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The view of transnational migrants

ACRE report 7.13



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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

This report is part of a wider study investigating the impact of the creative knowledge economy on the competitiveness of European metropolitan regions. The last report in this series examined the factors involved in the location of creative knowledge companies through an analysis of the views of managers. More particularly, it focused on the role of the more tangible 'hard' factors, such as access to transport networks, existence of a labour pool and quality of local services, along with the more intangible 'soft' factors, such as access to amenities, 'buzz' or general atmosphere of a city.

The Greater Dublin Area (GDA) accounts for 40% of the population and national economic activity of Ireland. Since the early 1990s, Dublin has increasingly been the focal point of Ireland's shift to a knowledge-based economy. Since the late 1980s/early 1990s, Dublin has been dramatically transformed in both a physical and social sense. The physical alterations can be directly related to Dublin's overall economic transformation, with generous tax incentives being used as a means of promoting urban regeneration. The primary focus of much of this mainly property led regeneration has been in Dublin's inner-city. From smaller-scale interventions such as Temple Bar to larger scale regeneration projects, such as the Docklands. From a social perspective, much of the early 1990s change can be associated with returned Irish migration. However, the last decade has seen a dramatic increase in the numbers of migrants entering Ireland, from various parts of the world, and most particularly Europe, with net migration reaching a peak in 2006 at 71,800. This high level of immigration has been associated with the economic boom of the past decade.

The aim of this work package has been to examine the prime motivating factors attracting transnational migrant workers to the Greater Dublin Area. The results show that the decisions to move to Dublin varied both between and within the various three sectors selected, and were dependent on relative position within the 'life path'. However, amongst the various respondents, two 'hard' factors could be seen as particularly dominant. Work was a dominant theme. Although often implicit within interviews, it became evident that it was one of the two dominant factors. Some had also come to college and then stayed on to work afterwards. Second, within Ireland, Dublin was seen as being the only realistic area in which to settle within Ireland. Predominantly, this was related to the ability to find work in the area in their field of expertise.

In terms of settling in Dublin, a variety of factors were taken into account when choosing a residential location. In general there was a highly negative perception of Dublin's transport infrastructure. This was related to both traffic congestion, and the public transport. The consequence of this was that the majority of respondents either lived in an area close to public transport, or within easy access of work through walking. While this also depended on other variables, it could be seen that those who were more settled and living in suburban locations negotiated the transport issues by selecting an area which was in close proximity to the better transport infrastructure in the city, while also benefiting from access to various

amenities such as the mountains and the sea. For those residing in the city-centre, being close to public transport connections such as the Luas or the Dart was of importance, but many chose to walk to their place of work. Therefore, while public transport was a significant issue, it was something that was negotiated on a daily basis.

The general atmosphere or 'buzz' of Dublin was generally viewed in a positive light, with the younger and single respondents being more attracted to the city-centre locations, and older more settled respondents preferring the amenities of the suburban areas, such as the sea-side and mountains. In general, and particularly amongst the former group, there was a perception that Dublin was too dominated by activities which revolved around eating and drinking, without really having other potential outlets for socialisation. However, and particularly amongst the respondents from the computer games industry, this was seen in a positive light, and as the centre of their social lives.

In general those who had a family or were considering starting a family felt more settled in Dublin, and didn't have give consideration of moving outside the city in the coming years. For those who were single, or without commitments to paying a mortgage there was a high chance that they would leave in the coming years. In general this was due to going back home, or to look for other experiences elsewhere. Although the general frustrations with public transport and other 'hard' factors didn't necessarily cause respondents to think of leaving, other factors, including price of housing and general cost of living, were seen as potentially forcing a move. While house prices are decreasing significantly, thus easing one factor, the general economic situation has deteriorated so rapidly that employment has now become the main issue for many workers.

1.1 Irish economic development

Ireland's economy has undergone dramatic changes over the last thirty-five years. Global economic cycles of growth and recession have acutely affected the development and prosperity of Ireland, particularly in the early 1970s and early 1980s when the widespread recession that affected large parts of the developed world had equally adverse economic and socio-demographic impacts on the state. The onset of economic restructuring had an adverse impact on Dublin and Cork, Ireland's two major cities. In particular, the large scale deindustrialisation brought about by the recession led to an unprecedented rise in unemployment within the inner areas of large cities, particularly Dublin. Many blue collar workers were left with little employment opportunities. In fact, unemployment rates reached close to forty percent in some inner city areas of Dublin in the 1980s (MacLaran, 1993).

The misguided economic policies of the 1970s created grave fiscal difficulties for the Irish government in the early years of the 1980s. The national debt was high by European standards and the cost of servicing that debt became increasingly difficult. At one stage the cost of servicing the national debt was more than twenty-five percent of total tax revenue generated. This led to recognition by government of the need to adopt alternative policies to tackle the problem. In the late 1980s, the introduction of fiscal rectitude combined with wage restraint and the development of a social partnership framework between government, private employers and labour unions sowed the seeds for national recovery and the subsequent economic boom that has characterised the Irish economy since the mid 1990s. This first social partnership agreement entitled *Programme for National Recovery (1987-1990)* has been followed by five other social partnership agreements. These have proved to be a significant stabilising force in the development and growth of the Irish economy.

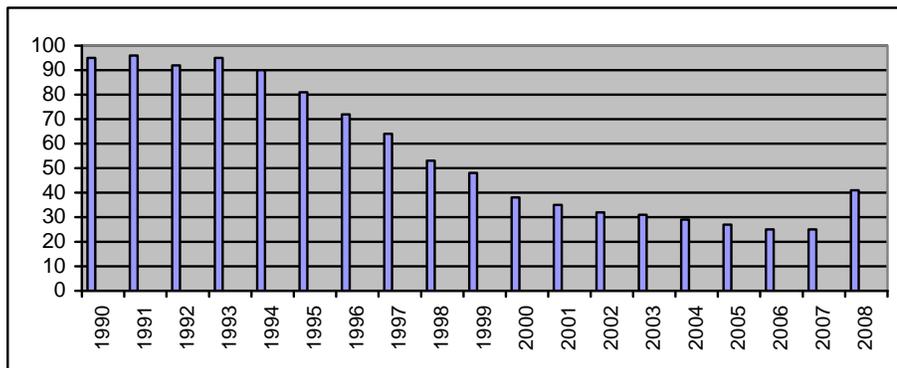
Since the early 1990s, economic policy has focussed firmly on establishing Ireland as a knowledge-economy by attracting FDI multi-national service-based industry focussing on high-skill and high-wage job creation. This change in direction was brought about by the publication of the Culliton Report on industrial policy in 1992. The report had a wide-ranging impact on subsequent policy formulation. In particular, there was increased recognition of the need to attract new emerging international growth sectors including Information Communication Technology (ICT), pharmaceuticals and international financial services, as well as the need to encourage greater links between university and industry. Indeed, subsequent repositioning of Ireland on the global market placed emphasis on Dublin's perceived strengths. These included achieving recognition as a high-skill, low-taxation, low-cost gateway for FDI to EU markets with minimal regulatory and planning restrictions (Redmond et al, 2007).

The establishment of the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) in the heart of Dublin deserves particular attention. Since it was established in 1987, Ireland has become a leading player in financial services on the international stage. In fact a recent report has ranked Dublin above cities such as Paris and Amsterdam in a compilation of global financial services centres (Yeandle et al, 2008).

In 1999, the Irish Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (ICSTI) produced Technology Foresight Ireland, a report which, among other things, devised possible scenarios in relation to the development of the ICT and biotechnology sectors in Ireland and recommended certain courses of action for policy implementation. Specific reference was made to the development of a biotechnology cluster and a Centre for Advanced Informatics. The report emphasises the development of strong links with other emerging core areas of expertise including universities and the financial services sector. The result of this initiative has been the consolidation employment of the ICT sector as well as attracting high-end employment in research and development (R&D) in the biotechnology sector.

The foregoing policy initiatives led to rapid increases in employment and relative competitiveness. Between 1990 and 2008 unemployment declined steadily from 12.9% to 6.3% respectively. This was a direct result of high levels of economic growth particularly from the mid-1990s onwards which was driven to a large extent by economic activity in the Dublin region. The knock-on effect of low unemployment was that the country's fiscal position improved dramatically in the 1990s; the government debt to GDP ratio declined from ninety-five percent in 1993 to thirty-eight percent by the end of the decade (Figure 1.1). In fact, by 2007, Irish government debt to GDP ratio of twenty-five percent was among the lowest in the European Union.

Figure 1.1 Irish general government debt to GDP, 1990-2008



Source: (www.ntma.ie)

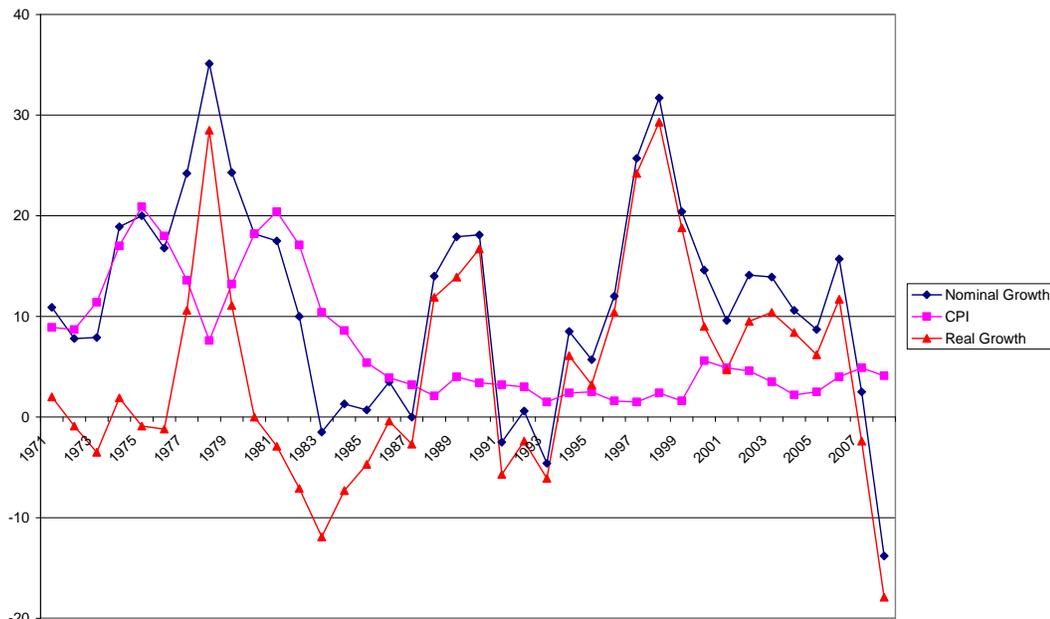
By the onset of the new millennium, the Irish economy had moved successfully from an economy dependent on agriculture and manufacturing in the 1970s and 1980s, to a fully blown service economy. By 2006, services accounted for 71 percent of total employment in the Irish economy (NESC, 2008). The result of this trend was that a substantial proportion of recent economic growth was led by exported services which have contributed greatly to Ireland's recent balance of trade surpluses. In 2005, Ireland was the ninth largest exporter of

services in the world and the single largest in two specific areas – ‘Computer and Information Services’ and ‘Insurance Services’ (NESC, 2008).

Continuing the trend of the mid-to-late 1990s, the early years of the twentieth century witnessed significant increases in real wage growth. This is evidenced by the significant increase in the purchasing power parity of Irish citizens when compared with citizens in other European countries. Policies aimed at marketing Ireland as a knowledge economy have seen considerable success.

One asset class which has played an important role in the recent growth of the Irish economy, particularly since the onset of the new millennium, is that of housing. Housing and other forms of construction accounted for as much as forty percent of Irish GDP in 2007, demonstrating the vulnerability of the economy in the event a slowdown in the construction activity. Figure 1.2 shows that with the onset of the so-called ‘Celtic Tiger’ era in the mid-1990s, house prices in real terms increased for thirteen consecutive years between 1994 and 2006, with average annual increases over the period of 11.7% in real terms. Clearly, this was unsustainable and since the bursting of the housing bubble in 2007, house prices have declined in real terms by 2.4% and 17.9% in 2007 and 2008 respectively. In previous downturns in the 1970s and 1980s periods of rapid growth were followed by at least three years of consecutive negative growth. Given that the current phase of growth has been significantly longer and the credit excesses much greater, one would expect to see continued deflation in house prices for perhaps the next three to five years. This is likely to place significant downside pressure on Irish GDP growth even in the event of a swift turnaround in the global economy.

Figure 1.2 Nominal and real growth in new house prices in Dublin, 1971-1990



The recent global financial crisis and the resultant downturn in the Irish economy has resulted in significant contraction of economic activity with negative GDP growth of -1.8% in 2008 and a projected rate of -5.0% for 2009. This has created significant budgetary problems for the country with general government debt to GDP increasing to forty-one percent in 2008 (Figure 1.1). It is expected that further deterioration in the public finances will continue in the next number of years with the possibility of general government debt to GDP increasing beyond 70% in 2010.

Despite the obvious challenges facing the country, Ireland remains a relatively competitive economy by world standards. The IDA recently released a report which suggests that Ireland continues to possess a highly skilled labour force by world standards (IDA, 2008). Figure 1.3 shows that Ireland possesses the most skilled labour force in the world. This suggestion sits comfortably with recent research which suggests that the availability of a highly-skilled labour force is of paramount importance for foreign companies considering locating in Dublin (Murphy and Redmond, 2008).

Figure 1.3 Ranking skilled labour in various countries, 2008

Ireland	6.47
Japan	6.41
USA	6.38
France	6.00
Germany	5.95
Hungary	5.44
Netherlands	5.34
Portugal	4.78
UK	4.64
Spain	4.49
Czech Republic	4.00

Source: IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook, 2008

Figure 1.4 shows a selection of countries where the educational systems is deemed to meet the needs of a competitive economy. Clearly, Ireland's education system continues to rank highly in world terms in terms of its ability to provide top quality graduate for economic competitiveness. Perhaps the biggest problem that Ireland has in relation to competitiveness is the generally high wage levels offered by comparison with other countries. However, it must also be borne in mind, that there is considerable disparity in the country between the remuneration offered to those in various different sectors of the economy.

Figure 1.4 Countries where the educational system meets the needs of a competitive economy

Belgium	7.39
Ireland	6.88
Netherlands	6.26
USA	5.22
France	5.94
Germany	5.61
UK	4.56
Spain	3.19

Source: IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook, 2008

Looking to the future, the foregoing would appear to suggest that there is room to be positive about the future competitiveness of the Irish economy. However, structural changes do of course need to be made. It is likely the global financial services sector will shrink in size in the near future as increased regulation is likely to reduce the volume of financial activity by significantly reducing the leverage available to investors. This suggests that Ireland's trade in international financial services will suffer considerably and permanently as result. Clearly, the economy needs to be restructured so that it is less dependent on the contribution of the construction and international financial services sectors to future annual GDP growth.

1.2 Dublin as a knowledge economy

Dublin, like many other cities in Europe and internationally, has undergone significant economic change in recent years. The regional economy has been transformed into one currently dominated by internationally traded services (particularly ICT and financial services), aided by FDI-led regional development policies (Grimes and White, 2005). Recent policies have focused specifically on developing Dublin as a knowledge region.

The evolution of the Dublin local economy can be seen as having evolved through three distinct economic development phases (Williams and Redmond, 2006). In the first phase low labour costs combined with native produce to manufacture goods for local consumption and assemble imported goods in a market protected from competing imports by the imposition of custom duties and tariffs. Dublin's economy of this period produced food, textiles and beverages for local consumption and exports.

The second phase involved the development of a modern enterprise base assisted greatly by the attraction of significant levels of inward investment and branch plants of multi-national businesses in a regionally dispersed manner. Recent policy is firmly directed towards a Knowledge Economy approach with the targeting of specific growth sectors for the Dublin Region and the objective of promoting research, development and innovation from a relatively low base towards levels which will promote and sustain economic growth. Indeed, recent economic growth in Dublin has been driven to a large extent by growth in internationally traded services as well as ICT. Much of the recent activity has moved beyond branch-plant activity and many firms involved in the foregoing two sectors

This final transition or paradigm shift presents broader and potentially challenging problems for policy makers and economic interests as it involves improving qualitative capacities (Thornhill, 2004). Knowledge creation whether in the arts, science or enterprise depends upon many intangible assets including imagination and motivation which can be facilitated but not directed. The recent Dublin City Development Plan 2005-2011 (Dublin City Council 2005) makes explicit the strategic move of the region towards a dependence on its intellectual capital to develop and sustain a knowledge economy.

1.3 Dublin in the global economy

In a 2008, the a Global Cities Index - published by AT Kearney and Foreign Policy magazine – ranked Dublin in the top fifty of the worlds most global cities. The index takes account of a number of different factors under five headings: business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural expression and political engagement. Given the primacy of Dublin within the Irish urban network, this suggests that Dublin is also an important city in global terms. Moreover, the same publishers ranked Ireland as the fifth most global country for 2007 highlighting Ireland’s emergence as a major player on the global scale.

In recent reports by the Globalisation and World Cities research centre at the University of Loughborough, Dublin is has been identified as an increasingly important urban region. In marketing jargon, Dublin might be described as a ‘wannabe world city’ or as Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor (1999) have characterised it as a city that shows relatively strong evidence of world city formation. In a more recent article by Godfrey and Zhou (1999), Dublin has been ranked fortieth in the top-50 world cities classified by the number of headquarters and first level subsidiary locations among the worlds 100 largest businesses. However, given its proximity to a major ‘alpha’ world city such as London, a better indicator of Dublin’s place in broader functional and spatial systems might be to consider alternative indices. Taylor (2003) has identified Dublin as the fifth most important city in relation to its network or gateway power, and twelfth in global terms. It is ranked ahead of other cities including Milan, Barcelona and Madrid thus suggesting a much greater embeddedness in global webs of economic activity. This has primarily been driven by government policy which has pro-actively promoted the knowledge intensive and creative industries as key drivers of the national and urban economy.

1.4 The creative economy: The Dublin experience

Alongside the emergent dominance of the ICT and financial services sector, the so called ‘creative industries’ would appear to be gaining in importance (Florida and Tinagli, 2004). These industries include publishing, advertising, radio and TV production, news agencies, the arts sector and film and video production. A recent study prepared for the European Commission shows that, between 1999 and 2003, growth in value added to EU GDP from the creative sector was 6.5% for the EU25 (KEA, 2006). Over the same period, the sector grew at a considerably faster pace than the average for the European economy. In an Irish context, the study shows the average turnover growth¹ of the cultural and creative sectors to be 7.7% with a growth in value added to GDP of 8.8% (KEA, 2006). Given the importance of the Dublin region to the Irish economy we can assume that the foregoing proportions are similar and perhaps even greater within a Dublin context. Thus, the data points towards the growing importance of the creative economy as a driver for development within the regional and national economy.

¹ The average turnover growth is a useful economic indicator to measure the growth in a particular sector(s) in comparison to growth in the overall economy within a given timeframe.

Table 1.1 provides general figures for the creative sector in Ireland from 1991 to 2001. The growth in creative services is remarkable. For example, the number of people employed in recreational activities increased from 14,664 in 1991 to 29,645 in 2002. Similarly the number of people engaged in architectural and engineering activities increased from 3,991 to 18,767 in ten years.²

Looking at Table 1.1, it can be seen that between 2002 and 2004 there was a 32.0% increase in the number of people employed in the creative sector in Ireland. While these figures do not relate specifically to Dublin we estimate that, given the dominance of Dublin in a national economic context whereby it accounts for c.40% of economic activity, somewhere between 40% (62, 062) and 55% (85,336) of employment in creative industries is located in the Dublin region. There is little doubt then that creative industries form an important component of the regional economy.

