Leipzig: A destination for transnational migrants in creative and knowledge-intensive industries?

The view of transnational migrants

ACRE report 7.6

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Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union

Amsterdam 2009
AMIDSt, University of Amsterdam
ACRE
ACRE is an acronym of the international research project ‘Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union’.

The project is funded under the Priority 7 ‘Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-based Society’ within the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Union (contract no 028270).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Transnational migrants only play a minor role in the social fabric of Leipzig. Due to a specific historic, political and economic constellation, Leipzig only has a small proportion of transnational migrants, compared to other cities in Western Germany. This situation make the problem perceptions and articulations of the transnational migrants relevant in order to evaluate recent efforts of knowledge-based and creative institutions to attract the ‘creative class’ to Leipzig. It is obvious, that the articulation of a tolerant, open-minded and migration friendly firm, institution or milieu will influence the general perception of a city-region.

Although Leipzig promotes itself as an open-minded trading place with a long history, it has to be stated that Leipzig’s current economic structure is characterised by only a small share of internationally oriented industries and a large proportion of public sector employment. Leipzig still suffers from a rather marginal inflow of foreign direct investment – not only in industrial production but also even more in knowledge-intensive industries. A distinct political and historical development path still determines the present situation.

Leipzig still forms a rather homogenous space in cultural and ethnical terms. Concerning the migration flows, Leipzig reflects a specific East German pattern, which differs from Western German migrating patterns especially in the origins of foreigners. For instance Leipzig lacks the history of Gastarbeiter immigration, which in many European cities led to a large proportion of foreign residents and workers and thus shaped the social fabric of cities. These two key factors – the low degree of internationalisation of the economy as well as the distinct socio-political context – determine the present position of Leipzig concerning the status of migration in general.

With a qualitative approach, the perception of the institutional landscape of Leipzig by transnational migrants could be Analysed in more depth. The types presented in chapter 7 and briefly mentioned in section 8.1 provide valuable information about the perception of the institutional landscape. The following aspects allow to discuss the basic assumption, presented mainly by regional economist Richard Florida, that a tolerant and open-minded urban climate has to be considered as a central prerequisite for attracting those targeted high-qualified knowledge and creative workers in their urban realm. The normative dimension allows asking how the interviewees have explicitly and implicitly related their personal, professional, and social situation to the distinct context of Leipzig. The following aspects allow a first interpretation of the current institutional landscape as well as its capacity to integrate transnational workers:
Existing social and leisure opportunities - low utilisation

It was obvious that a rich and diverse institutional landscape of social and leisure opportunities, e.g. also learning options in the field of language course is available to many interviewees in knowledge-intensive industries. These opportunities, e.g. sport courses in universities, are important fields for engaging with the city and its inhabitants in a non-working environment. Many transnational workers are aware and know of these extra amenities although they demonstrate low orientation how to practically engage in. Linking opportunities with the demands and the individual situation of transnational workers, who are only temporarily in Leipzig, appears to be rather undeveloped. It seems that the ‘hardware’ exists (facilities, courses, technical infrastructure...) although the software (adequate communications tools, man power...), that means how to bring and invite transnational workers in these opportunities is not well developed.

The inner-directedness of transnational workers in knowledge-intensive industries

This observation also led to the conclusion that especially transnational knowledge-intensive workers are ‘inner directed’ that means they operate on a clear and determined firm-based or individual professional trajectory and are thus not explicitly working to fully engage in the social fabric of their temporary place of work, in this case the city of Leipzig. Especially transnational companies very often provide multiple inner-firm based opportunities to engage, and to socialise next to work. That is why a high degree of inner-directed trajectories leads to different interactions with the institutional fabric of the city of Leipzig.

