this factor.

In addition, in some cases, respondents considered that it was difficult to combine different entrepreneurial traditions. They stated that Catalan (and also Spanish) companies prefer a clear hierarchical relation, rather than collaborative projects. Nevertheless, the importance of soft factors in the workplace was considered of key importance to competitiveness, as such

factors favour innovative ways of working. Soft factors include the high quality of life for workers and the new forms of working. Generally, many respondents work in Barcelona but have customers worldwide, who they maintain through the Internet.

Respondents and Catalan workers probably share complaints about excessive bureaucracy; this is an issue for freelancers in particular. In addition, people who are forced to regularise their situation (non-EU workers) also encounter many impediments, and consider that the process does not run smoothly in Spain. The confluence of multiple levels of government increases bureaucracy. This is considered to be a negative aspect by migrants who come from countries where there are more centralist traditions of government.

8.4 From the perspective of “soft” and “hard” factors

In this section, migrant workers’ opinions of soft and hard factors are considered, regardless of the company in which they work.

In general terms, respondents consider that Barcelona and its metropolitan region are a wonderful place to live in. The beauty of the city is, in many cases, considered a key attraction. In addition, Barcelona’s good climate, its geographical position as a Mediterranean city between the mountains and the sea, and many other environmental issues (walking and cycling paths, possibilities for excursions, etc.) are highly appreciated. Some respondents positively rated the fact that they could work in the city centre and commute by public transport to the greener periphery.

Many qualified immigrants mentioned the “human dimension” of the city and its welcoming and cosmopolitan character. The combination of these two factors made the city particularly attractive. Respondents compared Barcelona with other “global” cities. Paris, London and New York were always mentioned as cities in “another, higher dimension”. However, the feeling was that the BMR is positioned just behind these capitals.

The wide variety of leisure activities and the vast range of cultural offerings are both considered to be of high quality and factors that determine the choice of Barcelona as a place of residence. However, in some cases, respondents do not make much use of these facilities. Culture and cultural events certainly affect the attractiveness of the city; Barcelona is seen as a point of cultural reference. The perspective of knowledge workers and creative people is slightly different here as well: knowledge workers perceive culture in a more institutional way (museums, exhibitions and so on) while creatives additionally associate culture to civil society and the existence of networks of creatives in the city.

The existence of a large port and a well-connected airport are considered of special importance. The port is relevant to companies, as it attracts multinationals. The airport is essential to the daily life of creative employees, as they are usually highly mobile.

Education, particularly postgraduate courses, is seen as a potent instrument for attracting talented people who may subsequently choose to work in the city. However, certain legal problems might make it difficult for students to remain in the city (no formal permission to

live in the city as a professional instead of a student). This may sometimes lead to people extending their student life.

Respondents unequivocally recognised that the society of the BMR was tolerant. However, assessments of whether or not it was a welcoming city differed according to the country of origin and the length of time that the interviewees had lived in the city. Barcelona is seen as a dynamic and attractive place, it meets all expectations. However, the Catalan society is considered closed.

Although Barcelona is seen mainly as a welcoming city, most respondents' social networks are composed of foreign people, who are not necessarily of the same nationality. Many respondents consider that the Catalan society is very "closed" and difficult to access. This is why they live in a separate world. Certainly, time is a key factor that is required before a migrant is included in Catalan circles and feels "integrated". As in many other cities, the cultural and social clash between the reception society and those who have recently arrived requires mutual effort and time to learn to live together and adapt to each other. This was certainly observed in interviews with those who had lived in the region for more than five years and those who had recently arrived. The widespread criticism of mass tourism by the Catalan society was unconsciously adopted by qualified immigrants, which became a point of similarity between their identity and that of natives. Many respondents shared these views, and considered that tourism was one of the main issues affecting the future of Barcelona. Thus, they showed solidarity with the natives.

Catalan was not seen as a language barrier in any case. Many respondents could understand Catalan but experienced some difficulties in speaking. They appreciated the willingness of Catalan people to speak in either Catalan or Spanish. However, respondents considered that the Catalan language presented an opportunity for integration.

When asked about options for the future, respondents in the knowledge sector stated that certain hard factors affected whether companies would stay in the city in the long-term. In fact, in sectors in which hard factors were of high quality (i.e. the editorial sector), there is a low degree of internationalisation. Therefore, the transformation of knowledge sectors is a challenge.

Housing costs are a negative aspect of the city that was mentioned in many interviews. House prices and rents were considered a negative hard factor in Barcelona. This situation may now have changed, as the interviews were carried out before the real estate crisis began in 2007. An additional factor was the housing culture of qualified immigrants who arrive in Barcelona. For many immigrants, it is difficult to understand the scarcity of rented housing in the city when they are used to living in rented accommodation in their countries of origin.