Table 1.1 Number of people employed in Creative Industries in Ireland, 2000 and 2004

	NACE codes	2000	2004	% change
Advertising	74.4 Advertising	2,241	2,831	26.33%
Architecture	742 Architectural & engineering activities & related technical consultancy	10,668	17,344	62.58%
Arts/antiques trade	52.4 Other retail sale of new goods in specialized stores	39,366	55,162	40.13%
	52.5 Retail sales of second-hand goods in store	493	659	33.67%
Designer fashion	171-193	10,815	5,819	-46.20%
Video, film, music & photography	223 Reproduction of recorded media	5,815	5,103	-12.24%
	748 Miscellaneous business activities (*part of it)	8,731	13,098	50.02%
	921 & 923 Motion pictures & video activities & Other entertainment activities	2,245	4,102	82.72%
Music & the visual & performing arts	927 Other recreational activities	3,042	6,367	109.30%
Publishing	221 Publishing	4,183	4539	8.51%
	924 News agency activities	C	C	
Computer games, Software, electronic publishing	722 Software consultancy & supply	11,007	14,727	33.80%
Radio and TV	922 Radio & television activities	C	C	
Total		98,606	125,649	27.4

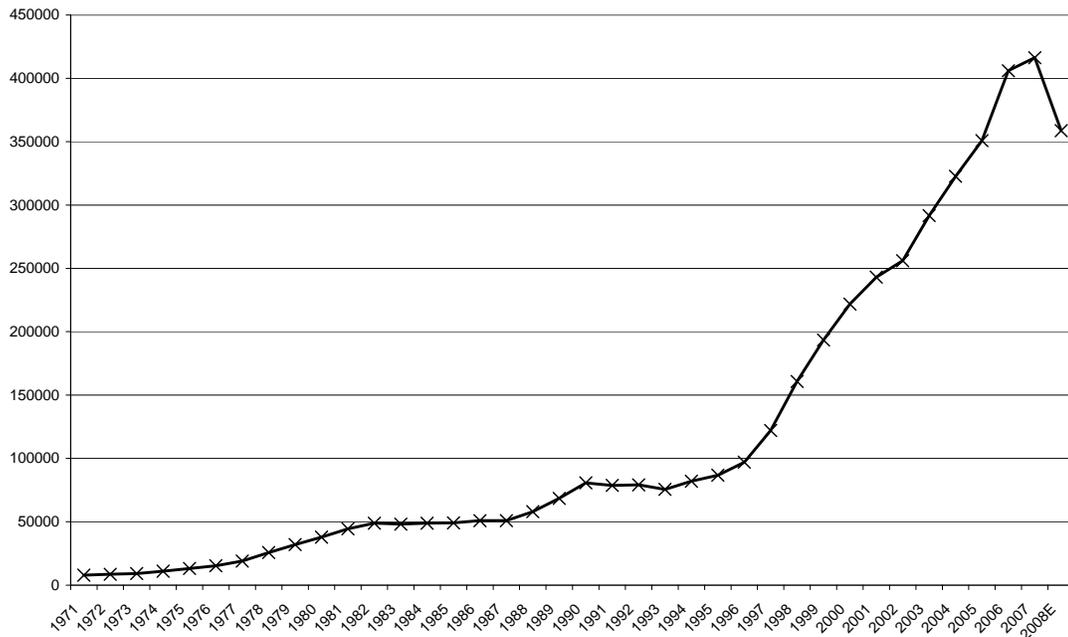
* C=Confidential data

Source: CSO, 2009

² It should be noted that according to a recent survey by the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, 41% of total architects employed in January 2008 are expected be out of work by March 2009 . This is reflective of a steep drop in the construction sector in Ireland, to which Dublin was a significant contributor. Source www.riai.ie

Previous research has shown that the one of the main barriers to attracting highly skilled workers in the future is the affordability of housing in European cities. This is a well-documented barrier in cities such as Amsterdam (Musterd, 2004; Musterd and Deurloo, 2006) while Murphy et al (2008) have demonstrated that affordability is a major source of concern for many creative knowledge workers and living in Dublin as well as for companies deciding to locate in the capital (Murphy and Redmond, 2008). Indeed, Figure 1.5 demonstrates the rapid growth of new house price in Dublin since 1971. The data demonstrates the unsustainable nature of house prices growth over the last ten to fifteen years in particular. Recent and future house price adjustments on the downside is likely to make house somewhat more affordable even though credit is likely to be more difficult to come by.

Figure 1.5 Nominal growth in new house prices in Dublin, 1971-2008



1.5 Work Package objectives

As with the previous report (Murphy & Redmond, 2008), this report focused on three sectors within the creative knowledge economy. These were; 1) business & management consultancy activities; 2) motion picture & video and radio & television activities; 3) computer games and electronic publishing activities. A total of 24 transnational migrants living in Dublin took part in the interview phase. These interviews were then analysed according to various themes relating to the 'hard' and 'soft' factors mentioned above. Furthermore, five interviews were conducted with various stakeholders with a focus on migration and the creative knowledge economy.

The current work examines the role of these 'hard' and 'soft' factors in attracting transnational migrant workers to the Greater Dublin Area. The 'hard' factors include availability of work, housing costs, and general cost of living, along with standard and access to transport infrastructure. The 'soft' factors include the various intangible aspects of urban life, such as

quality of amenities, atmosphere or 'buzz' of the city and 'life paths'. Following from previous work, the report also focused on examining labour processes in the 'new economy' (Scott, 2006). The role of networks and networking was also examined. This included both the formal and informal networks of work and the more informal networks of family and wider social group.

The research was carried out through the use of qualitative interview methods. A total of 24 interviews were carried out with transnational migrant workers, 8 from each sector. Following from this, a further 5 interviews were carried out with expert stakeholders to investigate issues related to migration, employment and general quality of life in Dublin further. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

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 city region of the Greater Dublin Area (GDA) 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 Ireland. 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 Dublin.

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. By contrast high skilled workers are encouraged to migrate if the expected income is high. Otherwise they tend to stay because they can take advantage of their human capital in their home country as well (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 equilibrium 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

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

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.

2.2.4 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.

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.

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).

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.

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 (Meusburger, 2008, p. 31; Meusburger, 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 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

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).

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 transnationalism (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 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.

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).

They were 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.

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* (2007) 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' (*Ibid*, 3). 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" (*Ibid* p. 95), account for "a disproportionate share of most influential scientists" (*Ibid* p. 101), relieve the "looming talent shortage" (*Ibid* p. 103), "take American ideas and American relationships back home" (*Ibid* p. 110) and contribute to the entertainment industry (*Ibid* p. 125).

Florida has a very broad conception of the creative class which comprises 30 % 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 who 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 dualisation 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 important 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

After this description of several theories of migration, it can be assumed that not all described migration approaches are adequate to deal with migration of highly skilled workers. New forms of movements require new approaches. For us it seems that a combination of several approaches could be a way to understand the situation of migrants in Dublin. The new approaches are appropriate to deal with oscillating migration, new forms of migrant communities, mobile migration patterns, knowledge transfer by migrants and its influence on innovation processes. Hence in recent migration research issues of education, language, biography and hybrid migrant identities are considered.

The theory of migration systems might be adequate to explain trans-national migration to Dublin if we talk about the EU as a developing migration system. The European Unification establishes specific economic and political relations between the different member states. Because of its extension the EU as a migration system is permanently transforming and establishing new forms of interdependencies and transfers. There are also subsystems like the migration systems “South”, “North-West”, “Central” and since the East extension also the migration system on the axis East-West. Given that, there is the assumption that there are a great number of trans-national migrants who move between countries of the EU.

As seen in section 2.2.4, new migration forms are attributed to the idea of trans-nationalism. Especially the movement of highly skilled is described as nomadic and pluri-local. Therefore the approach of trans-nationalism seems to be adequate to deal with the specific situation of highly skilled migrants in relation to creative-knowledge workers in Dublin. The question is if the city is open to trans-national migrants and trans-national social spaces. What motivation do migrants have to build up networks in Dublin? Does the concept provide us new perspectives on the relations between migrants and Dublin.

3 MIGRATION TO IRELAND AND DUBLIN

3.1 Introduction

The Republic of Ireland has often been characterized, at least in the past, as a culturally homogeneous state. Historically, at least, this has been partially true, although there is a degree of historical stereotyping here. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the population has been overwhelmingly white, and has formally, at least, adhered to the Roman Catholic religion. While there may have been some truth in the charge of homogeneity, the reality is that Ireland has changed rapidly over the past two to three decades, with society becoming increasingly secularized, and adherence to the formalities and teachings of the Catholic Church weakening considerably, particularly in urban areas. In economic terms, Ireland has stylized itself as being an open economy, in tune with international trends, with a highly educated and flexible workforce. The country has marketed itself as being a young and modern European state whose inhabitants are fully committed to the European ideal and like to see themselves as secularized, tolerant, pluralistic and cosmopolitan. In the light of the rejection of the Lisbon treaty and the advent of a deep economic recession, this self portrait may change. Nonetheless, Dublin is portrayed as a modern European city, a popular place for others to visit, an exciting and cultured city which is deeply cosmopolitan. This self portrayal as a cosmopolitan city has been enabled in part through extensive immigration over the past 15 years or so. This chapter examines recent trends with regard to migration in Ireland and focuses in particular on the high levels of immigration which have been associated with the period of economic growth to 2007.

While this report deals primarily with immigration from the perspective of the labour market, the issue of immigration is also bound up with broader societal questions such as whether Ireland is becoming in reality a more tolerant and multicultural place. The recent and rather sudden immigration of non-nationals from Africa, Eastern Europe and beyond has been presented as a shock to the political and cultural system, and has asked some difficult and complex questions of Irish society which are only beginning to be answered. Questions have been posed regarding integration and assimilation and the potential for ethnic segregation to develop in places such as Dublin. In comparison to many European states, Ireland had little history or experience of immigration in the twentieth century. The history of Irish migration has primarily been outward emigration, being a net supplier of migrants to other countries, most notably the UK and the USA. Indeed, there exists an extensive literature on the history of the Irish diaspora, with much of it emphasizing the impact of the Irish on the urban centres of the UK and the USA. However, the past decade or so has witnessed a reversal of these historic trends. Extraordinary economic growth (until recently) has led to substantial return migration of Irish nationals seeking to resettle permanently in the country. More pertinently, the past decade has seen significant immigration of non-nationals. The economic boom has acted as a magnet for migrant labour in general, while specific skills shortages have been

remedied, in part, with the introduction of a work permit schemes. The transformation in the economy and society has acted, it is asserted, as a lure for asylum seekers in quest of refugee status. Asylum seekers have been accused of welfare tourism and of seeking to avail themselves of a generous social welfare system in Ireland. The net effect of these different immigrations and arrivals has been quite profound, generating all manner of cultural, political and legal challenges for which the state and society have been quite unprepared. In urban areas, but particularly the capital city of Dublin, which contains over one third of the state's four million population, the presence of different national and ethnic groups is quite noticeable. Lentin (2002) argues that immigration of ethnic minorities is not something new in Ireland and, while this is true, the recent immigrations are clearly quantitatively and qualitatively of a different order. What has been a historical reality for many European cities, the presence of ethnic and national minorities, is a very recent event in Dublin.

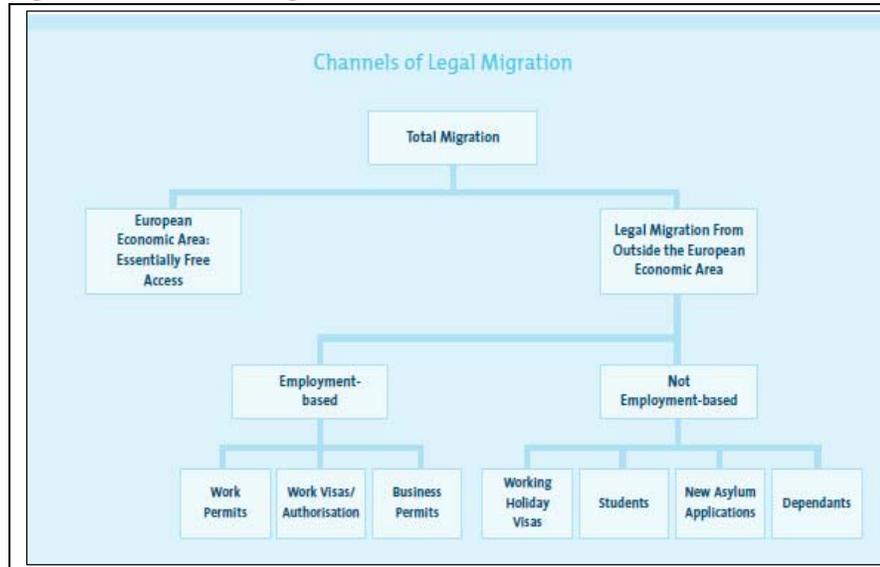
3.2 National trends in migration

Figure 3.1 shows the sources of legal migration to Ireland. The principal channel of migration to Ireland is from the countries which make up the European Economic Area (EEA), which currently is the EU 27 as well as Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein. This channel of migration fundamentally changed on May 1 2004 when ten accession states formally joined the EU and then in 2007 when Bulgaria and Romania joined. The Irish Government decided that there would be no restrictions on the entry of citizens from the accession states into Ireland. Since then there has been significant immigration of citizens from, for example, Poland and Lithuania. The second major legal channel has been migration from countries outside the EEA with employment and non-employment based schemes. During the course of the economic boom in Ireland there were a number of work permit and visa schemes aimed at filling labour shortages. While these schemes still exist given the rapid onset of economic recession it is difficult to know whether they will remain in place. A number of non-employment channels exist such as working holiday visas, student visas and seeking asylum. In numerical terms significant numbers of students have entered the country in the past ten years often being employed in the low paid service sector (National Economic and Social Council, 2006a).

As was mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, Ireland was known historically as a country of emigration since the time of the Famine in the mid 19th century. Indeed, from the mid 19th century until the early 1970s the Census shows that Ireland was a country with massive emigration. While the mid 1970s witnessed net immigration this was something of an historical aberration. With economic recession in the 1980s, the decade from 1981-1991 once again saw extensive emigration. However, as seen in Table 3.1, the period of economic boom from the 1990s until 2006 was associated with significant net inward migration. This recent period has been characterised by the return of Irish migrants and the immigration of labour migrants from the EU and beyond. With the advent of a deep recession in the past year it is hard to predict what will happen but, given rising unemployment in Ireland, it is probable that the high levels of immigration will decrease significantly. In the 1980s, at a time of recession, there was extensive emigration to the UK for example. However, as the UK and other EU

countries are also suffering from severe economic downturns that option of emigrating to find work will be limited.

Figure 3.1 Channels of Migration in Ireland



Source: National Economic and Social Council (2006a).

Table 3.1 Historical Migration Trends in Ireland

Year	Population	Persons	Births registered	Deaths registered	Natural increase (births minus deaths)	Change in population	Estimated net migration (inward less outward)
1926 - 1936		2968420	583502	420323	163179	-3572	-166751
1936 - 1946		2955107	602095	428297	173798	-13313	-187111
1936 - 1951		2960593	329270	201295	127975	5486	-122489
1951 - 1956		2898264	312517	178083	134434	-62329	-196763
1956 - 1961		2818341	302816	170736	132080	-79923	-212003
1961 - 1966		2884002	312709	166443	146266	65661	-80605
1966 - 1971		2978248	312796	164644	148152	94246	-53906
1971 - 1979		3368217	548413	267378	281035	389969	108934
1979 - 1981		3443405	146224	65991	80233	75188	-5045
1981 - 1986		3540643	333457	164336	169121	97238	-71883
1986 - 1991		3525719	277546	158300	119246	-14924	-134170
1991 - 1996		3626087	249455	157389	92066	100368	8302
1996 - 2002		3917203	324147	186912	137235	291116	153881
2002 - 2006		4239848	245156	113842	131314	322645	191331

Source: Central Statistics Office

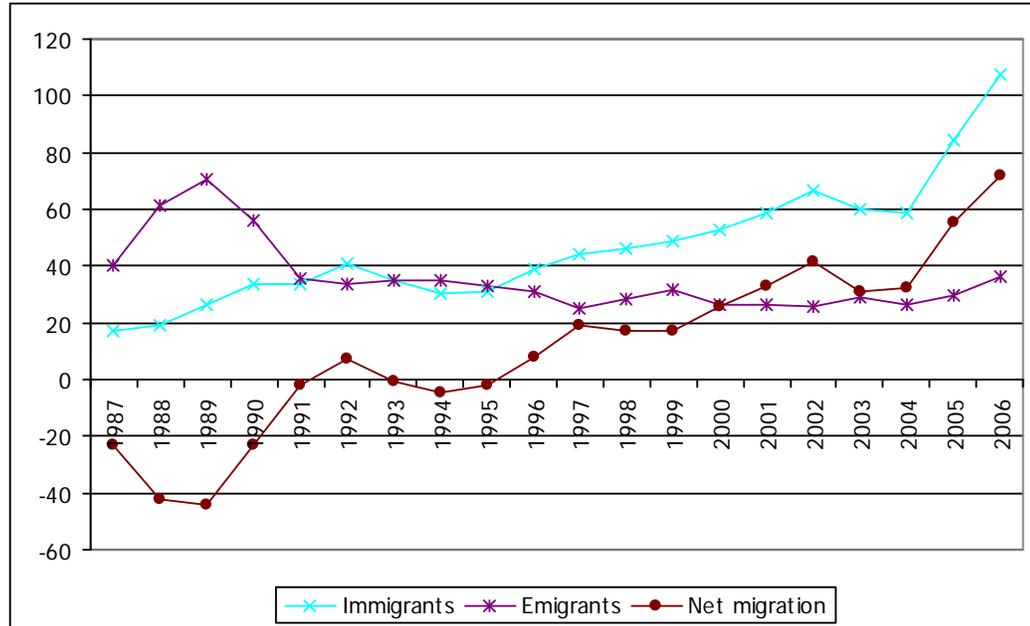
3.3 Recent trends in migration

Table 3.2 (depicted graphically in Figure 3.2) shows the components of population change for recent years in more detail. This shows that up until the mid 1990s emigration exceeded immigration. However, by the mid 1990s the level of emigration began to fall and immigration began to increase, leading to net inward migration from then onwards. From 1996 until 2008 immigration as exceeded emigration substantially with the result that there has been significant net immigration into the country during the period of the economic boom. If we examine the flows of immigration separately we see that in the early 1990s on average 30,000 entered the country. By the early 2000s this had doubled to an average of 60,000 per annum. In the post accession period the level of immigration took another jump with over 100,000 immigrants entering the country in 2006 and 2007 for example.

Table 3.2 Annual population change (Thousand) by Year and Component-Ireland

	Annual births	Annual deaths	Natural increase	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Population change
1987	61.2	32.2	29	17.2	40.2	-23	5.9
1988	57.8	31.6	26.2	19.2	61.1	-41.9	-15.8
1989	53.6	31	22.6	26.7	70.6	-43.9	-21.2
1990	51.9	32.8	19.1	33.3	56.3	-22.9	-3.7
1991	53.1	31.1	22	33.3	35.3	-2	19.9
1992	52.8	31.4	21.4	40.7	33.4	7.4	28.8
1993	50.4	30.4	20	34.7	35.1	-0.4	19.6
1994	49.1	32.6	16.6	30.1	34.8	-4.7	11.8
1995	48.4	31.2	17.2	31.2	33.1	-1.9	15.4
1996	48.8	32	16.7	39.2	31.2	8	24.8
1997	50.7	31.7	19	44.5	25.3	19.2	38.2
1998	52.7	31.2	21.5	46	28.6	17.4	38.8
1999	53.7	32.4	21.2	48.9	31.5	17.3	38.5
2000	54	32.1	21.8	52.6	26.6	26	47.9
2001	55.1	30.2	24.8	59	26.2	32.8	57.7
2002	58.1	29.3	28.8	66.9	25.6	41.3	70
2003	60.8	28.9	31.9	60	29.3	30.7	62.6
2004	62	28.6	33.3	58.5	26.5	32	65.3
2005	61.4	27.9	33.5	84.6	29.4	55.1	88.6
2006	61.2	27	34.2	107.8	36	71.8	106
2007	65.8	27	38.8	109.5	42.2	67.3	106.1
2008	72.3	27.7	44.6	83.8	45.3	38.5	83.1

Source: Central Statistics Office

Figure 3.2 Recent trends in migration in Ireland

3.4 Immigration by Nationality and Country of Birth

Table 3.3 shows the levels of immigration in recent years by nationality. One of the most interesting trends has been the level of immigration from the EU accession states. From 2005 to 2008, over 40 per cent of immigration was accounted for by nationals from the accession states. The recent trend has been that of a reduction of Irish nationals returning in relative terms and a substantial increase of non-nationals.