The outer-directedness of transnational workers in creative industries

When looking at the case of transnational creative workers, a clear contrast can be detected: these transnational agents interact in quite a different way with the institutional fabric of Leipzig. Looking at the working conditions of transnational workers in core creative activities fields most of them operate on individual motives. Their degree of professional stability is definitely lower, compared to transnational workers in knowledge-intensive industries. These creative workers operate mainly in highly self-organised and less institutionalised context with less official support and opportunities. Their professional trajectories as well as their professional career opportunities depend to a high degree on personal networks. These networks are informal and instable per se, depending on trust, sympathy but not on formalised contracts. That is why it can be assumed that transnational workers have to engage in a rather different way with representatives of cultural, creative, and intermediary institutions when being in a foreign context such as Leipzig. They have to present themselves, their work, as well as their world-view to these representatives, as well as to leading local agents of creative milieus. Apart form this outer orientation, it can be assumed that creative and artistic practices tend to interact to a large degree with the social, economic, urban as well as political environment. What we consider as symbolic ‘products’ is often a reaction to a distinct perception of the outer world (although it may be very personal).
Linking the professional argument with the production process of creative workers, generally speaking, core creative workers very often demonstrate a higher interest in as well as a sensitive perception of the respective context they live in.

Therefore a major difference to the transnational worker in knowledge-intensive industries is the degree of outer-directedness of creative workers in respect to the inner-directedness of the first.
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the region

This report will present results from empirical research on the professional and private life of transnational migrants in creative and knowledge-intensive industries in Leipzig. The city region Leipzig is situated in the Northwest of Saxony, one of the five Eastern German Bundesländer. Leipzig, thus, represents a specific case study within the portfolio of European agglomerations in the ACRE project. On the one hand there is a large group of Western European cities with a continuous development under capitalist political systems since several decades (Amsterdam, Barcelona, Birmingham, Helsinki, Munich, Toulouse, Milan, and Dublin). These cities could develop without significant interruption in a climate of political stability. On the other hand there are cities in post-socialist transition from Eastern Europe (Budapest, Poznan, Riga, and Sofia). For them the end of the Eastern European socialism meant significant rupture in the economic, social, and political spheres – they had to define themselves new. In contrast, the Fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany led to a different mechanism of transition. The Eastern German cities did not have to struggle with a complete social redefinition, as they simply adapted Western German political, economic, and social institutions. Eastern Germany – with large support of the Eastern German population – simply merged into Germany. One consequence of this integration into an existing, and wealthy, system was that Eastern German regions did not have to stem the whole transition job on their own. With ongoing large-scale financial support Eastern German cities were pushed onto levels of infrastructure and institutional settings today partly even better than in Western German regions. Thus, Leipzig, since 1989, passed through a very specific transition path.

One important aspect of this transition path is the increased mobility and exchange of parts of the Leipzig population. During the GDR-regime, mobility was restricted in spatial as well as in a socio-economic sense. Even short term travelling for vacation to foreign countries was nearly impossible. Moving around thus was only possible within the GDR-territories, and mostly it was state-regulated. The population in Leipzig, therefore, was quite homogeneous and forced to be locally rooted. After reunification, two things changed significantly for Leipzig’s inhabitants: first, they were free to go wherever they wanted for working and living, second, the integration of GDR economic facilities into the reunified German economy started with a large wave of deindustrialization – leading to mass unemployment. In 1990, 31,413 inhabitants left the city, and another 19,353 decided to leave the surrounding three districts Leipziger Land, Muldentalkreis, and Delitzsch. This annual population exit slightly decreased until 2007: with 19,658 for the city of Leipzig and 12,563 for the surrounding districts. In this course of this emigration, the population of Leipzig sank from 557,341 in

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1 Statistical Office of the Free State of Saxony: http://www.statistik.sachsen.de/21/02_03/02_03_tabellenliste.asp (last visited: February 1st, 2009)
1990 to 493,208 by the end of 2000. However, since the late 1990s immigration exceeds emigration, and birth rates rise again. Thus, Leipzig could account for 510,512 inhabitants in 2007. These considerations show, that the composition of Leipzig’s population changed in the last years. Leipzig became rapidly integrated into a large-distance migration flux, and the amount of incoming people from other regions in Germany and Europe is rising slowly but constantly. Homogeneity and locally rootedness are losing their predominance as common pattern of Leipzig’s population.