The safety of the city was rated differently according to the country of origin. Migrants from Latin America considered the city extremely safe. However, those from other European countries recognised that they needed to get used to the local society, in order to avoid misconceptions about opportunities related to the typical foreigner.

In some cases, respondents criticised the Spanish welfare state, in comparison to other systems (i.e. the UK) that offered the population many more services. Other migrants thought that less public services went hand in hand with people paying less tax.

Some interviewees referred to the capacity and flexibility of Catalan (and in general Spanish) institutional public structures to adapt to new social and economic phenomena, such as the massive arrival of immigrants. This is mainly due to the relatively new democracy in the country and the lack of pre-established rigid solutions.

Respondents considered that companies in the BMR had to develop a good knowledge of English to attract and keep people and companies from abroad.

8.5 Image of the city and its society

The majority of respondents positively valued the municipal strategy of branding the city. They recognised it as a key factor for attracting migrants. However, in some cases, we detected a certain degree of resistance to the truth behind the image.

Time is also a key factor in migrants' perceptions of the city. For instance, for those who arrived a long time ago, the city has lost its "exotic" flavour and even its uniqueness. Certainly, many immigrants, especially from the developed world, came looking for a southern city, with all its charm and inefficiencies. Barcelona has lost some of its specific characteristics, but also now offers the same number and quality of services as any other European city. Besides, many migrants arrived when they were young and full of expectations. They began their careers in Barcelona, and are now older and faced by higher competitiveness in the creative sector. It could be said that, to a certain extent, they feel nostalgia about old times and react criticising the present situation.

Respondents consider that Barcelona should facilitate the establishment of links between people working in the city. These links would be maintained in the future, when people move to other cities but keep a connection with Barcelona. This would be a way to promote the city itself as a facilitator of networks.

The city is considered as attractive by those that do not live there, but have relatives (respondents) or opportunities to visit (professional networks). Many people say that Barcelona is fashionable.

As mentioned before, there are two main restrictions to the internationalisation of Barcelona and its inhabitants: language (English) and the availability of internet knowledge.

8.6 Role of public institutions and the future

A working hypothesis is the basis of the report: “Barcelona attracts, but hardly keeps employees”. However, this largely depends on the sector. Some immigrants do not need to be “kept” in the city, especially considering the creative aspects of their jobs, they would hardly be replaced as they provide genuine talent. A new interpretation of attraction parameters for talent and business localisation is needed in a global world. There are many positive aspects of Barcelona’s capacity to attract talented people: it draws in young people with new ideas and creates a lot of dynamism in the city. Barcelona has certainly become a point of reference for creative people and has a large pool of qualified people for jobs.

The difficulties in keeping talented people must be transformed into a window of opportunity, using the stay of talented migrants in Barcelona as a hallmark of quality of their talent, whilst connecting networks all over the world are promoted. There is a particular relationship between network and node depending on the sector. Barcelona should aim to be a node – by node we understand the capacity of some cities to offer a distinctive added value than other cities in the network- rather than merely belonging to the network. For instance, Barcelona is already a node in a network of cultural cities.

The importance of universities must be stressed as attractors and enablers of intellectual activity. The education supply is seen as particularly important (postgraduate, and master’s courses, etc.). Simultaneously, education might act as a first contact with the city and stimulate the future mobility of foreigners:

Barcelona is good not only to learn, but also to stay.

From an interview with A. Ten

Respondents’ ideas about the future varied: some might leave (especially those without stable families and children); others will stay for a long period, maybe forever. It is essential for the public sector to offer a good quality of life to those who have recently arrived to work or to study. Therefore, this sector must ensure that it creates conditions that favour the emergence of social and professional networks. It should be understood as a provider of formal and informal networks for those who recently arrived in the city (i.e. 22@). However, a lot of restrictions still apply to living and working in the city as a foreigner. The 22@ district is seen as a spatial location in which competitiveness is substituted by collaboration (as the well-known conditions of the knowledge district state).

In addition, it is difficult for people who work in companies in the BMR to make contact with talented people from abroad. The public sector should act as a facilitator between the supply and demand of qualified labour.

In terms of the city’s future development: some respondents were negative about the Barcelona’s future prospects. In many cases, creative respondents considered that the situation had changed considerably in the last ten years, and that currently it was more difficult to start new adventures and projects in the region. It is important to take into account that when the interviews were undertaken, the economic crisis was just beginning. This type of reaction would probably be more common now.

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Appendix 1: Topic guide interviews highly-skilled migrants

Start of the interview:

- Short introduction of ACRE
- Permission to record the interview

First question:

How did you come to live in the in xy region now?

- Did you study here?
- Are you here with your family?
- Where do you live? (city / region)
- For how long?
- Where did you live before?
- How much did you know about xy before you came here for your present stay?