Table 3.3 Estimated Population Immigration (Thousand) Nationality and Year- Ireland

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
All nationalities	60	58.5	84.6	107.8	109.5	83.8
Irish	17.6	16.7	18.5	18.9	20	16.2
UK (1)	9.1	7.4	8.9	9.9	5.9	7
EU15 excluding Irish and UK	8.8	13.3	9.3	12.7	10.4	8.6
EU15 to EU27 states*	34.1	49.9	52.7	33.7
American (US)	2.1	2.3	2.1	1.7	2.8	2
Other nationalities (5)	22.4	18.8	11.6	14.7	17.8	16.3
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Other Nationalities as % of all nationalities	37.3	32.1	13.7	13.6	16.3	19.5
EU15 to EU27 states as % of all nationalities	40.3	46.3	48.1	40.2

* EU15 to EU27 states Definition: 10 accession states who joined the EU on May 1 2004 and 2 who joined on 1 January 2007

Source: Central Statistics Office

3.5 Migration and the changing face of Dublin

Table 3.4 derived from Census data, shows the population of the state by country of birth from 1991 to 2006. What this data show is a quite significant change in the composition of the population brought about by immigration. In 1991, prior to the period of economic growth, 93.5 per cent of the population was Irish born. However, if we examine the latest figures from the 2006 census it shows that 84 per cent of the population was Irish born. In other words, the share of the population who were born outside of Ireland increased from 6.5% to 16 per cent.

Table 3.4 Population classified by country of birth, 1991 to 2006 -Ireland

Birth place	Total	County of enumeration in Ireland (Republic)	Other county of enumeration in Ireland (Republic)	Northern Ireland	England & Wales	Scotland	United States of America	Other countries
Year								
1991	3525719	2626053	670941	35986	126487	11378	14533	40341
1996	3626087	2670280	684630	41109	145640	12504	18753	53171
2002	3917203	2695033	773691	52884	194248	17583	28063	155701
2006	4239848	2707918	861829	53292	215511	18268	32380	350650
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1991		74.48	19.03	1.02	3.59	0.32	0.41	1.14
1996		73.64	18.88	1.13	4.02	0.34	0.52	1.47
2002		68.80	19.75	1.35	4.96	0.45	0.72	3.97
2006		63.87	20.33	1.26	5.08	0.43	0.76	8.27

Source: Central Statistics Office

Table 3.5 gives an overall impression of the spatial distribution of migrants. What is striking, though not surprising, is that non-nationals are over-represented in urban areas and under-represented in rural areas. The history of migration shows that the majority of migrants settle in urban areas where there are available jobs and support networks.

Table 3.5 Irish and Non-Irish National living in Cities, Towns and Rural Areas

	Persons			%	
	Total	Irish	Non-Irish	Irish	Non-Irish
Urban areas	2,424,798	2,109,720	315,076	58.4	76.0
Cities and their suburbs	1,356,848	1,179,708	177,140	32.7	42.7
Towns with population 10,000+	583,697	506,177	76,520	14.0	18.5
Towns 5,000-9,999	260,159	227,432	32,727	6.3	7.9
Towns 3,000-4,999	225,159	196,403	28,689	5.4	6.9
Towns 1,500-2,999	121,244	106,332	14,912	2.9	3.6
Rural Areas	1,600,214	1,500,778	99,436	41.6	24.0
State	4,025,010	3,610,498	414,512	100.0	100.0

Table 3.6 examines the data for the Dublin area. This reveals the same trend with regard to the share of the population accounted for by foreign born nationals. In 1991, 93 per cent of the Dublin population were born in Ireland. However, according to the figures from the 2006 census 81.5 per cent of the Dublin population was born in Ireland. In other words, the proportion of the population born outside of Ireland had increased from 7 per cent to nineteen per cent. This rapid rise in the non-national population has changed the face of Dublin and the city and region is now more multi-cultural and cosmopolitan than ever before.

Table 3.6 Population of Dublin City and County classified by country of birth, 1991 to 2006

Birth place	Total	County of enumeration in Ireland (Republic)	Other county of enumeration in Ireland (Republic)	Northern Ireland	England and Wales	Scotland	United States of America	Other countries
Year								
1991	1025304	787914	166181	12121	33965	3082	4457	17584
1996	1058264	809882	165689	13180	36732	3279	5529	23973
2002	1122821	798527	178055	15046	44452	4771	7815	74155
2006	1187176	796150	171879	14053	42801	4284	8986	149023
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1991		76.8	16.2	1.2	3.3	0.3	0.4	1.7
1996		76.5	15.7	1.2	3.5	0.3	0.5	2.3
2002		71.1	15.9	1.3	4.0	0.4	0.7	6.6
2006		67.1	14.5	1.2	3.6	0.4	0.8	12.6

Source: Central Statistics Office

Table 3.7, derived from the 2006 Census, examines workers by industrial group and nationality and reveals some interesting contrasts with the Irish population. For example, those nationals from the accession states are heavily over-represented in industries such as construction, manufacturing and hotels and restaurants. These figures back up the anecdotal ideas that have been common in the media. For example, it has been argued that Polish national were heavily concentrated in the construction sector and these figures indicate that this is likely to be the case. Nationals from the EU 15 are over-representative in business activities

Table 3.7 Workers by Industrial Group and Nationality (%)

Industrial group	Irish nationals	United Kingdom	EU 15 (Excl Irl and UK)	EU 15-25 accession states	Rest of World
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	5.3	2.1	1.6	3.9	2.0
Mining, quarrying and turf production	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.2
Manufacturing industries	13.1	13.8	14.9	21.4	11.7
Electricity, gas and water supply	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.2
Construction	11.7	11.6	4.4	20.8	8.3
Wholesale and retail trade	14.4	15.3	9.7	17.0	11.7
Hotels and restaurants	4.3	6.2	14.2	16.5	17.0
Transport, storage and communications	6.1	5.7	7.0	3.7	3.6
Banking and financial services	5.0	4.6	6.4	0.9	2.8
Business activities	9.6	12.8	24.3	9.0	12.9
Public administration and defence	6.3	2.4	1.5	0.2	1.4
Education	7.7	6.6	6.1	0.6	3.1
Health and social work	10.8	11.8	5.7	2.4	20.8
Other community, social and personal services activities	4.5	6.1	3.7	3.1	4.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2008

Example profile of recent migrant nationalities

A recent publication from the Census for the first time gives a summary profile of different national groups at the time of the Census in 2006. According to this profile a total of 63,276 Poles were living in Ireland at the time the 2006 Census was undertaken. Table 3.8 shows that while significant numbers (30%) of Polish national are based in Dublin, that the majority are located elsewhere. The vast majority of Polish nationals (93%) were living in privately rented accommodation, giving some credence to the belief that most Poles thought of their stay in Ireland as temporary. The data show that Polish nationals are heavily concentrated in the construction, manufacturing, retail and hotel and restaurant sector and are predominantly in the lower socio-economic groups, with comparatively low numbers in the professional groups.

Table 3.8 Spatial locations of Polish Nationals, 2006

	N
Dublin City and Suburbs	18,350
Other cities and their suburbs	10,124
Towns 1,500-10,000	27,208
Rural Areas	7594

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2008.

Table 3.9 examines the location profile of another set of recent immigrants – Lithuanians. Almost 25,000 Lithuanians were present in Ireland at Census time in 2006. As Table 3.9 shows, a quarter of them lived in the Dublin region while over half lived in smaller towns with a population of between 1,500 and 10,000. Like the Poles, ninety per cent lived in rented accommodation and the majority of the Lithuanian immigrants were young and single. With regard to employment, they had a similar profile to the Poles, with a heavy concentration in construction, manufacturing, retail and hotels. Less than 2% were classified as professionals with the majority being in lower skilled jobs.

Table 3.9 Spatial Locations of Lithuanian Nationals, 2006

	N
Dublin City and Suburbs	6403
Other cities and their suburbs	1970
Towns 1,500-10,000	12,806
Rural Areas	3449

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2008.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Qualitative research: Semi-structured interviews

Following from work package 6, this work package used qualitative research methods as a means of exploring the motivation behind the location of transnational migrant workers working within the creative knowledge economy in the Dublin region. These methods were based on the guidelines as provided by the ACRE team. As such, it targeted two particular groups as a means of gaining a further understanding of these issues. The first of these was a sample of employees from outside of Ireland, but working in the Dublin area. The second group was a selection of stakeholders, who were selected based on having a particular insight on issues relating to employment and migration.

4.2 Selection of interviewees

A total of 24 transnational migrant workers took part in the interviews. As with ACRE Report 6.13, respondents were selected based on three characteristics: 1; The geographical location of the company within the Greater Dublin Area, 2; The size of the company based on number of permanent employees, 3; The NACE code of each particular sector selected. As in ACRE Report 6.13, three specific sectors were targeted according to their NACE classifications: 1) NACE 74.14: Business Management Consultancy Activities; 2) NACE 921 & 922: Motion Picture and Video: Radio and Television Activities; 3) NACE 722: Computer Games & Electronic Publishing.

The target was to select two employees from each company category in each section, with a total of 8 in each. In practice this proved difficult to achieve. However, of the three sectors, there was only one category in which no respondents could be found. This was in the Computer Games & Electronic Publishing sector outside the city centre. Although attempts were made to find respondents, and contact made with several companies, there was no one available who was willing to take part.

Table 4.1 Breakdown of respondents according to size and location of company

Nace 74.14: Business and Management Consultancy Activities					
Business Location	Inner City		Outer City		Totals
	Small	Large	Small	Large	
Employees	3	3	1	1	8
Nace 921 and 922: Motion Picture and Video: Radio and Television Activities					
Employees	Small	Large	Small	Large	Totals
	2	1	3	2	8
Nace 722: Computer Games and Electronic Publishing					
Employees	Small	Large	Small	Large	Totals
	2	4	2		8
Total Respondents					24

A total of five stakeholders were identified for this work package. The selection of the stakeholders was based on identifying particular issues deemed to be relevant to the current work package. For example two of these stakeholders were involved in activities primarily focused on migration; an academic dealing with wider issues related to migration and a representative of the local authority, Dublin City Council, working within the area of migration. Two more were involved in the promotion of industry in commerce in the Greater Dublin Area; one from the Industrial Development Authority (IDA) of Ireland and another from the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. Finally, the human resources director of one of the larger games companies was interviewed as a means of inquiring further into the desires and demands of recruitment within the creative knowledge economy in Dublin.

Table 4.2 Breakdown of Stakeholder Interviews

	Position/Organisation	Agency /Background
Stakeholder Interview 1	Leading Academic Exploring themes relating to Migration	N/A
Stakeholder Interview 2	Representative of IDA for South East Region	Irish Government Agency responsible for attracting foreign industry to Ireland
Stakeholder Interview 3	Integration Officer, Dublin City Council	The City Council is the Local Authority for Dublin City
Stakeholder Interview 4	Human Resource Manager, Leading Games Company	N/A
Stakeholder Interview 5	Policy Analyst, Dublin Chamber of Commerce	The Dublin Chamber of Commerce represents the business interests of its members in Dublin

4.3 Conduct of the interviews

There were a number of means by which the respondents were contacted. Primarily, the respondents were contacted through the company in which they were working. This involved contacting relevant companies, as outlined in the previous section, and requesting to be put in touch with potential interviewees. More specifically, this was carried out by initially sending an email, which was followed up with a phone-call in the following days. If potential interviewees were interested and able to take part, an interview was scheduled for the coming days or weeks. This was also supported by contacts that had been established at an earlier point in the ACRE project, along with other informal contacts. Most particularly, we contacted a number of companies who had already been involved in the previous work package. As the interviews proceeded a certain amount of snowballing occurred, where particular interviewees put us in touch with other potential respondents. A total of 24 interviews were conducted with employees in various creative knowledge roles. It was aimed to draw the respondents in as equal a manner as possible from various sized companies spread across the Greater Dublin Area. However, given the nature of particular industries to locate in particular areas of the city, and time constraints in contacting potential interviewees, it was decided to focus on ensuring that a total of 8 respondents took part in each of the sub-sectors being examined. However, apart from a large firm in the computer games and electronic publishing industry, we were able to interview at least one person in each of the categories originally targeted.

All interviews were carried out in person by an ACRE researcher between September and December 2008. With the permission of the respondent, all interviews were recorded. With the exception of one interview which took place in the School of Geography, Planning and Environmental Policy, the interviews with the various stakeholders were predominantly carried out in the office of the particular person being interviewed. The employee interviews took place in a variety of venues, including their company offices or canteens, local cafes, bars or hotels, with one interview taking place in the School of Geography, Planning and Environmental Policy. The interviews were then anonymously transcribed by an Executive Officer in the School.

4.4 Problems and limitations encountered

One of the main problems encountered throughout this work package has been in relation to accessing potential interviewees. Despite the manner in which various companies were approached being the most satisfactory method available, it relied heavily on gatekeepers to pass on information to relevant people. It was also difficult to draw conclusions in relation to potential location factors of transnational migrant workers who were in occupations outside the creative knowledge economy.

5.1 Introduction

'Dublin is a good city, but I think it has lost, you know, the charm... Ten years ago it was a small capital, but now it's not a small capital any more. It's a cosmopolitan city, and yet, the services on offer are not what you would get in Paris, Madrid or London. It's not quite a European capital, it doesn't have the size, it doesn't have the services, the being able to do anything you like, want, that you find in an obscure place somewhere as you would in London or in Paris or Madrid. It's still a little stuck like that, but hopefully it will change. That's what I feel. I do like Dublin, I must say and I still love it.'

(Interview 9, Games and Electronic Publishing 5)

'I think that comes with getting to know a city but I don't think there is... buzz is a very sort of ambiguous word, probably means a lot of things and I don't think there is a particular buzz about Dublin that I wouldn't find in a heartbeat in Edinburgh, London, Sydney New York or any of those other places so I have no particular desire to stay in Dublin. I've come to sort of love the place in a way but I can't really put my finger on what it is. It's not the friendliness of it but it sort of feels like home to me at the moment.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

This chapter analyses the various interviews undertaken with transnational migrant workers and stakeholders discussed in chapter six. The aim of the chapter is to examine the factors deemed to be important and unimportant in terms of transnational migrant workers settling in Dublin. In keeping with the overall aims of the ACRE project, the chapter examines the role and influence of 'hard' and 'soft' factors in terms of influencing choice of city location. Furthermore, other themes, including, labour and labour processes, along with impacts of new technologies and the importance of networks – both personal and work – are also discussed in this chapter. Each section is concluded with a discussion of future plans and trajectories for individuals in each sector. At the end of the chapter, perspectives of the various stakeholders are discussed so as to gain further insight into the various themes already discussed.

5.2 Business Management and Consultancy

5.2.1 Sectoral overview

A breakdown of the various respondents from the Business Consultancy and Management sector is shown in Table 5.1. As can be seen from this table, in the outer area only one respondent was interviewed from a small and large company. Although various companies were contacted, no respondent fitting the criteria was willing to take part. Despite this, the balance between respondents from large and small companies was equal, albeit that the majority of respondents were working in the inner city. A total of eight respondents were interviewed in the Business and Management Consultancy sector. Although six of these respondents were drawn from the inner-city, their location within the city centre was dispersed. While some of the larger companies, from which three of the respondents were drawn, are located in the South-East of the city-centre, smaller firms were located in a variety of locations throughout the city-centre and suburban areas. Furthermore, two of the respondents were drawn from firms who were involved in what might be referred to as 'brand consultancy work'. These companies are located in Liberties/Coombe area of the city, which has witnessed the emergence of a variety of so-called creative industries in recent years.

Table 5.1 Business Consultancy and Management Interviewees (NACE 74.14)

Interview number	Sector number	Company size	Company location	Nationality	Sex	Age cohort	Residence	Residential location
3	1	Large	Outer	Hungary	Female	25-30	North Wall	Inner
10	2	Small	Inner	India	Male	50-55	Stillorgan	Outer
11	3	Large	Inner	Kenya	Female	30-35	Rathmines	Outer
12	4	Large	Inner	USA	Male	30-35	Dundrum	Outer
13	5	Large	Inner	Hong Kong	Female	25-30	Parnell Street	Inner
14	6	Small	Outer	USA	Female	30-35	Monkstown	Outer
23	7	Small	Inner	Scotland	Male	40-45	Blackrock	Outer
24	8	Small	Inner	England	Male	45-50	Ballinteer	Outer

5.2.2 Location factors: 'hard' and 'soft' factors

As a means of understanding the initial selection of Dublin as a place in which to settle, or work for a period of time, the interview data was examined from the perspective of the production orientated 'hard' factors, and the consumption orientated 'soft' factors. The criteria differed between respondents – due to factors related to age profile, marital status, to factors relating to the wider family circumstances. Primarily it can be noted that the 'hard' factors such as availability of work along with familial networks – the location of a partner or spouse – and the English language formed the basis for locating in Dublin. Beyond that, 'softer' factors, such as the social environment and scale of the city helped in making a final decision in terms of choosing Dublin.

As mentioned above, the ability of respondents to access employment was seen as one of the two primary factors involved in selecting Dublin as a location in which to settle. For some, this was through their programme in work, where they were dispatched to Dublin, but for others it was arranged prior to coming to Ireland. For example, as pointed out by an Indian man in his mid forties:

'It was always going to be Dublin because when I first started to look for jobs in Ireland there were some manufacturing jobs available in Cork. Dublin seemed to be the place to be for the simple reason that there were a large number of jobs here on the services side.'

(Interview 10, Consultancy 2)

The employment available in Dublin were perceived to fit in with what the majority of respondents wanted, as well as offering what was deemed as better connectivity to a wider global network;

'I did have a quick look at Kilkenny but there wasn't anything really that would fit with what I wanted to do. So this was the only company that fitted with what I wanted to do. They're international, international networks, so that was what I thought would be interesting for me, cause most of the companies I've worked in have an international network. So Dublin was the place really I had to be.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

Another primary factor was the role played by family being located within Dublin. This ranged from respondents who had settled with a relative, to those who had come to Dublin with a spouse or a partner. One respondent, a woman in her mid twenties, described how she had arrived from Hong Kong as a teenager, and then remained to work:

'I came here because of my, I have an aunt. My aunt's family is here so I used to stay with my aunt when I first came here...'

(Interview 13, Consultancy 5)

The following quote illustrates how a man in his early forties moved from Scotland with his Irish wife so that they could be close to her family while starting a family of their own:

'...The strength of my wife's family was a major factor in electing to come to Dublin and it was an either or. It wasn't a case of 'oh lets go move somewhere else', it was if we want to have a family do we want to have it in Scotland or do we want to have it in Ireland where there's a family, a strong family network that you know would be of help? My family is too small, too scattered to serve that function in Scotland.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

The role of language was considered an important secondary factor regardless of whether English was a primary or secondary language. This was something thought about more consciously in the case for respondents in the younger age-cohorts or respondents who were not locating due to a spouse or partner:

'Now I did wanna go to Europe, so that was, you know, kinda tethered it down a bit. So within Europe I needed a place to be English speaking. For me to start picking up a new language, Spanish or something like that, probably wouldn't fly.'

(Interview 12, Consultancy 4)

'Yeah it was quite an original choice cause I certainly wanted to go to an English speaking country and the UK would have been my first choice but I was, it was a little bit intimidating at first cause London is a huge city and I didn't know anybody there'

(Interview 3, Consultancy 1)

As indicated above, Dublin was seen in positive light in comparison to other European cities, such as London, in terms of scale and the overall perception of the social environment and other 'softer' conditions. For many, Dublin was seen as a city that offered much of what other larger cities had, without giving a feeling of being too big in comparison to those cities. For one respondent, a man in his mid forties, Dublin was seen as a city in which he could see himself and his wife settling in comparison to London:

'I did think about going back to London but the wife wasn't keen on going back to London after we'd been there, well I'd been there for nearly 14 years.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

The same respondent continued on at a later point, remarking on how others perceived his move to Dublin:

'My London friends think I might have escaped London so they think that's great. You know 'London is like the mass of madness and I have escaped to live and work in Dublin'. They have built up some sort of amazing pastiche of rural balance and work balance I suppose, and they think it's a nicer work life balance in Dublin than it would be in London.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

From the other end of the spectrum, the scale of Dublin was seen as being a positive factor compared to smaller locations within Ireland:

'I actually got a job in Carrick-on-Shannon first... and I lasted 3 weeks and I didn't do the training. I was bored stiff basically. It was a big radical change for me, I've [nearly] always lived in Budapest, or in Paris for a little while, so I'm just used to having things to do in the evening and having a selection of things to do and in Carrick-on-Shannon it was you go to the pub or you stay at home and watch TV. That's some lifestyle! So yeah, I decided straight away to move to Dublin cause it was a bigger city.'