Such a development influences the social relationships in a city in many ways. First, elderly immobile – and in the case of Leipzig often enough long-term unemployed – inhabitants have to adapt to the ongoing change. As Brähler and Decker recently found in a study among Germans (Brähler and Decker, 2008), high risks for xenophobic right-wing attitudes exist predominantly among those ones feeling economically and politically excluded: often elderly, unemployed, with lower education. Unemployment and the feeling of exclusion might be well known to large parts of the Leipzig population, having gone through the post-socialist transition. When in addition, these groups also claim – due to a strong local rootedness – the cities as their own territory, others who might come from elsewhere to the city and might be more successful in achieving social status, rapidly become opponents in defining what is Leipzig and what not. German media relish in stigmatising Eastern Germany as the hotspot of German xenophobia. This image of a homogeneous space controlled by right-wing street-life hooligans – dangerous for any foreigner – is definitely careless and wrong. Nonetheless, the results of regional parliament elections – also in Saxony – show higher shares of right-wing parties as in other parts of Germany. The confrontation of long-time locals with relatively new groups occupying public spheres and claiming resources clearly leads to conflict potential.

Yet, especially the ones who came to Leipzig are rather a mix of students, highly-skilled workers and low-skilled foreigners. These groups bring a lot of new human and cultural capital into the city region, which fosters its integration into a European and global market. So, it might be a chance and a challenge at once that Leipzig’s recent development – post-socialism, deindustrialisation, immigration surplus – is as it is. In this report we will, thus, try to inform the reader about the capacity of the city region Leipzig to attract, welcome, and integrate transnational migrants into the city’s community. For being eligible, interviewees had to work in creative industries or knowledge-intensive industries. According to the general idea of the ACRE research project, it is especially these sectors which promise a great economic growth potential. Incoming migrants working within the creative or the knowledge-intensive branches are held to be stakeholders of a prospering future of European agglomerations. Their opinions about private and professional life in Leipzig will be sketched out, and different types of migrant backgrounds and integration experiences will be highlighted. Finally, we will discuss Leipzig’s chances to retain this valuable human resource for Leipzig’s future development.

2 Statistical Office of the Free State of Saxony: http://www.statistik.sachsen.de/21/02/02_02_02_01_tabelle.asp (last visited: February 1st, 2009)
1.2 Structure of the report

This report resumes the results of work package 7 of the ACRE project. After a series of standardised interviews with creative and knowledge-intensive workers about their satisfaction with the city region, their professional work environment and their living area (work package 5) and a set of qualitative interviews with freelancers and managers about their business environment (work package 6), work package 7 intended to have a close look at transnational migrants’ motivations to come to the city region Leipzig. Transnational migrants are here defined as highly-skilled workers with a migration background. In distinction to the simple dichotomy ‘foreigner vs. native’ the definition also includes persons with German citizenship, but who have a different mother tongue than German. The research focused on those migrants who are working, or are currently looking for a job, in the city region’s creative and knowledge-intensive industries. Central interests of research concerned the driving forces to come to Leipzig, and the migrants’ considerations whether to stay or to leave the region after a certain sojourn. In addition to this looking-back and forward, the migrants had been asked for their everyday life circumstances and their satisfaction with these. Therefore, a minimum stay of six months in the city region was another precondition for being selected for one of the qualitative interviews. Furthermore, five migration experts had been interviewed in a preliminary phase of the research. They helped to develop an understanding of the migrants’ situations in the city region Leipzig. The expert interviews were held with the following persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation/ Institution</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Specialist Department for extremism and prevention of violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stojan Gugutschkow</td>
<td>Immigrant welfare officer for the City of Leipzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Stefan Röhrbein</td>
<td>President Club International e.V. Leipzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anja Treichel</td>
<td>Executive of association for bi-national families and partners, IAF e.V.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthias Feige</td>
<td>Executive of International affairs IHK Leipzig (Chamber for Industry and Commerce Leipzig)</td>
</tr>
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Transnational migration is a complex economic and social phenomenon which becomes more and more evident in European societies. The integration of the European labour market – with strong political support (e.g. Schengen agreement) – caused a series of research which tries to develop a better theoretical understanding of what is going on when people migrate. Before empirical data of the case study of Leipzig are presented in this report, chapter 2 will give a brief overview over the theoretical understanding of migration. The evolution of the discourse on migration is sketched out in three sections on classical and new theories of migration, as well as on theories of highly skilled migration.