Education:

Could you please tell me something about your education?

- Where (else) did you go to school / university?
- What did you study?
- From where did you obtain your degree?

Professional experience / Career:

Could you please tell me something about the main steps in your career after finishing study?

How did you find your first job in xy?

- Own search/I was offered the job
- Own internet search
- Sent by the company
- Advertisement (newspaper / internet)
- Open application
- Family/Friends
- Other, what?

Where do you work? Could you please describe your actual working situations?

- Position, job
- What do you like about your job situation / what do you not like?
- How satisfied are you with your situation?
- Would you like to change something?

Motivation to come to xy:

What was your main motivation to come to xy? (pull and push-factors)

- Role of hard factors:
 - study
 - job offer, career opportunities now and later in your home country, interesting work task, higher income, better working conditions (working hours, permanent and temporary contract, executive level, routine –project activities),
 - good international accessibility of the xy region, transport infrastructure and public transport facilities,
 - public social infrastructure (availability of kindergartens, (international) schools, higher education),
 - technical infrastructure,
 - price of housing
 - price of living
 - availability of subsidies (e.g. for artists),
 - tax incentives, other?

- Role of soft factors
 - followed partner
 - came here with my parents
 - tolerance, acceptance of diversity, equality, openness or too strong social cohesion, civil society
 - quality of life (spare time activities, subcultural scene
 - quality of the environment (landscape, culture and tourism sights etc.)
 - attractive residential environment, attractive architecture, housing conditions

Social networks

- What is your family background?
- What role have other family members played in the decision process? (wife / husband)
- How many people did you know in xy before?

Actual living and working situation:

Could you please describe your actual living situation?

- What do you like about xy / what do you not like about xy? (quality of life, housing situation, tolerance, diversity, spare time activities, landscape etc.)
- What problems and chances do you experience at the moment in xy region?
- How satisfied are you with your living situation?

Past:

When you think back to your first months in xy, how did you experience the first time after you came from abroad?

- Did you get support? (E.g. by your company, the city, friends in xy...)
- How did you find your accommodation (relocation service, own search,...)?
- How was the paper work?
- How much did you pay yourself for the international move?
- Did you miss a certain type of support?

Future:

What are your future plans?

End of the interview:

- How satisfied are you altogether with your situation in xy?
- What do you think can be done to improve the situation of highly skilled migrants in the creative knowledge industry in xy?
- Would you like to add something?

Personal background (following information should be obtained; see also short questionnaire)

- male/female
- age
- family situation
- nationality/ies
- country living before coming to this country
- duration of stay in xy region (month/year)
- income
- highest educational degree/country obtained

Appendix 2: Copy of the interview outline

WP 7: Interview qualified immigrants

Objectiu:

- *Identificar els factors principals pels quals els immigrants qualificats s'estableixen a la RMB*
- *Relacionar-ho sobre tot amb activitat econòmica amb la que es vincula i factors de localització (soft però també hard)*

Nom	
Nacionalitat	
Lloc de naixement (ciutat-País)	
Edat	
Nivell estudis	
Sector (knowledge or creative)	
Empresa	
Mida empresa	
Càrrec	
Ciutat (Empresa)	
Ciutat de residència	
Temps que porta a la RMB	
Telèfon	
Mail	
Adreça	
Data	
Web	

SITUACIÓ INICIAL

- 1. Perquè va venir a viure a la RMB? Quina és la principal raó? N'hi ha d'altres? (*Incidir en el rol dels hard i soft factors com a motivació per venir a viure a BCN*)
- 2. Està aquí amb la teva família? Està aquí amb la seva parella? Han fet tots junts tot el mateix procés d'assentament?
- 3. Tots els membres del seu nucli familiar han nascut al mateix país que vostè?
- 4. On viu (barri, municipi)? Des de quan?
- 5. On treballa? Des de quan?
- 6. On vivia anteriorment? (itinerari residencial – si s'escau- a la RMB però també a altres regions o països)

ESTUDIS

- 7. On va estudiar? (país ciutats)
- 8. Està relacionada la seva feina amb el que va estudiar?
- 9. Quin nivell d'estudis té?
- 10. Ha estudiat a altres ciutats o països que no siguin el propi? (Itinerari, temporalitzar)

- 11. Ha fet formació no-reglamentada? Per què?
- 12. Ha tingut problemes de homologació d'estudis?
- 13. Ha estudiat a la RMB? Perquè? Creu que hi ha un bon nivell de formació en el sector que vostè ha triat?