(Interview 2, Consultancy 1)

Likewise, from the perspective of 'softer' factors related to raising a family, perceptions relating to the social environment of Dublin were also seen as important. One man in his mid forties had become frustrated with the social environment in which he was raising his family in in the middle-east. He felt their psyche was becoming too apathetic, and resented the degree to which they were being influenced by a form of 'mall' culture:

'...socially I thought they were becoming very apathetic so I thought they needed to be more socially engaged. They needed to have a different environment in which they could grow. They should really be deliberating on a number of social issues like environment and things [like] the way labour is treated. So labour conditions in Dubai are very poor, labour is treated very badly. So they do not know. There is no outlet for human expression in many different ways as you would have in Ireland or in many most parts of Europe. So I think that was the reason, I think we wanted to be as a family more self expressed, be able to engage the psyche more fully and not lapse into some apathy. So that was the main factor...'

(Interview 10, Consultancy 2)

Once Dublin had been selected as a destination, the relative location within the city in terms of both work and residence became the focus. These location decisions were analysed from the perspective of both 'hard' and 'soft' factors, and the interrelationship between the two. As can be seen from the following quote there often seemed to be a taken-for-granted ness about the relative location of employment, with many of the larger consultancy firms being located in the central area:

'[the location of the company] wasn't [important]. I mean because when we moved over here I really didn't know where it was located. I mean I knew it was in Dublin and I figured it was in some type of financial district of Dublin but it actually isn't. It's actually on the South Side as opposed to being in the IFSC, but it worked...'

(Interview 11, Consultancy 4)

'...they could have been anywhere. I suppose it helped that they were city centre, our initial accommodation was city centre... Obviously I think maybe if they had been in an industrial estate on the outskirts of nowhere then you would have thought twice but then luckily the creative industry tends to gravitate to the centre of town thankfully. One of the nice things of working for that kind of industry, I think, is the ability to nip outside your door and the city's there you know. I much prefer that than being out in City West or something like that if you know what I mean, I don't think designers would go work in City West.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

As indicated throughout the foregoing quotes, the assumption regarding location was often related to the 'softer' factors, such as being in a particular part of the city-centre. However, as highlighted early in the second quote, having accommodation located in close proximity to work was seen by many as a positive factor at that point in his life. In essence, location choice was dictated by a combination of factors relating to age, marital status, and, to a lesser extent, location of employment. Predominantly, priority was given to 'hard' factors such as rental cost, proximity to work with issues related to 'soft' factors playing a more minor role in decision-making:

'I live in Rathmines. It's about twenty minutes walk if I want or I take a bus in five minutes. That did affect my choice.'

(Interview 11, Consultancy 3)

'I suppose the rent as well... Using the same amount of money I could rent an apartment or house somewhere else you know rather than city centre, but I suppose at the end of the day location is a big thing because if I don't have a car you know...'

(Interview 13, Consultancy 5)

'It was actually very difficult to find a good apartment in the city centre because all the apartments are really tiny and very over priced... Its really shocking the price and value that they offer, so I definitely wanted to live in a central place in Dublin from where I can walk where ever I want to. I often go to [the] Theatre, I often eat out. I like to go and have a drink in the evening, that's important for me that I don't have to drive an hour to get home. So I didn't want to live in the outer districts, so far away, and I don't want to rely on public transportation either. So that's why I ended up there and since its [a] brand new development they actually built quite large size apartments. I like to have a room of my own where I don't have to edge around the bed, between the bed and the wall to go to the other side of the room.'

(Interview 3, Consultancy 1)

For other respondents, who either felt more settled, or were starting to settle in Dublin, a move to the suburban areas closer to other amenities, such as the sea for walking and relaxing, was sought after. Although outside the city centre, the locations which they chose were in close proximity to one of the more reliable forms of public transport, such as the Luas or DART¹:

'I think [we went] on Daft.ie or whatever it is and just looked around for apartments when we were here... Just through word of mouth in the office, of what people were suggesting, [we] went to those types of areas and we ended up in Dundrum which is on the South Side... We've been so happy with it. I mean the Luas line takes us right in, I'm at work in twenty five - thirty minutes max and its just phenomenal...'

(Interview 11, Consultancy 4)

With 'harder' factors, such as public transport in mind, the decision to locate in a particular area was also based on particular social aspects, which varied depending on personal circumstances. The decision to choose a location was therefore not as straight forward as making a selection and sticking with it, as circumstances changed from year to year. One respondent described how she had lived in the city-centre while working there, but now that she was working in the suburbs and had no need to be in the city-centre, desired a more suburban location:

'Yeah I'd say part of that is again just kinda getting older, getting a bit more I dunno, needing a bit more, feeling the need for a bit more space I suppose. I've always grown up by the water as well so South Dublin you know has... It's obviously on/by the sea and all the rest so I like that and also and I suppose just you know trying to get more space for your money...'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

¹ The Luas is a light rail transit system installed in Dublin in Dublin in 2004, while the DART is a commuter rail service which runs on the main-line rail track circumnavigating Dublin Bay, serving the city-centre and various suburbs in the Northeast and Southeast of the Greater Dublin Area

For another respondent in his early forties, Bachelor's Walk proved too noisy after a while:

'...You know its fairly noisy and when your coming from somewhere like Edinburgh, a tenement, lovely apartment two floors up peace and quiet... This is just very different and I think we stuck it for six months... ground floor noisy not the greatest. [It was a] good location. I mean literally it was a good way to explore Dublin... but no we had to move for our sanity sake and also again we were still trying to have a family, so it just wasn't conducive to that frankly. So we moved to a flat, a house in Donnybrook'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

Other influences on location were related to social perceptions about particular areas, including living in close proximity to people deemed to be socially and culturally similar, along with perceptions of safety. An Indian man in his mid 40s described how he didn't want to be in an area where his neighbours were too wealthy as follows:

'The other important factor certainly was social. We wanted to be in a neighbourhood that would have similar type of people. At least there would be people that we could relate to easily...'

(Interview 10, Consultancy 2)

For another respondent, the perceptions of relative safety became an issue in the area that they had bought a house in:

'We got on to the property ladder we got a house out in Tallaght in one of the new developments out there and we stayed there for a year and then my wife wasn't happy there so we moved to Ballinteer, I guess she didn't feel safe in Tallaght but she feels safe in Ballinteer so that's where we are now.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

5.2.3 The role of Dublin

Emanating from Florida (2002, 2005), it is suggested that 'softer' factors relating to urban life, such as night-life, cafe culture, and active street life are of high importance in terms of attracting and retaining staff engaged in the creative knowledge industries. Following from recent research on the creative knowledge industries and workers in Dublin (Murphy & Redmond, 2008; Murphy, Redmond & McKnight, 2008), various themes relating to quality of life were examined during the present research. More particularly, the everyday experiences of respondents were categorised according to 'hard' and 'soft' factors. As with decisions relating to choosing Dublin as a place in which to settle, the 'hard' factors, such as transport stood out as being important elements in terms of everyday experience. In the main the respondents saw rail-based modes of public transport such as DART and Luas as being favourable. However, the general consensus was that the public transport system was to radial and city-centre focused. It was deemed that this made suburban and cross-city trips were difficult to undertake:

Well I think, just from the Ballinteer perspective, I think it's very good because there's lots of us that go right to town, and the Luas [is] there. So I think public transport is good where we live I'm not so sure if that's the case everywhere.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

'Dublin sorta seems to be very linear in its transportation systems like it does... It kinda goes I suppose North and South a lot. So for example, if I'm in Monkstown there's no way for me to get to Ranelagh on public transportation, like on one route, you know without changing; its like three different buses or something. So I think that's probably frustrating.'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

'I like the Dart, I like that there is a Dart. I like that there is a Luas and I like that there are buses obviously. But within that, I suppose its more which bit of the cities they serve. Unless you're on one of them I find you [are] a bit screwed for, I suppose, crossing town. It's all about getting into the middle as far as I know.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

The general atmosphere of the city, along with the various amenities – bars, restaurants, theatres - together with access to open spaces and mountains were deemed to be important by the various respondents. As with residential location, these factors were dictated by the relative age or 'life-path' decisions of each respondent. For example, an American woman in her early thirties had noted the various changes during recent years, and emphasised how diverse the city had become:

'I think Dublin has a great buzz... It's a vibrant city and all the rest and each time I've come back it's become increasingly multicultural. I notice in particular this time, and I think that's great, that there's so much diversity here and I think even kind of pockets are starting to form in the city the way like in Boston; you kind of have a China Town and an International district and a financial district...'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

Another respondent in his early 30s, living in Dundrum, described how he liked to diversify his social life between his area and the centre of the city:

'I love the... it would be quite different than New York because here it would be more different pubs. As opposed to some kinda swanky whatever you know what I mean like kinda bar although that said, you can go to Harvey Nicks and have a some kinda cocktail there if you want that kind of thing as well. So it really does kinda you know bring a lot to your options. And it's a very young city and a very young country I think. So I like that as well because there's loads of different people our age, younger than us, little bit older than us, it really works well that way.'

(Interview 12, Consultancy 4)

In general there was a positive perception of the city-centre, with respondents describing how they liked to walk around exploring the various neighbourhoods

'I mostly just move in [the] city centre, I'd say the farthest that I have been, the farthest that I would regularly go is Cork Street and the Harbour so that would cover most of city centre, I suppose. I always walk so I never take the public transportation... I really like walking, especially because gyms are very expensive here and I can't really do any other exercise. Like I could cycle but I don't like cycling so walking is a good option for me when the weather allows it.'

(Interview 3, Consultancy 1)

At times there was a negative perception of particular parts of the city centre, based on various factors, such as the size of the crowd, or the cost of eating out:

'At night time – I live in city centre – so I try to avoid temple bar area because it's just a bit too crowded over there. But otherwise I do think... the pubs, the restaurants and everything else are good... I do think that spending money going out is quite expensive because at night time restaurants and pubs they [are], you know, too expensive.'

(Interview 13, Consultancy 5)

'I had a couple of friends living here and London is a really expensive city as well – well Dublin is as expensive but I wasn't aware of that until I actually settled here.'

(Interview 3, Consultancy 1)

Those respondents who recently had children had noticed that they tended to avoid the city-centre, and preferred to stay in the suburban area where they were, as they felt it was more child friendly:

'I think coming into town isn't as child friendly. I think the footpaths aren't big enough and there should be more pedestrian areas. More pedestrian areas would be good. The city isn't child friendly I'd say, or push chair friendly... the suburban area might be more friendly. We go for lots of walks around Marley Park and that's really nice.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

'Well my life's changed in the last two to three years and if you become a parent you suddenly I suppose you look at a city differently. So the first six months or the first year, being slap bang in the middle of the city, no I didn't particularly enjoy it... [In] that sense we did sort of flee to the suburbs and then flee again even further out. But then you've got children so you don't want really to be city centre so I don't really go out in Dublin that often.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

5.2.4 *Labour and labour processes*

A central tenet of the 'new economy' is the degree to which labour has been restructured to more 'team' and 'project' orientated means of organisation (Scott, 2006 p6). Furthermore, according to Scott, short-term contract work is more evident within creative knowledge industries (*Ibid*, p.7). From the interviews carried out it was evident the various respondents had moved job on numerous occasions in previous years, there was a predominance of full-time employment amongst the various respondents. However, a key factor to emerge was the degree to which the business and management consultancy sector was innovating as a means of seeking out new ways of engaging with potential clients. Most particularly, was the degree to which individuals took on a particular area which they were specialist in. While each individual retained a wide knowledge of their area, the setting up of particular teams for different projects allowed individuals to bring something extra to a particular situation. For example, each of the respondents discussed the manner in which different individuals, including themselves, would have particular talents, or a wealth of experience in certain areas which would be utilised within the company or organisation:

'[It's] team, team based. I did a consulting project which was a project based thing. Anything that kinda comes up with private equity in the office I will get put on it because I've got all the experience....'

(Interview 11, Consultancy 4)

'[The] team might be, you know, maybe up to 5 people and then we'd link in advisors that would have sort of a specific expertise. If we're doing a job in the Health Care sector, but its specific to mental health you know, we might bring in someone who has a specific mental health background or someone like that...'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

One respondent, a man in his mid 40s, who had come to Ireland in the last year, had sought his current job based on his knowledge of a particular business management strategy, which is targeted at making companies as efficient as possible:

'[In these] difficult times they would want to try different techniques like Lean or Six Sigma, the companies would want to cut cost and actually not cut cost by cutting heads or chopping heads but really cut cost by introducing better practices, by getting rid of the waste within the organisation. So that way... they won't get rid of people, but they can reduce cost and operate more efficiently...So I thought my skills would be of value here.'

(Interview 10, Consultancy 2)

From a wider perspective, the employment specialisation of individuals was also indicative of the degree to which some aspects of the consultancy sector was changing. In recent years, a number of firms have emerged focusing on the importance of branding image for individual companies. The key features for these employees was the degree to which their employment was moving from being primarily focused on design issues to brand consulting, together with tailoring brands more specifically to the particular experiences of the Irish market:

'Ireland has a, I'd say, a reasonably strong feeling that there is a local version of this global brand rather than just churning out the global message all the time. So there is always that sort of conflict slightly of the local interpretation or what the local market will take [with] HQ back in London or wherever they are. So when you say about creative yes... When you're creating, I mean you're in charge of the re-brand, that is obviously a slightly more creative process than being an interpreter and to a certain degree of course being a little bit like logo cop. You know, your checking that the local market is being served properly.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

Although the brand orientated consultants saw creativity as being important in terms of their role, the general the perception of the consultancy process was that it needed to be innovative rather than labelling itself as creative:

'I wouldn't say it's creative, but it's innovative in a sense you've got to constantly innovate new techniques and new approaches, new ways of doing things.'

(Interview 10, Consultancy 2)

'I think fundamentally certain companies and certain professions have a limited sort of scope for creativity/innovation. So while it would be encouraged in like the thinking and how you'd approach problem solving, it's not necessarily what you would typically think of as sort of creative and innovative you know. It's kind of specific more to the problem solving approach.'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

For the various respondents, 'innovation' was seen as more apt to 'creativity' in that it was a direct response to a particular problem that was placed on front of them, and not something which had come about via a creative process, associated with other areas such as the visual arts and music.

Throughout the interviews, the physical layout of the office space was seen as an important element of the day to day work practices. Although traditionally those working in management consultancy tended to move about to clients offices for different projects, various respondents commented on how they were spending more time in their own office due to improvements in communications technology. As such, there was a general consensus that modern open plan offices, while in some way restrictive from a privacy perspective were good from the perspective of interaction within the office. For some of those involved in brand consultancy, the constraints imposed by space in terms of achieving a space suitable to a creative atmosphere:

'It's not the greatest. I find it's a bit the opposite of a Tardis. When you come through that courtyard you're kinda expecting a nice sort of creative atmosphere and I don't... We've all said this ourselves that we don't think it's particularly conducive to creative's. Were constantly trying to spark the place into life.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

From a negative perspective, the issue of workers not being employed in their area of expertise was raised. A respondent now working in a marketing department with a large consultancy firm, commented on the way in which her experience and her university degree was overlooked in favour of working in areas below her qualifications:

'I was discouraged from it by agencies before. As a foreign national and not having the proper paper in my Industry I only have those 'x' years of experience ... they told me I'm never going to find a job in marketing, ever. Well they just [kept] trying to shove me in whatever call centre position or anything they had. It was funny because it was not only one agency, several of them told me that, so actually while I just started applying straight to companies, it was within two weeks that I had three offers all within my desired expertise.'

(Interview 3, Consultancy 1)

5.2.5 *The role of networks and networking*

Discussion about networks varied considerably among the various respondents. From the perspective of the working environment, the general consensus was that Dublin had an active social scene, which was considered useful for social networking:

'I definitely think there's a big social scene with work colleagues in Ireland. More so than in the States... There is a big sort of camaraderie around your colleagues and all the rest in Ireland which I think is a good thing. I mean you do spend so much time at work that, you know, it'd be nice to kinda go out every now and then. And also in kinda a broader networking perspective I think there's a real kind of a, you know, 'I'll scratch your back' type of attitude in Ireland.'

(Interview 14, Consultancy 6)

'I've made a couple of goodish friends through work from the first place I worked. I met two guys there so I got to know them... One I sort of brought in with me to this work place. After about six months we needed, we had a vacancy in that role so I called him and said 'come and work for us', so he came to me. So I've sort of kept up with him. Now these wouldn't be sort of huge blood friends for life sort of things but they're just nice people and we stay in touch.'

(Interview 23, Consultancy 7)

On a more personal level some respondents felt that it was difficult to break in to the Irish social scene. This was particularly evident amongst migrant workers who had arrived here independently of a partner/spouse or wider family:

'Its different, umm Irish people I generally find really really friendly to a certain point. It's very easy to get along with them and you just have a perfect relationship at work but... I think it's hard to make friends with Irish people mainly because they already have their circle and they are perfectly happy with it and they are not really curious to meet people.'

(Interview 2, Consultancy 1)

'It is easier if you're meeting people who are immigrants like I am. And don't get me wrong, Irish people are very friendly but it's a close knit circle of friends... But they will be friendly to me, it's actually very nice. But when I try to get in its very hard yeah. I don't know how to explain that, but yeah.'

(Interview 11, Consultancy 3)

5.2.6 Future trajectories

For the majority of respondents, Dublin was seen as a place in which they would see themselves settling for a long period of time. This was particularly the case for those who had a family, or foresaw themselves having a family in the coming years:

'I'd say I'd want to stay in Dublin because of family and my wife's family. You know, she'd want to be here. But if I had to, because of financial implications, if I had to move I would and I probably look at London first and then look at other international opportunities, because I've already got an international wide network with this company [and] the company that owns this company.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 8)

Although some looked to places within Europe, such as London, Dublin was seen as being the only realistic option in which to work within Ireland:

'If you know you're going to be in this industry, you know that your likely jobs are going to be within the city centre and certainly within Dublin. Our industry, to my mind, wouldn't have a huge centre of excellence outside Dublin.'

(Interview 24, Consultancy 7)

The remainder of the respondents, and particularly those who were not settled down with a family and/or in Dublin with a particular work travel programme for a fixed period of time saw themselves leaving in the coming years. This was not related to any particular frustration with Dublin as a place, but was more related to a desire to either return to their home country, or to travel to other places in the world:

'The interesting thing is it's just the way the assignment goes is that I would tend to want get back to my original office but my wife and I talk about that over time, like after I make partner. I think I would probably stay partner three years maybe or so in New York and then I would, we would, definitely think about trying a different assignment somewhere else... within Europe.'

(Interview 12, Consultancy 4)

5.2.7 Results summary

Box 5.1 Overview of main observations within Business & Management Consultancy

Business & Management Consultancy

Summary of main issues

- Movement to Dublin primarily influenced by availability of work, and location/movement of family member, partner or spouse
- Movement was also influenced by factors such as language, and 'soft' factors, such as a perception of a positive social environment
- Dublin as inevitable choice within Ireland due to availability of work in particular sector and desire to be in a city
- Particular location of work within Dublin almost seen as taken for granted
- Residential location directly influenced by position in 'life-path', with younger single people more likely to live in areas closer to the city centre, and those who were settled more likely to seek suburban areas.
- Ability of most working in the sector to choose area in close proximity to transport routes; road, rail and walking distance. Price of rent seemed more of an issue for those renting in central area.
- Perception that public transport is too radial, making crossing the city difficult
- Importance of individual talents within work roles highlighted along with role of innovation within the consultancy sector
- Informal work networks perceived as important, but perception that it was difficult to break into Irish social scene

5.3 Motion Picture and Video: Radio and Television Activities

5.3.1 Sector overview

As discussed in previous reports emanating from this research, the Southeast of the city-centre area is the dominant location for employers within the television & film sector (Murphy & Redmond, 2008 p47). As such, the respondents were predominantly working within this area, with only one working further out in suburban industrial estate in the south of the city. Significantly, each of the respondents interviewed in this section were over the age of thirty, apart from one, who was in his mid twenties. Furthermore, and directly connected to this, there was a general trend for respondents to live in the outer city area, with the majority choosing to live in suburban areas which were proximate to leisure activities relating to the sea, the open air and mountains.