Chapter 3 highlights the degree of internationalisation of Germany’s and especially Leipzig’s economy. The major question here is: how integrated into international economic networks is Leipzig? How international is Leipzig’s workforce?
Another important fact in modern migration theory is the degree to which a local community is open to new input from foreign cultures. The simple use of statistical data is a problematic tool for approaching this issue. Yet, it could be assumed that a population that consists of people with different cultural background and nationalities could be helpful for the integration and absorption of foreign cultures into a domestic majority society.

Chapter 4 will thus present some statistical data on migration from and to Germany. Furthermore, the specificity of the Eastern German context will be stressed out. The former socialist territory of Germany lived through nearly forty years of being bolt towards other nations – even in the Eastern bloc. Therefore migration patterns developed differently from Western Germany. So, until today the migrant population in Eastern Germany is constituted different in comparison to Western Germany. One significant coincident in the Eastern German context is the low percentage of foreign or immigrated population and the simultaneous mass media stigmatisation of Eastern Germany as xenophobic area (e.g. the press releases about ‘no-go’ areas during the FIFA world championships 2006 in Germany).

Subsequently, chapter 5 will narrow the focus onto the city region Leipzig. An examination of available statistical data will help to position Leipzig within the German and post-socialist context. There are significant differences of multi-cultural mixture between rural periphery and urban centres. A central interest of this chapter consists of the question: where is the city region Leipzig placed in the variety of differently mixed spaces? Socio-economic and demographic data for Leipzig will give an overview over the current situation of the migrants and foreign population. Yet, it has to be mentioned that data availability is insufficient for the surrounding districts. Therefore the chapter concentrates on the city Leipzig, and tries to compare it to other larger cities in Germany.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to the formal description of the methodology. As mentioned above, this work package consisted of 5 expert interviews with local representatives of associations, institutions and administration departments dealing with migration in the city region Leipzig. These interviews were used to develop interview guidelines for 25 qualitative, semi-structured interviews with transnational migrants in creative and knowledge-intensive industries in the city Leipzig. This chapter thus provides a more detailed explanation of the applied methodology, gives some definitions, and provides information on the sample.

The knowledge about theoretical approaches about transnational migration, about statistical evidence in Germany and Leipzig, and about the used methodology, subsequently leads to the presentation of the empirical results. The outcomes of the interviews will be presented in chapter 7. The interviews are researched on upcoming typologies of transnational migration. Especially, it will be paid attention to driving forces to come to Leipzig. Then, an analysis of the transnational migrants’ current working and living situation will follow.
Chapter 8 will present a summary of the outcomes of this research in transnational migration in the city region Leipzig. The following questions should be answered:

- How attractive is Leipzig as a destination for transnational migration?
- What types of transnational migrants could be examined in the case of Leipzig? What kind of personal and professional networks characterises these types?
- How important are personal networks, business contacts and the quality of the city of Leipzig for the transnational migrants?
- What are the problems and chances for the city of Leipzig and what policy recommendations can be made?
2 THEORIES OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS

For a better understanding of trans-national migration in creative and knowledge intensive industries in the city of Leipzig 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 Germany. 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 characterised by a wide range of theories. Classical approaches basically deal with economic factors to explain migration processes on the macro-level or decisions to migrate on the micro-level. But the changes of migration processes since the 1990s cannot be described appropriately by classical theories. Hence new approaches try to explain contemporary migration structures. They point out the embeddedness of migrants in social networks and try to focus on the meso-level of migration in form of exchange processes between social spaces.