FEINA

- 14. Quan va acabar els seus estudis? A quina ciutat?
- 15. Sectors i ciutats en les que ha treballat des d'aleshores? (itinerari laboral a la RMB però també a altres regions o països)
- 16. En quin moment professional decideix venir a la RMB a treballar? O en quin moment decideix venir a viure a la RMB?
- 17. Va buscar vostè personalment la seva feina a la RMB o li van oferir feina aquí?
- 18. Com va buscar la feina aquí (xarxes socials, internet, la companyia per la que treballava anteriorment, publicitat, programes de captació de talent.)? I Des d'on (ja des de RMB o des d'altre país o regió)?
- 19. On treballa? Quin és el seu càrrec?
- 20. On estan localitzats els seus principals clients? I proveïdors?
- 21. Les seves xarxes o col.laboracions laborals (amb altres empreses o professionals) són principalment a la ciutat o també a l'exterior?
- 22. Sap per què la seva empresa està situada a Barcelona? Per què no a alguna altra ciutat? Quines avantatges ofereix Barcelona? Quines desavantatges?
- 23. Coneix alguna altra ciutat on aquest sector sigui important o tingui especial presència? Li agradaria viure a aquella ciutat? Com valora la situació del sector en el qual treballa a la RMB?
- 24. Li agrada la seva feina? És la feina que voldria, està satisfet? Quins són els aspectes més positius? Quins aspectes milloraria?
- 25. Hi ha feines similars al seu país? Amb les mateixes condicions?
- 26. Creu que viure y treballar a la RMB aporta valor afegit a la seva carrera professional?

LA CIUTAT

- 27. Quin grau d'importància va tenir la ciutat per establir-se a RMB? Va ser un dels punts claus? Per què? La decisió hagués sigut igual, més fàcil o més difícil amb qualsevol altra ciutat?
- 28. Va considerar traslladar-se a alguna altra ciutat? Quins factors van ser claus perquè es decidís per aquesta ciutat?
- 29. Què sabia de la RMB abans de venir a viure aquí? D'on sorgia aquesta informació?
- 30. Es correspon la imatge que tenia abans de venir amb la realitat?
- 31. Quina creu que és la imatge que dona Barcelona cap a l'exterior? Projecta una imatge internacional? Creu que la imatge de la ciutat beneficia al seu sector?
- 32. Creu que recull les característiques principals d'una ciutat creativa i innovadora? Quines creu que són les característiques principals?
- 34. Promocionaria amb més força algun aspecte o qualitat de la ciutat?

- 35. Quin creu que és el principal atractiu de la ciutat personalment per a vostè? - - Quines les principals avantatges de la RMB? Quines desavantatges o punts febles? (*tenir aquí sempre present els hard i els soft factors!* Enumerar-los?)
- 36. Creu que s'involucra a la vida de la ciutat? Com? Li agradaria involucrar-se més? Com?
- 37. Durant el temps que porta aquí, ha anat canviant la seva percepció y valoració de la ciutat? (diferentes fases?)
- 38. Creu que la ciutat ha cobert les seves expectatives?

XARXES SOCIALS

39. Va tenir suport a la hora d'establir-te aquí (empresa, coneguts...)?
- Com va aconseguir habitatge?
 - Si va venir per l'empresa: li van pagar molt per venir a treballar a BCN? Ha tingut prou suport? Ha trobat a faltar algo?
 - Té família a la RMB?
 - Quin paper ha jugat aquesta família (també parella) en la decisió de VENIR A VIURE a la RMB? Quin paper ha jugat aquesta família (també parella) en la decisió de ESTABLIR-SE a la RMB?
 - Tenia coneguts vivia a la RMB? Han tingut cap rol important en la seva decisió? Eren catalans o d'altres nacionalitats?
 - Està satisfet amb el cercle d'amistats que té?
 - Són aquest cercle d'amistats principalment de la feina? (*grau d'importància del seu entorn laboral en la seva vida a la ciutat*)
 - D'on són (nacionalitat) la majoria de persones que conformen la seva xarxa social (amics, família, companys de feina)?
 - Ha tingut problemes en entendre o aprendre l'idioma? (català i castellà)
 - Ha significat l'idioma (català, castellà) algun impediment per a trobar feina, establir xarxes socials o involucrar-se en algun aspecte de la ciutat?
 - Creu que BCN és una ciutat acollidora per la gent que ve de fora? Perquè?
 - Com definiria la ciutat en la que viu?
 - Com definiria a la gent que hi viu?

FUTUR

- Creu que s'han complert les seves expectatives des del moment en que va arribar a la RMB?
- Quins són els seus plans de futur? Quant de temps té pensat viure a Barcelona? Pensa en moure's de la ciutat? Per què?
- Quin són els seus plans de futur respecte la seva situació laboral? Pensa seguir treballant a la seva empresa per molt temps? Pensa en canviar de sector?
- Quines són les seves expectatives a partir d'ara?