Table 5.2 Breakdown of respondents working in Television & Film Sector

Interview number	Sector number	Company size	Company location	Country of origin	Sex	Age cohort	Residence	Residence location
1	1	Small	Outer	Sweden	Male	50-55	Cabinteely Foxrock	Outer
2	2	Large	Outer	Russia	Male	35-40	Greystones	Outer
4	3	Small	Inner	Brazil	Male	25-30	Malahide	Outer
15	4	Small	Inner	Denmark	Male	30-35	Leopardstown	Outer
17	5	Large	Inner	Sweden	Female	30-35	Portmarnock	Outer
18	6	Large	Outer	New Zealand	Female	30-35	Dublin 8	Inner
20	7	Small	Outer	Scotland	Female	30-35	Phibsboro	Inner
22	8	Small	Outer	Germany	Female	35-40	Drumcondra	Outer

5.3.2 Location factors: 'hard' and 'soft' factors

From the perspective of making an initial decision to move to Dublin the predominant factors were related to 'hard' factors, such as availability of work, access to a university course, or movement with a spouse or partner. Beyond these factors, secondary factors, such as language and 'softer' factors, such as the perceived scale of the city, became important.

As stated above, initial factors involved in choosing Dublin included work, university and family. Very often, this could be influenced by a number of factors. As pointed out by one German lady in her late thirties:

'I was in Dublin for college and then planned to move back eight months later... Then I had the opportunity to [do] work experience in RTE, then after that I got very quickly my first job. I worked freelance for X radio [and] for a television company called Y Television... They were very happy with [my work] so they offered me a fulltime position and I have been with the same people ever since.'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

Although one other respondent came to Dublin based on hearing that it was a good place to live, the most dominant reason was that other family members were here, or that the family of a spouse or partner was from Ireland. One respondent in his mid thirties from Denmark described how he moved around before settling in Dublin as follows:

'I moved to London, I was there for two and a half years and met my girlfriend in Scotland, my fiancé now and she's from Sligo in Ireland. We decided that we wanted to move to Ireland so we moved to Ireland in 2003 and got bored with Ireland and Dublin in 2005 and found a job in Sydney and moved to Sydney in 2006. I was there until June a year and a half ago and yeah came back to Dublin again and very happy to be here now.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

The location of Dublin in relation to the rest of Europe was viewed as an important secondary factor. For one respondent, a male in his mid 20s, the choice was related to a combination of factors. Although he had sent applications around the world, and been offered a job in the U.S, he chose Dublin.

'The visa applications for the US is one of the most difficult and painful process. It would take one year and I had to be waiting in Brazil for the whole process to get through and to get maybe a yes or a no. So I couldn't afford to wait for all that time and I wanted to stay in Europe because Europe for me its much more culture orientated you know! You can actually go to Spain, one hour flight and you can go anywhere [on] one hour flights. So that's also my decision. I opted for Ireland: it was very good salary offer as well.'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

This also highlights the degree of ease at which workers could gain work permits within this sector, in comparison to countries such as post 9/11 United States.

For most of the respondents interviewed who were working in the Television and Film sector, there was a perception that Dublin was generally the only option when it came to choosing a place of work within Ireland:

'I didn't really have a preference but so I was considering to [go to] Galway because one of the... jobs was in Galway, but it didn't happen eventually. But in Dublin yeah [I got a job] So obviously being from Moscow myself... its really hard to get to [settle] down in the middle of nowhere but Dublin or Cork you know in a big city... in Ireland would be an option for me. So anyway [it] happened to be a Dublin job so...'

(Interview 2, TV and Film 2)

'Well in those days – [the early 1980s] – you had to be Dublin or forget it. There was no Television work in Cork and me and my friends and family were in Kinsale. So I would have loved it to live in Kinsale and lived in Cork, but there wasn't any of that business going on in those days.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

As with respondents from the business & management consultancy sector, the role of language was seen as being of high importance when selecting Dublin which was seen to offer a lot without having what were seen as negative attributes of larger cities such as London. As pointed out by one respondent in his late 30s from Russia:

'No, well it kinda was of, for my particular personality, it was a very attractive place. I mean in terms of, first of all it's an English speaking country and English is obviously [the] language... If you wanna speak [English] in Europe really its UK and Ireland, and a having been through big country myself, I don't quite like that and so Ireland was, I would say, a good choice really.'

(Interview 2 TV and Film 2)

Once Dublin was selected as a place to work, the particular area within the city was largely predetermined due to the tendency for this industry to cluster in the Southeast of the city-centre. This was not seen as a constraint however, in that there was a general consensus from those higher up in their company to more junior staff, that the area around the Southeast of the city was positive from the overall perspective of the company:

'I'm here in [the] city centre because we do a lot of work with clients, with ad agencies, and they want [to] just be walking distance and they don't want to travel.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

'The post production so far has all been in Dublin... The two main ones we use are [company X] who are [in] Ranelagh I think and [company Y] which is just in Merrion Square so there very close by. They just have their relationships with post production houses so that's what there going with. It also makes sense if your couriering things, you know DVD's or documents, tapes, or going up to view things. Obviously if the place is two miles down the road as opposed to twenty miles down the road its just easier so you can try and keep it within a smaller space I think makes more sense.'

(Interview 20, TV & Film 7)

However, while this was suitable for some of the smaller companies, those who were looking to expand would always have to compromise between location and space. One respondent, a producer in company of about fifty employees, described how they had to move from a relatively central area near the national broadcaster, RTE, to an area further out due to space constraints:

'As a TV station you need a studio. We had a very small studio there. We needed to expand, then you need to move further out. It's not very handy to be in one of the industrial estates if you work in the media, well if you work in Television because we constantly have to drop equipment off. You have to get other things and whatever and if you spend half your day you know in the car or your camera crew is then it costs you a lot of money. The distance in Dublin, the traffic is a big problem. You want to be as close as possible to the city centre. Luckily enough we have the Luas here which makes a big difference.'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

In terms of specific residential location in the city there was a general tendency within the television and film industry for those who had a family or who had recently decided to settle down to live in a more suburban location. For those who were single, an area close to the city centre was still the preferred location. The particular location within the central area was also influenced by price range and affordability:

'Well we used to live in the sort of the Docklands just by the river sort of Windmill Lane kind of area. That was where I first lived. I couldn't afford it, it was too expensive. So I'm now living just off the North Circular, so near Phibsborough you know. So it's just much more affordable. I'm not on a bad wage but you know I couldn't afford the six or seven hundred Euro a month...'

(Interview 20, TV & Film 7)

'I suppose, well when I first arrived I landed actually in Ranelagh,... then I moved to Pearce Street in a flat there and then Rathmines. Then Dublin 8 and now I've just bought an apartment. I think, you know, probably its partly because I work out here [In Donnybrook], I've always been South side and I didn't know about the North/South side divide you know, but I do remember my friends saying to me 'oh you know you should always live in an even number post code you know'... I think it's more for the proximity...'

(Interview 18, TV & Film 6)

Many of those working in this sector were relatively well established in Dublin, and had moved around throughout the preceding years. One respondent in his early 30s described in depth how he and his partner had lived in a city centre location prior to moving away, and then moving back to Dublin:

'When we first came over here, we wanted to stay really central, so we, the company that I worked for found an apartment for us in Percy Place which is just off Haddington Road. It was great because it meant that you were able to socialise with everybody; you know go out for a drink with people after work, go to pub whatever, sort of stagger home if you wanted too, which was great. Also, staying locally meant that you got, very quickly, a good knowledge of the city and how you know it was sort of structured, being able to get around and stuff. So, I think my experience of coming to Ireland would have been very different if I had lived out in the suburbs first you know. So it was important for us to live in the city.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

Although the experience of living in the city centre was seen as positive, the respondent and his partner had come to point in their life where they wanted to avail of the various advantages of living further out from the city centre:

'We've got a three-bed semi detached. Being able to have your own door being able to park a car, your own car parking space in front of the house, being able to have a little garden, like we've got a dog you know, all those kind of things that would have been difficult having in an apartment. [We] didn't really mind the city, like living inside the city with the noise or like or crime or that sort of stuff. We're not, you know, were not really bothered by any of that so they weren't really factors. [It was] more the having a bit of space, you know the sort of usual excuse that people make for moving out to the suburbs.'

(Interview 15, TV and Film 4)

With the majority of respondents in this sector living outside the city centre, the choice of suburban location was based on a combination of having desired amenities, such as the mountains and the sea-side in close proximity, but also being able to access the city centre easily. While the 'soft' factors came across as being of utmost importance, access to the various transport connections was still considered of high importance, and was often implicate in terms of selecting a location.

'I can have a cliff walk within twenty minutes. I'll be on the beach within ten minutes... I also have my own production company, so you know you work from home and then you can just go out for an hours walk and then come back again and that, that's the plus side of Dublin that you can do this. But I can still walk from my house into the city centre; [it] takes me twenty minutes [to] O'Connell Street [from] here, really twenty-five. Another big factor to me was access to public transport. I do drive, I couldn't drive before I moved to Dublin, no need for it in my life I lived in big cities. [In] Dublin you have to and I have access to this bus outside my house.'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

'I like to be out of town. Although I grew up in a city, I kind of like being close to the countryside, close to water for sailing, and we're out a bit from town, not too far...'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

'We bought a derelict house and did it up yeah so yeah, so by that yeah I suppose its lifestyle, it's by the beach it's you know that attracted us very much. Coming back from London having lived in an apartment, coming back, having the beach on your doorstep... you know lovely lifestyle compared to London.'

(Interview 17, TV & Film 5)

5.2.3 The role of Dublin

Throughout the interviews, discussion related to the experience of everyday life in the city highlighted the inner tensions between the frustrations of 'hard' factors such as transport and the 'softer' factors, such as the atmosphere or 'buzz' of the city. As alluded to above, many respondents in the TV & Film sector found various ways to negotiate the limitations of Dublin's transport infrastructure. This could be through living closer to one of the better road networks, working more flexible hours, walking, or using the Luas or DART. For example, three of the respondents had chosen to use a motorbike as a means of getting through Dublin's notoriously congested traffic. However, there was still a considerable amount of frustration amongst the respondents with the state of transport in Dublin:

'Appalling really, its appalling compared to pretty much again anywhere else I've been, you know. I grew up in Denmark and... in Copenhagen you didn't even look at a bus plan you just sort of went down to the bus stop and there would be a bus in three minutes during first sort of four hours of the day to get me to work...'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

'Terrible! I just don't know how anyone gets by on transport here, I mean even simple thing like, I was using the Dart for a bit. There is a Dart line twenty minute walk and then it's a ten minute walk [in town]. That's what thirty minutes plus the time on the Dart. It's the same time to drive, so why when I have parking, why would I take the Dart, just more hassle and then you go well you can park in the Dart station, well you can't unless you want to start work at seven thirty, [or] then you miss the parking...'

(Interview 17, TV & Film 5)

'... It's not reliable one hundred percent. Its funny to see advertisements from the you know the Dart saying that it's ninety nine percent, you know, reliable because its not. Sometimes I feel that I'm the one percent chances; I'm the walking one percent because every time [the] delays [impact] on me.'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

From the perspective of the television and film sector, the general traffic situation in Dublin was seen as a huge problem:

'I've been on shoots and we've been driving you know for two hours when you could have walked it in twenty minutes, accept when obviously you have to sometimes because your carting equipment camera, lighting gear. But the traffic, the traffic would be a definite minus in this city.'

(Interview 20, TV & Film 7)

The frustration with the overall management of transport within Dublin was succinctly summarised by one respondent, a woman in her late 40s, as follows:

'...There's actually no management and they actually, it's... the Irish Government always does everything afterwards so public transport, transport in general, [is] a disaster; M50 a disaster!... They built a ring road around ok, oh great and then getting planning permission to build all these industrial centres and estates around the ring road. Have you guessed what you need next? Another ring road...'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

For one respondent, living in the North inner city and working just outside the centre of the city on the south side, the most logical means of transportation was walking to work:

'I enjoy walking also. Just I don't see the point you know. I can walk to work in fifty minutes, but if I took the bus it would probably take me an hour and a half you know. So I just don't see the point really. It doesn't bother me, like I'm quite happy to walk in.'

(Interview 20, TV & Film 7)

Most of those respondents working in the area of television and film seemed to do most of their socialising in areas outside the city centre. As such, the issues relating to the 'buzz' of the city, or those amenities deemed important to attract people to Dublin, were as much related to the suburban areas as the city centre itself, and in many ways differed to what is prescribed by much of the literature (See Florida, 2005 p167). As well as the factors mentioned above, there was also a desire amongst the respondents to find a quiet area that felt established:

'I think the worst is to live on these American Estates where you like have fences around and Extravision and Spar shop and [I] couldn't do that. So where I live I have a church, I've got schools, I've old people, it's a mixture of different age groups. I have small shops, I have access to butchers, you know small independent supermarkets you know, bakeries, hard to find nowadays...'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

'Yeah I think it looks like it has its own lifestyle, night life you know what I mean, small pubs there and it has, its alive in the night you can see people coming from city to go to a pub in Malahide and that really attracted me because it seemed that you get a very good lifestyle minus the stress of the big city...'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

5.3.4 Labour and labour processes

The roles of the various respondents interviewed varied widely from those involved in the creation of graphics for advertising, and one involved in running the website of a large broadcaster, to producers and those involved in post-production. The structure of each company also varied considerably but the majority of respondents were involved worked on a project by project basis. Although all respondents in this sector were full-time in their respective companies, there was a perception that the sector was heavily reliant on freelance staff for the various productions they were involved in (See Scott, 2006). As pointed out by a producer with a small production company:

'As a Production Company we use, always use freelance people, so when you go for a shoot, you won't have thirty or forty guys for the shoot. You will have a whole network of lighting, camera men, gaffers, or whatever you need. So you can sit down and go I'm going to need one gaffer, two electricians and yady yada yada and go book them up you know... You might have one or two people that are with you all the time, but otherwise it's for each job, every job is so different that you need different skill sets. You look for them and you need this and this you know. It differs if we are shooting video, high definition you use different sets of people.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

The perception of creativity within the industry changed according to the particular role of the individual. For those responsible for creating graphics and involved in animation, there was a perception that creativity had the potential to make a big impact, with companies looking for people based on skills as opposed to relying on particular forms of technology:

'It used to be all about the machine and what it could do like; 'oh you have a flame, I wanna come work with you, it can do this, this and this'. Its gone from that [to] people don't give a hoot anymore what you work on. It's about the person and it's about your creative abilities. So that has meant that I suddenly, as a person, am infinitely more interesting than the machinery that I work on...'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

However, according to one respondent who worked on graphics for advertising, clients were becoming less adventurous in terms of creating new ads. For one respondent all the creativity was being taken out of the process:

'Sometimes I don't even get a chance to create a style. Sometimes I just have to... animate so that's basically [it].'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

For those involved in production, the role of creativity was more about developing new programmes for changing markets, rather than any form of artistic creativity associated with the production of graphics. For one respondent, a female producer in her late thirties involved with a relatively new local television channel, it was more about adapting to a perceived market. She described how they had been the first with programmes aimed at migrant groups, with Polish news, Phillipino programs, along with other programmes aimed at the gay community:

'I think work is work, you know you manage you manage... I recognised how Dublin had changed and we wanted to respond to that as well. Then RTE very quickly came and captured ideas of programmes... So it was interesting to see the responses to that. So yeah it can be creative yeah absolutely. You know you have creative ideas and you're looking at new ways of doing it, but god I wouldn't say it's terribly creative in other ways you know. But I think that a preconception of the media in general that's its creative. I dunno, you can be creative being an accountant!'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

One area that there was a general consensus about amongst those involved in TV and Film was the role played by advanced communications technology such as the internet and e-mail. Although each of the respondents discussed the importance of being in a central location, there was also a perception that improvements in technology allowed a greater amount of freedom in terms of the sending of files, while also reducing costs:

'...We use the UK to do transcriptions because we can send the files to them and get them back that evening. Instead of sending them you know putting something on a DVD, sending it out in the post, getting it back two days later you know it just it speeds everything up....'

(Interview 20, TV & Film 7)

The biggest impact was perceived to be the manner in which the internet would impact on the way people watched television. As pointed out by one respondent:

'...More people are sort, of instead of planning their lives around what they want to watch, they plan what they want to watch around when they have time to do it. Broadband and the internet created a fantastic way of delivering that really...'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

This has led to those working in the area to adapt to these changes:

'We have another company here called [company X] [that] produces television for the internet... There's some companies like you know who have delivered almost instant news which works very well. The only thing about it you have to put it instantly on air. I think, what's it called Sophie's Diary and all of this has changed, I think U-Tube has changed a lot...'

(Interview 22, TV & Film 8)

In terms of television and film production there was a consensus that while the internet would impact on the way people viewed programmes etc, the production process still remained more or less unchanged:

'... To get it there is the same process, you have to script it, you have to shoot it, you have to edit it and then that is just the final, put on to tape, put on to a disc... pictures still better than a thousand words you know.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

For most of the respondents working in companies that were located in the established area close to the city centre, the appearance of the building played a role from both the perspective of staff comfort, and also entertaining potential clients:

'It helps if you're in a nice building. It kind of helps as well when you have clients to impress, you know.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

'I think its great, great old building. But the sort of main driving force to be here is mainly the work and the people that I work with but it's a nice building and it is comfortable... It's great; toys, play stations, you know it's a nice chilled out place to work.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

5.3.5 The Role of Networks and Networking

As discussed by one respondent above with regards to the manner in which television production companies are reliant on a network of freelance workers for each job, there was a strong indication throughout the interviews that networks and networking was an essential part of the television and film sector. Furthermore, while none of the respondents interviewed worked on short-term contracts as their main employment, many did involve themselves in additional work. This is can be seen in the context of Scott's analysis of the manner in which 'careers are... typically focused on building up of personal reputation and the acquisition of multiple useful contacts (2006 p7):

'Yeah, I have another network outside of here, yeah I have my own clients. I do some works for Denmark. I have 2 companies in Denmark that they constantly ask me to do some freelance. There was a design agency in Brazil also asks for work for me to do... I have a big network so that helps a lot.'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

'So with that in mind its very important to self promote and to build up [a] portfolio that sort of explains what you can do and what you're all about. That's what I've done with my website, [X.com]. Also, [I am] a bit of sort of a digital gypsy and you travel around a bit, then I learnt quite quickly that its better to promote myself rather than promote the company that I work for because its so important [for the] job I do...'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

From a negative perspective some, and particularly those higher up in the smaller companies perceived there to be a closed door in terms of those working for RTE:

'RTE seems to have its own little clique of companies they always give the job to, and it's very hard to break into that. And several of those companies would have a spouse working within, so there is a lot of that going on or a dad or something, all strange things there you go, but I presume that happens in any big organisation anyway.'

(Interview 1, TV and Film 1)

Another respondent gave an honest overview of this situation:

'They do have a select sort of bunch of people, or bunch of companies that they go to. I suppose in a bizarre way we are one of them but we sometimes we just seem to price ourselves out [of] what they can afford.'

(Interview 15, TV and Film 4)

While, as can be seen above, the role of networks was seen as important for the purposes of production and career building, most people's social networks seemed to revolve primarily around either family or friends from outside of work. On a broader level there was a similar perception about the openness of Dublin in recent years as with the business & management consultancy sector:

'...There's a real kind of almost sisterhood in Ireland that I don't think people think about properly yeah, and also even not opening their your home to people or including you, its very cliquey especially in Sweden I find its very cliqy. I think here if anyone is organising something and doing something they'll go sure everyone's welcome, yeah that's quite unique.'

(Interview 17, TV & Film 5)

While the respondent above, a female in her mid thirties, found people in Dublin to be more open to new people, the general consensus was that Dublin was a hard place to get to know new people beyond the level of informal meetings:

'Irish people are... or Dublin is very welcoming but if it comes to extending to friendships I think it's a big difference in being very polite and saying 'hi great to see', and you come over but... becoming friends take much longer.'

(Interview 22, TV and Film 8)

In the following quote, one respondent in his early thirties describes at length why he feels it is more difficult to meet new people in Dublin rather than other cities he has worked in, such as London and Sydney:

'I think it's because those cities [London and Sydney] are sort of big transient cities with huge young population that are going to those places. Being there for a while, away from their own families and friends and people are, those sort of people and people like me are more open to meet other people and socialise with them and form bonds whereas in Dublin... I didn't get the sense that a lot of people here were sort of very perceptible to

form bonds and friendships and socialise a lot because they had all their mates that they grew up with... or people that they've been working with for 10 years. They don't really need you in the same way that you need them so you know I find it more difficult in Dublin than any of the other places that I've lived in, worked in.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

For another, this was largely down to the dominance of pub culture in terms of socialising in Dublin:

'I think at the company I haven't got actually [to] socialise with people very often. Mostly because I don't drink that much and they love going to the pubs and I like that once in a while, once every 3 months. So... [this] is actually the first country [that I] actually experiencing that...'

(Interview 4, TV & Film 3)

5.3.6 Future Trajectory

The majority of respondents saw their future as being based in Ireland. In general this was based on the age profile of respondents, who apart from one, were all over thirty:

'Now I bought a property... I'm probably going to have to ride it out for a while, see how that goes but no I do see myself staying here for a while yeah. Possibly settling here. My sisters are back home so that would be a bit hard you know and I have a lot of friends still at home but I think you know after 6 years you just make a life for yourself here. Having growing up in different countries you know I think home is not so much about the country and it sounds a bit clichéd but it is about the people. If I didn't want to be here I wouldn't be here.'

(Interview 18, TV and Film 6)

'I've been such a nomad that I think you know I had a lot of time when I was here to think would I go back to London, would I go back to Sweden, would I stay? I actually made the decision to stay so that could change if this recession doesn't. Frankly there could be a point where I go you know where I can't afford to live here, whereas Sweden is obviously a lot cheaper.'

(Interview 17, TV & Film 5)

However, as indicated above, there were various factors that would influence decisions to stay or leave. Most striking of these was fear revolving around the current economic climate in Dublin:

'I've no plans to leave, you know. The only reason I would leave is if something drew me away or if you know the [credit] crunch killed the company and they had to kind of cut down on people or they just physically didn't have work for me or whatever. I'm certainly happy where I am at the moment, so I'm not looking for anything else so we'll see how the next year goes and take it from there.'

(Interview 20, TV and Film 7)

There was also a desire amongst some respondents to live outside of Dublin, but at the same time a realisation that this might not be fully realistic, given the nature of the industry:

'There's a million places in Ireland I would love to live. I would love to get out of Dublin but I can't because the work is in Dublin and its not possible with what I do not to live in Dublin at the moment so I don't really have a choice for the level of work that I'm interested in doing what I want to do.'

(Interview 15, TV & Film 4)

5.3.7 Summary

Box 5.2 Summary of key findings for Film & Television sector

Film & Television Activities

Summary of main issues

- Movement to Dublin influenced predominantly by work, study and family, or a combination of factors
- Language considerations were seen as highly important and directly connected to making a choice
- Dublin seen as almost only realistic option in terms of working in Television and Film sector in Ireland, with particular focus on the Southeast of the city-centre and inner-suburbs
- As with Business & Management Consultancy, single people living more central, and those more settled choosing suburban areas
- The role of 'soft' factors was strong amongst those respondents choosing to live in suburban areas. However, the areas selected were generally in close proximity to the better quality transport networks such as the DART or Luas connections.
- Beyond the afore mentioned DART and Luas, the overall perception was that the transport infrastructure in Dublin was below standard
- Role of creativity depended on particular role within sector.
- Overall perception of new technologies, such as email and particularly internet changing the way television is viewed
- Networking seen as important within industry, due to freelance element. This was particularly evident amongst those involved in the creation of graphics and animation
- As with Business & Management Consultancy, it was deemed difficult to get to know Irish people well. Particularly for those who did not have an attachment through a spouse or other family member
- Fear of recent slow down in economy in terms of future of employment

5.4 Computer Games and Electronic Publishing

5.4.1 Overview of sector

The eight respondents within the Computer Games and Electronic Publishing sector were drawn equally from between the computer games and electronic publishing sub-sectors. In the Computer Games sub-sector, the respondents were predominantly in their twenties, with one being in his early thirties. In the Electronic Publishing sub-sector, the respondents were generally older, with one respondent in her late twenties, and the rest aged between thirty and fifty five. Also of note in terms of the respondents in this sector is the degree to which it is heavily male dominated. This is by no means representative of the gender breakdown in terms of the wider creative sector within Dublin (See Murphy, Redmond & McKnight, 2008 p31). As with the other sectors, all efforts were made to ensure that a balance was achieved. However, it proved difficult to be gender specific when requesting respondents in this sector. In terms of backgrounds, it was also noted the degree to which both sub-sectors had evolved in recent years. In particular, each of the respondents in the electronic publishing sector had come from other areas, and most particularly that of graphic design/ physical printing.

Table 5.3 Breakdown of Respondents in the Computer Games & Electronic Publishing Sector

Interview number	Sector number	Company size	Company location	Country of origin	Sex	Age cohort	Residence	Residence location
5	1	Large	Inner	Switzerland	Male	25-30	Christ Church	Inner
6	2	Large	Inner	Italy	Male	30-35	Drumcondra	Outer
7	2	Large	Inner	India	Male	25-30	St Patricks Cathedral	Inner
8	4	Large	Inner	Spain	Male	20-25	Docklands	Inner
9	5	Small	Outer	Spain	Male	40-45	Stillorgan	Outer
16	6	Small	Outer	France	Male	50-55	Knocklyon	Outer
19	7	Small	Inner	Poland	Male	30-35	Drogheda	Outer
21	8	Small	Inner	USA	Female	25-30	Phibsboro	Inner

5.4.2 Location factors: 'hard' and 'soft' factors

As with the two previous sections, initial decisions to move to Dublin were looked at from the perspective of both 'hard' and 'soft' factors. For many working in this sector coming to Dublin was a combination of factors such as seeking a job, language and other 'softer' factors such as the general atmosphere in Dublin. Indeed, the softer factors played a stronger role in this sector, with the reasons for movement more varied amongst respondents.

While the 'soft' factors were identified as playing a stronger role in this sector, the role of 'hard' factors, such as access to employment or studying in a niche industry was of primary importance in choosing Dublin. One respondent who had come to Ireland to study animation in Ballyfermot College, had worked his way through a variety of jobs before getting the one he is presently in:

'I started off in the smaller shops like Spar and then got a job in Company X doing web stuff and IT stuff... Eventually [I] started working in Company Y... That was in East Point Business Park, and then basically found this job here.'

(Interview 5, Games & Electronic Publishing 1)

'A company here in Dublin found me and I came over. So I've been working in mobile [games] development since I came to Ireland.'

(Interview 7, Games & Electronic Publishing 1)

Although factors such as language were made explicit, the ability to find work was seen as crucial:

'...the first idea was a sabbatical year and learn some English. [I] decided I wanted to learn and to use to exploit this area to get some additional skill which was the language and at the end of the day I found a good job and liked [it] here and... I was not that eager actually to be in England.'

(Interview 6, Games and Electronic Publishing 2)

For another woman in her late twenties, the choice was narrowed down to Scotland and Ireland before being offered a job in Dublin:

'...the main reason I thought Scotland or Ireland was [the] English [language], basically, because I don't speak another language...'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

As with the other sectors, the role of family was also a significant factor in terms of locating in Dublin:

'If I tell you truth it was accidental how I ended up in Ireland. Well I mean, I like Ireland, I mean my wife being Irish, you know I had come and I loved it.'

(Interview 9, Games and Electronic Publishing 5)

'for 20 years I worked in France as a photographer ok. My wife is Irish and then we decided slowly move to another town you know. So she went, we went to Dublin, it was something different and we wanted to give our kids an education that was different from the French [one] and the opportunity to learn something different. So I went to [Dublin] and that time I had started to self teaching you know, self learning of computer languages and web design...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

Furthermore, there was a general perception that Dublin was the inevitable choice in terms of Ireland:

'Well if you're talking about working in Ireland, Dublin is Ireland so there was no doubt.'

(Interview 6, Games and Electronic Publishing 2)

As with previous sectors, the scale of Dublin was seen as an important factor by many of the respondents who compared it to Paris or London:

'England was kind of out for me just because I didn't really like the busyness of London – because London's a huge design hub – it was too big for me. So then I started looking at Edinburgh and I started looking at Dublin, simply because they are about the same size as Portland where I'm from. Visiting here previously, I just loved it. I loved Dublin in general, the atmosphere was very laid-back and was just a nice place...'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

While the wider software industry can be seen to be spread around the suburban areas of Dublin, there is growing anecdotal evidence to suggest that the computer games industry is primarily locating in central areas within the city-centre (Murphy & Redmond, 2008 p. 52-55). Of the eight respondents, six worked in the city centre. Therefore, the selection of work location was almost predetermined for many working in this area. For those in working in electronic publishing, the city-centre was still of high importance:

'It is very comfortable, it is very accessible to everything, its still in the city centre which makes it convenient for a lot of people come in. It's near Pearce Station so that's very convenient for people. It's near the major bus depot and near O'Connell Street. And there's Trinity College which has a wonderful garden...'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

'It did actually help a lot, it being a central place, because you know I didn't have to look for ways to travel to work. This was the easiest way to get around so it was easy for me to live in a small in a place, a small place near my office and just travel to work and also travel to a lot of places. [It] helps, you know, in terms of entertainment during evenings and the weekends...'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

For those who were self employed there were a variety of factors involved in terms of selecting a location in which to base themselves. This varied according to the age profile of respondent, the scale of the industry and personal circumstances. For one respondent starting up a small business, the central area was ideal:

'I wanted city centre and the guys had a free space there... I originally planned to have an office beside Henry Street but somebody was quicker than me. There was another location that we were looking at so we settled in here so yeah, [the] city centre was the choice obviously. I am twenty minutes away from all my clients, come on!, max twenty minutes away that's what you want.'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

For one self employed respondent, the location outside of the city-centre came about due to a combination of family connections and cheaper rent:

'My father in law was my landlord here, he was a dentist upstairs for thirty odd years. So it just became... The choice of location for the business derived from the fact that he could rent us that room at a very cheap price and then this became available and so we moved in... So we stay locally and eventually we bought our house here in Stillorgan. That was the reason why I chose Stillorgan...'

(Interview 9, Games and Electronic Publishing 5)

As with respondents in both Television & Film and Business & Management Consultancy, the choice of residential location was influenced by a combination of factors, such as proximity to work, and particular life-path decisions. For those who were either single or recently married, and particularly those in the computer games industry, the city centre was seen as being the ideal place in which to live. The particular location within the city-centre was the outcome of weighing up 'hard' factors such as proximity to work and transport, as well as rental price, along with 'soft' factors, such as proximity to the city centre for leisure activities:

'Price of course. I had a budget. Now I would like to do something a little bit nicer and a bit more spacious so obviously it's a compromise between the price and space and living with other people of course the house...'

(Interview 6, Games and Electronic Publishing 2)

'I like the fact that from Phibsborough I am able to walk into the city in any direction and be there in about fifteen or twenty minutes walking. So that's definitely on the plus side for me. And then just the rent, up there, compared to rent in the south side is just ridiculous. Houses I was looking at on the south side were six hundred to eight hundred Euro for the same price or for the same room, were even smaller, and I am paying about four hundred for where I am now...'

(Interview 21, Computer Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

'Well in my first place I moved there because [when] I arrived to Ireland it was close to my other job and there was a room available... This new place is same reasons as well, close to work and close to the city centre.'

(Interview 8, Games and Electronic Publishing 4)

'The city just has everything handy, walking distance and so much more going on, whether it's good or bad, it's just more life...'

(Interview 5, Games and Electronic Publishing 1)

For those who had settled with a partner or wife, the priorities had changed in terms of raising a family. The compromise between rent often became an issue of affordability in terms of purchasing a house, so as to become more settled. For one respondent, now living in Drogheda, a large town which has in recent years become part of Dublin's commuter belt, was in part due to affordability, but also a particular perspective on raising a family in Dublin:

'Well one of the reasons we moved out of Dublin is because we couldn't raise children in Dublin in the city centre. We couldn't afford to buy in where we would have amenities for children etc. [We looked at] Thomas Street. Phoenix Park is nearby but Thomas Street itself, well I dunno, I wouldn't recommend it for raising children in, but all the respect to the people who live there...'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

For other respondents, being outside the city centre was also linked to quality of life and amenities, while retaining the ability to get into the city centre:

'You know, life quality, so, you know, not having to take a car to commute, that's very important. So I actually live in Knocklyon area which is like half an hour from centre of town on bicycle and my wife also commutes by bike, she works in city west which is also like forty minutes...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

The same respondent also discussed how they rented their accommodation and moved according to needs and affordability depending on the various circumstances. The choice of general location was, however, connected primarily to family connections, followed by quality of life:

'The area would be mainly that area because my wife is from that area so it's kinda of family thing. Her sisters are in the area and I personally I like Dublin mountains. I think its extraordinary, so in the winter, around three to four o'clock I just cycle one hour just up the mountains and down just like you know rather than go to the Gym or something and its very close too. In ten, in five minutes I'm just in the mountains so it's you know, it's mainly driven by quality of life.'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic publishing 6)

5.4.3 The role of Dublin

As noted in the previous section, those respondents working in the Computer Games & Electronic Publishing sector had in general positioned themselves in a favourable location relative to the various means of transportation in Dublin. Although they were able to get around the city through various means, such as walking, there was still a considerable amount of frustration at the condition of the public transport system in the city:

'I think in general transport it's a catastrophe... It's like a third world country. The Luas is a great thing but you know a town should have a train system, a hub system that's not stopped by... a kind of direct line, like even [the] Luas as a metro. It should have been a metro a long time ago but that comes with development you know so I think this is the main thing, commuting.'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

'if the chance to be able to commute on the bike that's fine but if you have to – so this would be a main criticism you know its not easy to commute. The buses are... not reliable...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic publishing 6)

'Transportation is a major issue... Dublin bus [is] not very reliable. I actually don't use public transport at all unless I have to, which means if my meeting is in place like Ranelagh or somewhere I can't walk. But other than that I'll walk, I love walking, I always loved it so it's fine with me. I put my headphones on and I'm fine and my best ideas actually come to me while walking, so makes sense its ok for me. But I wouldn't mind sometimes to avail of the public transport, the problem is I don't want to be late to where I'm going...'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

For one respondent who worked and lived on one of the more reliable bus corridors in the city there were still a lot of frustrations with the general set-up of public transport. While he saw the bus route that he was on as positive and the Luas as being a positive factor, there were other issues which needed to be addressed:

'When they thought of doing the Luas it was a great idea it just took too bloody long. Now the Luas is working and it just can't cope and if you want to get the Luas, you have to get to the Luas first; there is never parking. Just to give you an example, if you go to Sandycroft for example, there is never parking in there so you might as well just take the car.'

(Interview 9, Games and Electronic Publishing 5)

Although some cycled, there was a perception that this was dangerous, which in the end has led many to walk to work:

'I used to cycle a lot, but I stopped cycling actually, you know yourself, it's dangerous, I'd had a couple of friends get in bike accidents and I got hit once and I probably got hit another 10 times almost, so I just stopped cycling.'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

'I walk because I can't depend on public transport. When I used to live in Stoneybatter I walked down to the Luas and catch the Luas from the museum or somewhere [near] there over to the IFSC. But there were many mornings when I couldn't even get on it because it was too packed. Same thing with buses. I just check the bus they'd just drive right by me because there was too many people on it. Not only that, it was pointless to sit on a bus for 45 minutes in traffic when I could walk in 30 so it's really frustrating...'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

As with the other sectors, the perception of the 'buzz' or atmosphere in the city was directly connected to where they had chosen to live, which was linked to their position in terms of the life-cycle. For those who were single, and in their late twenties or early thirties, there was real sense of excitement about what the city-centre had to offer. Compared to the other sectors, there was a greater emphasise on the role of socialising in the city amongst those working in the computer games & electronic publishing sector:

'Dublin is brilliant, I loved it. I was actually remembering the first week when I decided to stay... I was walking at that time, I was looking for a job around Camden Place and I felt proud so because it is a great place to live...'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

'Oh yeah it is, from where I come from like Portland and the entire West Coast of America is really laid back. I mean if you think about LA, San Francisco its all kinda the beaches, drink and party and whatever and the same like Portland, Seattle area the North West it's really laid back. A lot of the same things like I said the rain factor [is] similar, we've like the most pubs in the United States you know it's the same kind of feel. Lots of Arts going on, lots of theatre things, lots of music comes through. So I find that very open, obviously maybe that's just because it's the generation I'm hanging out with.'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

For many amongst the younger group, Dublin was all about going out and having a good time, particularly in pubs.

'I'm Swiss and that's obviously my background. We're weekend drinkers, and when we go out, we usually stay in our groups so it's harder to mingle or for a new person to join in that group. Whereas here it's the opposite. People, you know, go out and the Irish are generally like... Even the Irish feel of the place makes it so that people automatically mingle more and are much more open.'

(Interview 5, Games and Electronic Publishing 1)

'Yeah that's one of the things I like about Dublin, that it's full of young people, people from everywhere as well. I think I met people from almost every possible country in Dublin so I like that. Different cultures, different people. Those are the two main things about the people in Dublin; young and from different places [in the] the city centre. Well I'd only sometimes [like] more things to do to be honest in Dublin. [At] the end of the day it's always, or almost always, 'yeah lets go to the pub and have some drinks.'

(Interview 8, Games and Electronic Publishing 4)

The degree to which social life was perceived to be limited to that of eating and drinking culture was reiterated throughout the interviews:

'Yeah buzz... I mean its all, it's all about... Dublin is more about eating and drinking, if you like that, you'd like it here... If you want to take rest and do something else then there is not a lot of that around, except for the eating and drinking. There's not anything much in the city, there's no other recreational activity...'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

Furthermore, for many of the respondents who lived in the city-centre, there were particular areas that were perceived as areas that they would not like to spend time. This was due to a perception that certain areas were renowned for particular activities, such as excessive consumption of alcohol and its affects. One woman in her late twenties described how she would avoid certain areas in the city centre:

'I would avoid Temple Bar and that stuff you know. When you first come to Ireland you go 'oh go to Temple Bar', and then you quickly learn to avoid those areas because I've never seen such incredibly intoxicated people before and its, its scary like. Like I've never been, actually no, I've been robbed. Twice I got egged by a bunch of kids. Some kid tripped me on the street once, mostly just kids you know. I dunno how many people I've

walked by getting sick on the side walk so that's, that's disgusting so I just try to avoid a lot of those areas you know...'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

For one worker from India in his mid 20s, the movement from the Dublin 8 area of the city was seen as a positive move. Although the movement was not based on social issues, and more related to the availability of space, this was seen as a positive move from a personal perspective:

'...The people who you know, used to have issues with lots of things even my ethnicity, they would have some comments. You know, you always get these as isolated groups of people, everywhere. Even in my country probably there would be people saying you [are] from this state so I wouldn't... its not their fault, its their, well how they grew up, how they, how they're being you know seasoned to see everything so its ok, that, when I was there I did feel quite low about, sometimes, about walking through those areas to go to the office. So being here has actually improved that you know I feel good about working in Dublin...'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

From the perspective of the wider city area, the ability for people to leave the city-centre and be in the open country side was seen as being a positive factor. This was particularly the case for those who lived in the suburbs, but visited the city-centre for business or pleasure:

'I think Dublin is more, in a way more cosmopolitan than Paris because it's a small, you have young people of a lot of countries and so its I think its you know, it has more of that kind of melting pot you know atmosphere you know. So its not stressful, its, in terms of you know, and all the foreigners would tell you that, you have in Ireland when you come to work in Dublin you have a good quality of life. On a Sunday afternoon at three o'clock you could say 'oh lets get out of the city for a walk in the mountains'...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

5.4.4 Labour and labour processes

As stated at the beginning of this section, the respondents from this sector were divided equally into two clear sub-divisions. There were those who worked within the Computer Games industry and those who worked in the Electronic Publishing industry. Each of the respondents working in Electronic Publishing had come from backgrounds in a variety of areas, but had gradually evolved to pursuing careers that were for the most part orientated towards web-based activities, such as web-design and programming. This varied from person to person, but in general a direct link could be seen between both printing and graphic design and web design/programming. All the respondents who took part in the interviews either worked for themselves or for a small company. As highlighted in a previous report emanating from this research (See Murphy & Redmond, 2008), those respondents working for a company in this section were given a large amount of flexibility and enjoyed a loose working structure:

'There's not many [of us] so it's not really [a] take orders from above kinda place. We all really work together and I would say one of the junior designers probably has just the same or sometimes more responsibility as I would on projects and vice versa. So a lot of its single handedly followed from the beginning when we meet the clients all the way to the delivery of the project.'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

Although experienced in a different manner, this working culture was also perceived amongst those who were self employed:

'[The] culture its interesting here because it's much more direct and there's less that kind of rigidity in the work. [I] notice that also in kind of advertising work where when an advertising agency asks you to do a work it's kind of its kind of team work. I can team work. It's easier here. Maybe because it's the American system or I dunno but its not French system where you have the boss and you know the sub boss and you know its a different work culture...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

There was also a sense of collaboration amongst employees, with each individual bringing something different to the process, and communication as being of primary importance:

'In past experience having times [where] something could have been easily avoided if people were to talk more, 'oh guys, I found this', so, teamwork, super-important, and you know, teamwork also creates this... If you get along really well with your colleagues and you have good communication going back and forth it creates trust and it creates respect and eventually you feel like you're not really going to a job anymore. But it's more like a mixture of friends and family, so that's why for me it's super-important.'

(Interview 5, Games and Electronic Publishing 1)

Throughout the interviews there was a sense that people working in this wider area were diverse in terms of their role in the company. This was particularly evident in the field of electronic publishing, where many had either started in graphic design or working on manual print. One respondent who had been involved in print had got frustrated with being stopped from moving into design so left the company he was in and set up on his own:

'I wanted to climb up the ladder and move to design studio, eventually they said no. I was told no so I said ok but, bugger that's it, I can't do it, so I [will] do it on my own. I left, set up my own studio and that's it so there was natural progression towards that but the trick was I was coding, I was always coding. I was always developing as the hobby, and many of my design printers come to me and say 'Pavel can you code this site for us, can you code this for us ok? We have a client and can you code this for us?' [A] year or two years later I found myself just coding, so I was a designer by professional by my business name coding really.'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

In general, there seemed to be a shift for those working in the areas such as print and graphic design towards being more web-based:

'I knew it was coming; web design that's just the way of the future pretty much. People start realising once a brochure is printed its done you can't make a change and a website is constantly updated they can make a change. They can change colours, they can do anything they want and pay minimal for it. Basically not like a brochure. However, print design in brochures would be every, every graphic designers love at art, but web design it's just the way it's gonna, it's the way of the future. So we're doing a lot more web design now...'

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

Although the field of ICT (Information and Communications Technology) is renowned for its global reach, the majority of those interviewed were involved in some form of 'localisation', whereby computer games or web-sites are tailored for a local audience. This it appears is something that is becoming something which Dublin is being seen as a potential European base for within the games sector, but was also evident in the smaller online publishing companies:

'My website is really a tool because its dynamic I can change how I want it to appear and also I told you it's a localised website, so the localisation what they call technology is very interesting. It's not two websites or three websites, each one a copycat of the other like traditional kind. When you went on a website five years ago, ten years ago it would be copycat, it would be on a different part of the server and everything would be translated. But its like Google or any of these websites; the website can sniff your language, it knows what language your coming from, what your preferences and then it gets into French or English...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic Publishing 6)

For the majority of the workers in this sector, the potential to have a certain degree of creative input was seen as essential to their overall well being and seemed to foster a certain amount of loyalty to the company:

'People like working here because there is a creative edge to things. We like to have that in every aspect of every kind of work so that people they can always identify themselves with the company's or what it's about.'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

For one employee who had worked in localisation, the shift to a new position involving more of a design role was seen as positive step in terms of his overall involvement in the company:

'In this new position where I actually start the games from zero until they are done. So I can give a lot of input in the early stages because of the position I am from. I can work with [the] designer and discuss with him, 'I think this could work better this way I think, we need to change this menu so we need to change the balance of the game here', you know, it's a lot more creative that way.'

(Interview 8, Games and Electronic Publishing 4)

However, for another, the process of localisation was seen as involving a creative aspect in terms of recreating characters to suit the specific cultural context:

'it depends on, anybody's definition of 'creative', but it has been in a sense that when we actually sometimes have to modify the text so that it actually it fits so sometimes we take it on ourselves to go, 'well, this joke would not translate well', so I'm going to go ahead and actually sit down and come up with the best way to actually make this as funny as possible. I'll give you an example; in one of our games in Peggle, in the English version there's a lobster which speaks French and it starts off 'Ello, my name eez...' and obviously in English it sounds good, but when you translate this in French, it just doesn't work the same way so you have to kind of recreate the character. What are you going to do, are you actually going to make him speak normal French and just make it into a normal character, are you going to try and shift the accent to maybe a German one or even kind of a smart English one, so this is why maybe you know, this is the creative part.'

(Interview 5, Games and Electronic Publishing 1)

Those respondents working within a company acknowledged the importance of a comfortable working environment from both a physical and social perspective. This is illustrated in the quotes below:

'I mean look at that, nice, play pool, not now but in five minutes. It's great, you do your thing, your responsibilities, but when you are not, you're not under constant control and you feel like perhaps [responsibility] lies somewhere You know you have to do your things but it's up to you basically you know...'

(Interview 6, Games and Electronic Publishing 2)

'We are looked after, we have benefits, there's a more than decent social budget for people to bond together, have a good time, etcetera and so... I mean I don't know if they showed you over there, in the kitchen there's a pool table, we have two screens with X-boxes and it's that kind of thing...'

(Interview 5, Electronic Publishing 1)

The work environment was also seen as an important aspect for a recently established web publishing company which was located in the city centre:

'Its not a business environment; There's an art gallery downstairs and recording studio downstairs as well, rehearsal room again downstairs, upstairs we have 7-10 people... There are illustrators, copywriters, radio producers etc. In other words its more inspiring I'd say than a standard business environment where you would just be white shirt, tie etc yeah I think it's very, very inspiring and was it set up purposefully as that, like a creative unit.'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

5.4.5 Networks and networking

The networking activities of people involved in this sector varied depending on the scale of operation in which the respondent was involved. For those involved in a larger company, networking was seen as an integral part of the job and an extension of their general social life. For those working in small one or two person operations, the role of networks was essential in terms of promoting the local market and sourcing freelance staff from time to time. These networks had to be promoted and pursued in a conscious manner:

'I mean, I do a little bit of work for locals but it's a pleasure to do it, not for the money, I mean just to keep the community spirit going you know. If you go next door they treat you well, they give you a little discount. You do the same thing and you make less money but it's a good thing to do that. But the fact that it's a small company I've relied on actually creating a good network of, especially suppliers, just to be able to provide a good service to my clients. I have people employed for a while but never more than one at a time. So I have relied on freelancers from all areas. There are actually both graphic design and web design and multimedia during periods, and I still do.'

(Interview 9, Games and Electronic Publishing 5)

Two of the smaller scale businesses were involved in specific networking groups as a means of generating business. These were seen as a more formalised method for a small business to network and promote their business:

'BNI [Business Networking International] is very interesting and a lot of people use that here in Ireland for networking, especially foreigners when they want to settle...'

(Interview 16, Games and Electronic publishing 6)

'It's an American invention basically and it's a network of business people that meet every week at quarter to seven, at a specific time, day of a week, finish at half eight so that it doesn't interrupt with your business day and it's a referral organisation. Basically we refer business to one another so if you know. Say 'ok we need a painter' and we have a painter in the group I could refer, so it's a situation generating business for other members. Only one member per category is allowed so there's never a clash... It's all about building relationships, so [we] meet every week. You have to commit, you cant really you know your only allowed something like 2 absences every 6 months so you have to be there you build relationships...'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

In the larger companies in the ICT sector, networking was seen as a natural extension of work, and also an inherent part of working in this sector.

'This company is as well full of really young people you know, very friendly as well, like to do things together go to the cinema and go to the bar do different things. So I do think [the social] environment is important.'

(Interview 8, Games and Electronic Publishing 4)

'All of my friends that I have, including my boyfriend, I've completely met through [Company X]. In fact, I met my boyfriend through a girl who used to work here. Now, I didn't actually work with her, but I was out once in the city with a friend and I met this girl and she said 'oh, I used to work where you used to work', and we sort of became friends. And actually [the website] creativeireland.com has been a really big tool for me too, in meeting people, because I actually, I met a few people off the internet forums. Because I know they're all graphic designers, most of us had the same [interests]...

(Interview 21, Games and Electronic Publishing 8)

For those working within this sector there seemed to be a perception that it was much easier to meet new people – both Irish and non-Irish – in comparison to the previous sectors (Business & Management Consultancy and the Television & Film Industry). There appeared to be two reasons for this. Firstly, the older respondents seemed to have a wider circle of family and friends, and felt quite established in Ireland, while the younger group seemed to be engaged in the wider social activities that the city-centre had to offer:

'I dunno its I think people is just really approachable and friendly if you go out after work for a drink for example you can approach someone in the pub and start talking and its always friendly.'

(Interview 8, Games and Electronic Publishing 4)

'Irish people are basically very easy going, so yes and there are lots of new people coming in going out. I don't socialise per se like you know with the intent of going out and meeting people but it so happens that you meet a lot of people where ever you go, any event you, if you go outside to do anything, go to party, go to activity, say your learning something, you always meet new people.'

(Interview 7, Games and Electronic Publishing 3)

5.4.6 Future trajectory

For those who were single and living in the city centre over the last few years, there was a general consensus that they would try to move on at some stage. This was not based on any dissatisfaction with their job, or Dublin as a place, but was more related to other factors, such as experiencing other places and other cultures:

'[In]Years to come I [am] not sure. At least one or two more years sure, but I couldn't stay here too long to be honest. Not because I don't like the place because if I'm here for four years already. It's because there's something I like at least, but I do want to see other places as well. It's not like I want to leave Dublin to go back to Spain you know. I would like at some point to leave Ireland and see other countries, so far I don't have any idea where to go maybe that's why I am still here.'

(Interview 8, Games & Electronic Publishing 3)

'This company is probably the best company I've ever worked for, definitely. And that's why I said, like the day I stop working here is probably the day I leave the country. Because we are, of course we are, everybody always moans, for something, we do too, but we all actually know, that we are pretty lucky to work here.'

(Interview 5, Games & Electronic Publishing 1)

'I have a huge love/hate relationship with Dublin you know, a lot of the stuff I've just said probably sounded really negative but there's a lot of things here that I absolutely adore you know. It's the opposite side of it really, you know the people are incredibly friendly, it's a great upcoming arts place... I'm a bit of a traveller like, I get bored quickly so I'd see myself here probably for the next 2 years but I couldn't say after that, a lot of it has to do with the boyfriend here so we'll see.'

(Interview 21, Games & Electronic Publishing 8)

From a negative perspective, there were a number of factors deemed as a drawback in terms of remaining in Dublin. As discussed in terms of the rental market more generally, those who were at a point in their life where they were considering settling down saw the high price of housing in Dublin in recent years as being a severe drawback to settling in Dublin. For example, for one respondent, in his mid twenties, the cost of housing was seen as being a severely restrictive force in terms of overall quality of life:

'...The high price it is ridiculous. I mean it does not justify you know the spend does not... The price is not equivalent to, to the life I want to live I mean, its not actually not just space. I mean cheating, this pricing, the housing market has been cheating people of a lot of happiness. And if people would spend all their money on that and then have to work towards paying that off for their whole life, that's not how I want to live. I wanna live, if I am not able to afford a house here I will not stay.'

(Interview 7, Games & Electronic Publishing 3)

For another respondent in the same age group the cost of housing was seen as part and parcel of the overall cost of living in Dublin:

'That's the thing, now, again for whatever reason [when] this job's over, I think I'll be gone. For two reasons. The first one is, I think I've been here long enough. I've experienced Irish culture even before I saw its change in the past ten years. I love it. I love to hate it and I hate to love it at the same time... If I was to settle down, it wouldn't be here because everything is just so so so expensive. I mean talking about a house, talking about food and everything. I mean, I'm ok on my own, but if I was to actually have a child or something, that would be totally different story.'

(Interview 5, Games and Electronic Publishing 1)

For those who are more settled, the plans revolved around the reality of their business and the importance of remaining in Dublin, but with a dream of eventually trying to leave the more built up area of Dublin and its surroundings in search of a more tranquil setting in the country side:

'We'd like to eventually, like to have a bigger house maybe down the country and at the moment it's a semi-detached house. And you know we would like to build our own house eventually but that's the distant future.'

(Interview 19, Games and Electronic Publishing 7)

5.4.7 Summary

Box 5.3 Summary of main findings for Computer Games & Electronic Publishing Sector

Computer Games and Electronic Publishing

Summary of main issues

- Movement to Dublin was based on a mix of reasons, with family playing a role for some of the more settled respondents, but the majority, being under 35, influence by access to employment and other factors, such as langzame
- Other softer factors played a bigger role in this sector, with reasons for movement overlapping between 'hard' and 'soft'
- The city-centre was a primary focus for many employees in this sector
- Proximity to work and ability to avoid poor public transport was a direct influence on residential location, but being close to desired amenities, such as those associated with city-centre living
- Public transport viewed as being well below standard
- Unlike both the Business and Management Consultancy and Film and Television sectors, there was a perception that Dublin was an easy place to meet new people and make new friends
- Networking seen as being a part and parcel of both job, with employees social life directly connected to their employment
- The role of creativity was seen to be of higher importance in this sector than the other two sectors
- Both rental and housing costs were seen as being restrictive in terms of remaining in Dublin for the majority of younger and more mobile respondents

5.5 The stakeholders perspective

Five stakeholders were interviewed in order to investigate further the various themes emerging from the transnational migrant interviews. Two stakeholders were interviewed so as to investigate recent migration trends and policy in Ireland and particularly within the Dublin region. A further three stakeholders were interviewed with a view to exploring themes relating to employment and the overall strength of those industries in the Dublin region more generally. Throughout the interviews with stakeholders with a background in employment and industry, there was an emphasis on the growing importance of 'soft' factors in terms of the present and future of Dublin's growth in relation to other European cities. The general consensus was that Dublin had been successful in attracting employers in the past based on 'hard' factors, such as the labour pool and education and now the focus should shift to the softer factors. In this regard, much of the discussion with the stakeholders involved in issues

related to migration, there was an emphasis on the role of integration of migrant workers through policy and planning.

Table 5.4 Summary of Stakeholder Interviews

	Position/Organisation
Stakeholder Interview 1	Leading Academic Exploring themes relating to Migration
Stakeholder Interview 2	Representative of IDA for South East Region
Stakeholder Interview 3	Integration Officer, Dublin City Council
Stakeholder Interview 4	Human Resource Manager, Leading Games Company
Stakeholder Interview 5	Policy Analyst, Dublin Chamber of Commerce

5.5.1 Location factors: The role of 'hard' and 'soft' factors

As can be seen from the following quotes, the 'hard' factors, such as the availability of a highly skilled pool of labour, and high standards of education are the most important factors for location choice. 'Soft' factors play a secondary role in location decision-making. This conforms to previous results presented by Murphy and Redmond (2008). There was also a perception amongst those stakeholders involved in promoting industry and recruiting staff that Dublin was not competing with other places in Ireland, but with other cities around Europe and beyond:

'I think that you know part of that story is the attractiveness of the local labour pool in terms of relevant skills you know relatively high level standard of education. English speaking I think is still relevant for some of the services we deliver but also it is about the attractiveness of a location over another location in terms of, by that I mean, sort of more broadly speaking attractiveness you know as a quality of life. I think increasingly its those factors that are relevant for attracting some of the kinds of people that high value added is needed to attract so in a very simple sense if you want the rocket scientist just that is the expert in you know this particular area of biotechnology, that person, he or she, has a choice between Dublin or France or you know, its actually city choice. So it's a little valley somewhere or its Singapore or Barcelona...'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

'So they looked at a few different European countries, eastern European countries. I think mostly Bulgaria, places like that, and Dublin was selected as the most suitable location. Primarily because of the multi-cultural, the fact that it's a hub for young creative people if you like...'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

Despite these perspectives, and as pointed out in ACRE Report 6.13, the softer factors are not strong enough on their own, as demands on transport and housing are essential elements for which both the labour pool and employers look for. There was a perception amongst the stakeholders, that recently established companies were taking issues surrounding public transport combined with the age profile and social/cultural preferences of their workforce into account when choosing a location in Dublin. In essence, these perspectives supported the views expressed by many of the respondents in terms of locating in a suitable location relative to place of work, so as not to rely solely on public transport:

'Well I think in terms of where Google located, they did look at it quite closely and they did know who they were looking at hiring, they knew it was the younger twenty to thirty international work force. So they did look for something that was very city centre, because just the way Dublin's set up its very radial network so if your in the centre you can get people from all over and particularly I think, now I don't know the statistic but there's something like eighty percent of Google's work force are within five km, so most people are walking, cycling you know. They're not coming in from the suburbs, it's very heavily dominated by young mobile people who, so rental accommodation city centre would be key here.'

(Stakeholder 2, IDA Representative)

As indicated by the respondents in the computer games industry, a city-centre location was sought after by new companies setting up for both 'hard' and 'soft' reasons:

'I think if we were out in the sticks somewhere City west or whatever it might be more difficult to attract people. The type of person that we, like our profile that we have people who are within the age group of say the youngest we have is nineteen and the average would be about twenty five. So those folks like to live in the city centre, most of them actually, a lot of them live in Cork Street, you know, so they've got apartments where they can walk to work and no costs around transport and that. And there are others who prefer to live outside, but certainly the city centre is attractive to the majority.'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

As pointed out by respondents from the various sectors in this report, the high cost of accommodation was seen by those stakeholders – particularly those involved in industry – as a drawback in terms of attracting migrant workers in the creative-knowledge sector:

'...We have to stress before they come you know, give them an idea of the expense of an apartment. Particularly if they wanted to be on their own because, say somebody coming from Bavaria or Southern Spain they wouldn't, they may not know that it is quite expensive for an apartment. So while Dublin is a great city in that they do, they are surprised about how expensive it is...'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

However, and particularly given the amount of private rentable accommodation presently available in Dublin, this was not seen as being detrimental to the attraction of Dublin as a location. As the same stakeholder continued:

'...But we haven't found it to be a deterrent and in fact once you offer them support and advice we found that people, particular if they start together, you know, and during the summer you know, we had say ten people starting every week, very often we found that four or five of them or even in one case ten of them took over a whole house you know and a huge house or whatever and sorted themselves out. They're I suppose resourceful enough to be able to find cheaper options as well around sharing... It is expensive to live in the city centre... but they do want to be in the city centre and they do want to be in Dublin.'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

The popularity of private rented accommodation amongst migrant groups was reiterated by both stakeholders with an insight into migration in Dublin:

'...Migrants are significantly more likely to be living in private rented accommodation... So wherever you have high levels of rental accommodation you will have high levels of migrants.'

(Stakeholder 1, Migrant Expert)

'...The age profile, the demographic of immigration coming to the city in particular over the last number of years was primarily you know young, twenty three to thirty three, single... and people also had access to a ready supply of rental housing. So they were coming for employment, getting employment with reasonably good access to housing and primarily within the city centre. The central city area because of proximity to transport and jobs and all the rest of it.'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

As well as the 'hard' factors mentioned above, the 'softer' factors relating to quality of life and getting the experience of another place or city were seen by stakeholders from across the board as being of increased importance in terms of migrants coming to Dublin. So while the economic factors were seen as being highly relevant, those with a direct involvement in migration saw other factors as playing an important role:

'A lot of migrants to Ireland are relatively young, and in research that I've done with others, for example for the Immigrant Council, many of them say well they moved to Ireland, they thought they'd get work, but they also wanted the experience of living somewhere else. They wanted the adventure of living in a different country, they wanted to travel, and travelling to a place where they were able to support themselves at the same time seemed important. So that's one group of migrants for whom economic factors are enabling, but not the main reason for their move.'

(Stakeholder 1, Migration Expert)

5.5.2 *The role of Dublin*

For those stakeholders dealing with promoting industry and employment in the Dublin area, 'hard' factors, such as transportation infrastructure, was seen as a key obstacle in terms of the overall quality of life and attractiveness of Dublin as a potential destination for creative knowledge workers. However, there was also a perception amongst the various stakeholders that its increased diversity in recent years was acting to further attract a pool of talent.

As indicated above, there was a general consensus that many of the newer industries were taking the poor standard of public transport into account when locating in Dublin:

'Transport is very relevant. I think you know, a good quality transport system, people getting to and from work, is critical to any company on a scale sense. So again it's an issue I think its coming up, but I mean I'm aware that Google for example want to give their staff bicycles... So it's these things, whilst they can be relatively inexpensive but can be critical in terms of determining those quality of life variables that make some of these staff make their choices. We want to make sure Dublin is a good proposition for them.'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

'In part its accessibility. Its sort of city living, it's being able to walk to work and not have to rely on cars on public transport. So I think probably accessibility to work in a city where the transport system isn't all that great [is] the the most important. Then, I suppose closeness too leisure activities, you know whether its music or theatre or film, places where particular kinds of social interaction that matter also.'

(Stakeholder 1, Migrant Expert)

In general, the view that Dublin has become more multi-cultural and a diverse due to recent in-migration was used as a reference point by all stakeholders across the spectrum. This view was concisely summarised by a representative from Dublin City Council:

'I think it's fairly evident in terms of what you see within the streets or within areas of the city that certainly [they have] a more pronounced ethnic feel than they had five years ago or ten years ago.' (Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

Those working within areas orientated towards promoting industry and employment saw these changes as having a positive impact the city more generally. For example, from the perspective of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, Dublin has accommodated a significant amount of social change in recent years;

'...without the kind of unrest that might otherwise be the case. It's been a positive sign. So we support the ideas of tolerance and diversity you know and I think that, you know, the other benefit of the Irish economy and demographics is its population structure, which is... Nearly half the population is still under thirty five or you know under thirty. Its very youth orientated compared to say the other cities which one might travel to, which means that these people are in the main more open to diversity in a way that maybe older generations aren't. So that's actually a bit of an advantage for the city.'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

The ideas of tolerance and diversity were also seen as key for Dublin City Council in terms of attracting creative knowledge workers:

'So if it's a person who is, you know, you want to attract in the city because of their creativity and their knowledge and their particular technical or other expertise, right, it goes back to the point that if there's a hostile or if there's a perception of a hostile environment then they are not going to come here...'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

5.5.3 Promoting and attracting workers

Picking up on the overall diversity of the city, the increased diversity of various companies that had recently set up was seen as a positive reflection of Ireland, and, more particularly, Dublin. For organisations, such as the Industrial Development Board (IDA), this was seen as a key in terms of attracting further employees:

'For Google to have been able to grow over 4 years from 50 to over 1500, with that spread of languages, with that spread of skills it's a testament to what can be done here but it also shows that they located here because they had that potential to expand and grow and that is because they have a multinational workforce, its definitely a positive for us...'

(Stakeholder 2, IDA Representative)

For a country that had marketed itself using imagery long associated as being stereotypically Ireland or 'Dublin', the new multiculturalism was seen as a challenge for organisations in terms of altering the way they now defined what being 'Irish' was about, or what Dublin had to offer. It could be seen that ideas related to 'flexibility', 'innovation', and 'creativity' were becoming dominant in terms of promoting industry in Ireland:

'What we are selling now are James Joyce and these are the kinds of things that have always been part of the Irish spirit... And now we're valuing more the flexibility and the creativity and the innovation that you can find in us that has driven that business before so... But definitely we have to define ourselves in a global context so there is definitely a multicultural element to being in Dublin or being in Ireland. But I don't know how that will affect the character of what we are selling, but we are definitely selling Dublin as a multinational city that is open to business and to talent.'

(Stakeholder 2, IDA Representative)

In terms of bringing in staff, one stakeholder involved in recruitment in one of the larger gaming companies in Dublin, identified the combination of factors involved in enticing potential employees to Dublin. For the company it was important that the employees had an interest in gaming, and were passionate about computer games. At the time of setting up there was a worry that they would have to pay considerable amounts in relocation fees.

'But if Dublin wasn't a vibrant city which is lots of fun for young people, I don't think they would come. So... what we found after about six months and we were clocking up all of these expenses about relocating, that in fact these young knowledge workers or whatever we like to call them are very mobile. If they find the right job and it is in Dublin, they will come with a couple of suitcases and you maybe pay for them to come on a plane, they'll come very quickly and with great flexibility, so you don't need to you know, entice them too much, they come in anyway.'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

Picking up on examples of migrant workers ending up working in areas below their experience or qualification, one stakeholder with experience in researching on issues relating to migration commented on the extent to which this undermined the clean image of the 'creative city' hypothesis:

'If you think about in Ireland what's happening you have highly skilled people working as cleaners, working in security. I think cleaning and security are among the main sites that we see the enforcing of what it takes for a creative city to operate in a way that's envisaged by the theorists. Cleaning up and making it look a particular way whether it's in private or public spaces is central to that and cleaning is predominately now a migrant activity.'

(Stakeholder 1, Migrant Expert)

5.5.4 Projecting the future

Throughout the stakeholder interviews, much of the discussion revolved around the future, and how the various agencies would deal with both economic and societal change. One issue which was raised by various stakeholders was what was perceived to be the relative lack of knowledge in terms of what immigration meant for Ireland, and Dublin. There was a perception that central government were still lagging behind in terms of what migration meant:

'Its very hard to predict because you have, you know, the real unknown question for Ireland and for Dublin in particular; I suppose is what portion of recent inward migrants are temporary and I don't know that we know the answer to that.'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

'The first big challenge is that we've treated migration as temporary and we refuse to recognise the fact that migration is not necessarily temporary and... so the first challenge is to recognise that in fact migration is not necessarily temporary and probably is permanent...'

(Stakeholder 1, Migrant Expert)

This, it seemed, was essential for understanding how the future of the creative-knowledge economy in Dublin would play out. For example, throughout the interview phase it became apparent that there was a large cohort of people in the Computer Games and Electronic Publishing sector between their mid twenties and early thirties (See Murphy, Redmond &

McKnight, 2008). This was particularly evident in the games industry. This raises questions about the future of both the industry and those who are working within it as they grow older and choose to settle down. The extent to which employees were content in the work that they were doing, and the promotion of diversification in the work-force was seen as a key element in retaining staff over a long period:

'I think we'll have to be able to create careers for people you know to demonstrate that there is a career progression for people. We've been working on that even already. People have even in the last year moved from say Customer Support to Community Management or to QA. So I can see people staying. So far our attrition is actually quite low because it is a customer service environment or it's an environment that could be very, there could be a very high turnover. But I think that because of the maybe creative nature, the fact that the product is exciting, you know, the game, we're keeping that turnover down to about thirteen percent which is very low...'

(Stakeholder 4, Human Resources)

'We're very aware of the need to keep Ireland and Dublin as an attractive location for the talent, because again talent is what draws the business so we would work with Stake Holders in terms of looking at how to keep it attractive... I guess keeping Ireland relatively high profile as a knowledge economy as a creative economy and bringing over the business to provide jobs for Irish graduates coming through. But also to continue to attract, because having names like Google, Face Book, they're internationally recognisable brands and that kind of contributes to the brand of Ireland inc and in terms of attracting business but also in terms of attracting people.'

(Stakeholder 2, IDA Representative)

In terms of achieving these aims, the Chamber of Commerce saw the cost and quality of housing along with infrastructure projects, such as public transport as being essential elements for attracting and maintaining talent:

'I think the challenge for the greater Dublin area is the low density and the quality of public transport and the two we link together so in theory we have high densities around major public transport networks and that's the way things are. In practice we've been a bit less good at delivering that in the last twenty years and housing is such a long term project that if you, you know probably relevant to cover that time and the, what that means is that its inefficient to provide public transport in certain areas, it seems to be heavily subsidised otherwise... Then they get very high housing costs now that's certainly been a factor in terms of effecting choice of workers to work in Dublin even, the country or from abroad.'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

For the IDA, the experiences of recently established companies was a positive in that it could be looked at by similarly minded companies in terms of their potential location:

'Facebook are looking very closely at Google's model in terms of where they want to locate. They've asked us for breakdowns of each suburb in Dublin so that they can see where they want to locate their business and they're definitely learning from Google. There's a connection there.'

(Stakeholder 2, IDA Representative)

In terms of the 'softer' elements, the aspirations of Dublin City Council's Integration office in terms of the future are succinctly expressed in the following quote:

'You know, there will be a general belief that Dublin is a good place to be. It's a sort of a relatively young, open city, you know. It's got lot of attractions but when you get down to living here, you know, if you make the choice to live here, what do you want to find? Do you want clean, safe, green secure environment, do you want attractions, you want access to culture and to arts, to sport, to media? And that you want I suppose a society that, and an image, or maybe a city that projects itself out to be open, diverse and how is that reflected in its various services and policies?'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

5.5.4 Migration policy

Although coming from a variety of backgrounds, the various stakeholders were each concerned about issues around integration. This was either from the perspective of general societal integration, or in terms of integrating migrant workers into the economy. It was seen as a key issue in terms of the future of Dublin's growth:

'Planning for integration is something you know that I think you know we could spend a little bit more time doing. I mean ideally we wouldn't be running it in a you know, I don't want to be running a non national business forum for business owners who are not from Ireland, it should be integration in the best sense of the word.'

(Stakeholder 5, Dublin Chamber of Commerce Representative)

'So policy, and then I guess the big kind of big unspoken challenges around integration. We have a Minister for Integration, we have a lots of comments on integration and the need for integration, but we have very little in the way of either an understanding of what integration should be and might be and how we measure our progress towards integration. So in terms of policy we have lots of vacuums, in terms of official knowledge about migrants and that I think is a big challenge for policy more broadly. I mean probably we also know very little in the way in terms of statistics. We don't count people leaving Ireland so we actually have no idea who is leaving, so we're guessing all the time.'

(Stakeholder 1, Migrant Expert)

This was something that the local authority, Dublin City Council, are becoming increasingly aware of:

'...[T]he City Council itself through its political administration... the members or the elected members of the City Council, so they should have a stronger awareness, they should have a stronger say in terms of how to identify perhaps and how to promote what the value of a diverse city can bring.'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

In terms of the everyday life of the city, Dublin City Council are presently trying to grapple with the various issues associated with a multi-cultural city. On the one hand they are aware of the need to include the various perspectives of different cultural groups in any new development plan, but on the other they are wary of promoting the idea of 'ethnic quarters' for fear of segregation and polarisation:

'We have for example a Chinatown area, we have an Asian quarter, you know? Is that something that we should proactively promote or is it something that we need to just manage differently?... Is that going to concentrate new business, create new opportunities, create a kind of an ethnic feel for a particular area in the city that will attract people who are going to say, yes, this is a good place to be... Do we support that, or is that, you know in one sense, creating polarisation, you know?'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

The conclusion of the representative was that placing loose structures in place may bring about the desired results:

'I think broadly speaking it was a positive thing, right, you can only create the supporting conditions where people themselves, the entrepreneurs will gravitate towards it and say, yes, this is an opportunity for me, as opposed to consciously maybe marking out territory which would create the kind of ghettoisation which you would have to fear for now.'

(Stakeholder 3, Dublin City Council Representative)

5.5.6 Summary

Box 5.4 Summary of main findings from stakeholder interviews

Stakeholder Interviews

Summary of main issues

- Perspective, that hard factors exist and now 'soft' factors will play greater role
- Newer industries taking impact of poor transport infrastructure on residential choice patterns of potential employees into account in selecting specific location in the city
- Acknowledgement of price restriction for incoming transnational migrant workers. Particularly from the stakeholder involved directly in recruitment
- Perspective that Dublin has become more diverse and cosmopolitan in recent years, which is seen as a factor in the attraction of young migrant workers across the socio-economic spectrum
- General consensus that more needs to be done in terms of migrant policy in both Ireland, and at the city level in Dublin
- Need to understand what migration means for Dublin and Ireland in terms of the longer-term

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Overview

The aim of this work package has been to examine the prime motivating factors attracting transnational migrant workers to the Greater Dublin Area. Following from work package 6.13, three separate sectors were examined according to NACE Code classification: 1) NACE 74.14: Business Management & Consultancy Activities; 2) NACE 921 & 922: Motion Picture and Video: Radio and Television Activities; 3) NACE 722: Computer Games & Electronic Publishing.

Through an analysis of the interviews conducted, various themes emerged in terms of migration to the Greater Dublin Area. Initially, it was clear that the reasons for people migrating to Ireland, and Dublin more particularly, differed to reasons for staying. This made the breakdown between the examination of 'hard' and 'soft' factors more complex, in that it could be seen that despite frustrations with particular factors, there were over-riding circumstances which maintained people in the city over a prolonged period of time. Furthermore, distinct differences could be noted in terms of selecting a location in which to live within the city. These were related to personal trajectories, including the relative location of extended family, position within the life cycle, and access to various amenities.

The choice of three particular sectors for selection has allowed a certain amount of cross-comparison, and limited the degree to which large statements can be generated about the creative knowledge economy, or, more particularly, transnational migrants in the creative knowledge economy. Therefore, it attempts to draw on individual experience within each sub-sector. Although various generalisations are drawn from the various respondents, it is hard to know if the results are representative of the particular sub-sectors, and the creative knowledge economy more broadly.

6.2 General conclusions

6.2.1 *The role of Dublin*

The decisions to move to Dublin varied both between and within the various three sectors, and were dependent on relative position within the 'life path'. However, amongst the various respondents, two 'hard' factors could be seen as particularly dominant, work and family connections. Given the rapid rate of job creation in Ireland from the mid 1990s to 2006, it was no surprise that work was a dominant theme. Although often implicit within interviews, it became evident that the availability of plentiful and well paid jobs was a crucial factor in attracting trans-national migrants. Some had also come to college and then stayed on to work afterwards. For many workers, Dublin was seen as being the only realistic area in which to settle within Ireland, particularly as it was the centre of job creation during the years of the economic boom. Predominantly, this was related to the ability to find work in the area in their field of expertise. For example, for those working in the television and film sector, Dublin was seen as essentially being the only possible choice, with the industry being predominantly located in the area surrounding the national broadcaster, RTE. Although, respondents in other sectors had thought about other areas within Ireland, Dublin was seen as being more attractive in terms of availability of work along with other quality of life variables.

Secondly, family connections played an important role in terms of movement. This could be seen more particularly for those who were more settled or looking to settle down, with movement being related to the movement of a partner or spouse. For those who were moving unrelated to family related decisions, it could initially be garnered that language was a prerequisite for movement to Dublin, with 'soft' factors such as ambitions to travel and see other places also featuring prominently. The choice of Dublin over other cities, such as London, was related to scale.

'Hard' factors, such as proximity to transport infrastructure along with rental and general housing costs set the boundaries around which respondents made decisions regarding choice of residential location, but within these boundaries, the 'softer' factors, such as access to general amenities influenced location decisions. In terms of settling in Dublin, a variety of factors were taken into account when choosing a residential location. In general there was a highly negative perception of Dublin's transport infrastructure. This was related to both traffic congestion and the poor quality of public transport. The consequence of this was that the majority of respondents either lived in an area close to public transport, or within easy access of work through walking. While this also depended on other variables, it could be seen that those who were more settled and living in suburban locations negotiated the transport issues by selecting an area which was in close proximity to the better transport infrastructure in the city, while also benefiting from access to various amenities such as the mountains and the sea. For those residing in the city-centre, being close to public transport connections such as the Luas or the Dart was of importance, but many chose to walk to their place of work. Therefore, while public transport was a significant issue, it was something that was negotiated on a daily basis.

The general atmosphere or 'buzz' of Dublin was generally viewed in a positive light, with the younger and single respondents being more attracted to the city-centre locations, and older more settled respondents preferring the amenities of the suburban areas, such as the sea-side and mountains. In general, and particularly amongst the former group, there was a perception that Dublin was too dominated by activities which revolved around eating and drinking, without really having other potential outlets for socialisation. However, and particularly amongst the respondents from the computer games industry, this was seen in a positive light, and as the centre of their social lives. This brings us to issues relating to how people become settled in particular cities, and develop an attachment to such places. Although there were particular frustrations, such as with transportation, there was something that retained people in Dublin, which may go beyond questions of 'hard' and 'soft' factors.

6.2.2 *Labour & labour processes*

The work related activities of each respondent varied considerably both between and within each sector. However, in each sector there was a sense of flexibility in terms of everyday activities, and sense of ownership of the various tasks being undertaken. The role of 'creativity' also varied between each sector, with those working in the computer games & electronic publishing having a greater sense of the role of creativity than that of either TV & Film or business and management consultancy. Although those involved in graphics within the TV & Film sector perceived creativity to play an important role, many within this sector, as well as those in business & management consultancy, saw change as being more related to innovation rather than creativity. More precisely, the importance of individuals having a particular area of expertise which could be used in different situations was seen as being beneficial to particular project or task at hand. In general the role and impact of new technologies was perceived to vary considerably between each sector. Although internet and e-mail can be seen to have had a wider impact in terms of the global economy, it was seen as playing a much bigger role in TV & film and electronic publishing & computer games than in business & management consultancy.

Throughout the interviews discussion relating to networks and networking spanned that of formal work networks, associated with Business Management & Consultancy to the conscious engagement in separate specialised business networks by those involved in smaller operations. Discussion about networks also encompassed discussion of wider social networks and their importance in terms of settling in to everyday life in Dublin. While many saw work networks as something to be engaged in purely from the perspective of work, others saw it as linking with their social life. In this regard, many working within the Games & Electronic Publishing industry saw their wider work network as inseparable from their wider social network. Apart from this sector, there was a wider perception that it was difficult to get to know Irish people on a deeper level.

6.2.3 Future projections

In general those who had a family or were considering starting a family felt more settled in Dublin, and didn't have much consideration of moving outside the city in the coming years. For those who were single, or without commitments to paying a mortgage there was a high chance that they would leave in the coming years. In general this was due to going back home, or to look for other experiences elsewhere. Although the general frustrations with public transport and other 'hard' factors didn't necessarily cause respondents to think of leaving, other factors, including price of housing and general cost of living, were seen as potentially forcing a move.

In the short period since the interviews were carried out, there has been a sharp change in the global economy, which, like many other former 'boom-time' cities, has been acutely felt in the Greater Dublin Area, and Ireland more widely. The inter-reliance of various sectors of the economy has been brought sharply into focus by some recent events. For example, the slow-down in the building trade in Ireland – of which Dublin played a leading role – has put extreme pressure on architecture as an industry. As pointed out by a recent survey conducted by Royal Institute of Architects in Ireland, as many as forty one per cent of architects in Ireland may have lost their job between January 2008 and March 2009 (See www.riai.ie) As such, care must be taken when implementing policies related to the creative knowledge economy. As succinctly summarised by Allen Scott in the 2006 OECD report; *Competitive Cities in a Global Economy*:

'The key to this conundrum lies in the production system. Any city that lacks a system of employment able to provide these individuals with appropriate means of earning a living is scarcely likely to induce significant numbers of them to take up permanent residence there, no matter what other encouragements policy makers may offer. At the same time, the mere presence of "creative people" is not enough to sustain urban creativity over long periods of time' (OECD, 2006 299).

Although only a few of the respondents highlighted the slowdown in their sector as a primary worry, access to employment is of significant importance in terms of sustaining Dublin's economy.

As pointed out in ACRE report 6.13, recent years have seen a large amount of interest in improving the 'soft' factors at the city council and local authority level, while the 'hard' factors such as key infrastructure projects are slower to roll out. Furthermore, the findings from this report indicate that factors which may be deemed 'soft', such as family connections, and attachment to place, go far beyond discussions relating to the 'buzz' of the city, or other amenities, and may prove difficult to include in policy discussions. Furthermore, and particularly at the level of planning policy, the promotion of various amenities and other soft factors needs to take cognisance of its wider societal impact. The promotion of a better quality of life needs to be promoted on a wider city level as opposed to the narrow confines of a particular class consciousness. Inclusive policies are not only important from the perspective of fostering 'tolerance' and diversity as a means of promoting economic goals, but should be a primary aim of those responsible for urban policy as an end in itself.

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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