In this chapter classical approaches of migration research and new theories will be described which focus on labour migration in general. Afterwards there will be a description of approaches which deal with migration of highly skilled in particular. This also includes Florida’s account of the ‘creative class’. His perception of this ‘class’ as being ‘hyper-mobile’ is one of the most contested elements of his creative class thesis. Finally it will be discussed which approaches are appropriate to describe the movement of highly skilled migrants to the city of Leipzig.

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.

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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 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 and 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 (Lewis, 1954; 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 characterised 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. 2, 11; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 38).

Macro-economic theory has its counterpart in micro-economic approaches. Here, the focus lies 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 to migrate. 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 to migrate.

It is assumed that - in comparison to highly skilled - there is a higher incentive to migrate for workers with less human capital even if the expected income level in the destination area is low irrespective to the human capital. With this strategy the non-highly skilled migrants hope to boost their human capital and therefore hope to improve their chances to find jobs in the future where the expected income level is higher.

In contrast, highly skilled workers rather tend to stay in their home countries if the expected income level in the destination area is low. They can take advantage of their human capital in their home country. They are rather encouraged to migrate if the expected income is high (Massey et al., 1993, p. 456, Haug, 2000, p. 5, 13).
Yet, 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, is 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 collectively acting. 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 increased 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. 7).

2.1.4 Dual labour market theory

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

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, pp. 16; Haug, 2000, p. 4; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 40).

### 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 point out the importance of social networks.

#### 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. 17; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 44; Lebhart, 2002, pp. 29; Fawcett, 1989, pp. 671).
2.2.2 Theory of migrant networks

As seen the migration system approach points out the very relevance of ethnic networks built by migrants, their families, 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 resources\(^2\), and therefore facilitate their migration. In short, they lower the costs and risks of migration. On the other hand they smooth the process of keeping in touch with the home region and influence the integration process of the new migrants into the host societies. Therefore it is assumed that personal relationships which connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in the home countries and host societies, increase the probability of international migration and can lead to chain migration and sustained migration flows. That means that there is no strong correlation between migration flows, 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. Weak social ties on the other hand can promote the decision to migrate. 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, pp. 20; Lebhart, 2002, pp. 20; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, pp. 42).

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 vary. While some act simply for ethical reasons (value orientated) or feel a group identity and therefore act by solidarity (bounded solidarity), others act strategically (reciprocal transfer) or in awareness of their position in the group (status orientated) (Haug, 2000, pp. 22; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, pp. 45).

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 who 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.

In consequence it depends on the community in which the migrant is situated and its attitude towards social capital, whether it is seen as a beneficial element in the migration process.

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\(^2\) Like the support for finding a residence, a job, or providing financial security.
2.2.4 Trans-national migration

Migration systems and processes have changed since the 1980s. They can be described as circular movements with specific social structures and mobile lifestyles. This new patterns are called trans-national migration as a special form of international migration. New forms of communities emerge, producing specific social spaces by the socio-cultural practice of trans-national migrants. These spaces are neither bounded in the home country of the migrants nor in the host society but in-between and therefore are interpreted as 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-territorialised. 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 and Heller, 2008, p. 46f; Bürkner, 2005, p. 113-122; Haug, 2000, p. 16ff; Pries, 2007).

2.3 Theories of highly skilled migration

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

³ Glick Schiller et al. (1992) showed the phenomena of trans-nationalism in the case of the migration of workers from Central America to the US.
⁴ Bürkner refers to the early shaping of migration paths by ethnic communities in the USA at the beginning of the 20th century (Bürkner, 2000, p. 302).
2.3.1 Brain drain

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

The concept of brain drain assumes a unidirectional and permanent migration between ‘more’ and ‘less’ developed countries. Again economic factors like the higher income level in the destination area are claimed to be the main reason for migration. Seen from the perspective of dependency theory\(^6\), 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, 51; Pethe, 2006, p. 5). Hence, 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 improve 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 the social science literature, three approaches are prominent which discuss the mobility of 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 countries (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 per cent of the highly skilled persons in all OECD countries who are resident outside their home country live 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 to increased trans-nationalisation of 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’ (Saxenian, 1999), she explained how India, Taiwan, and China...
profited from the economic activities of their ‘diaspora’. In her latest book ‘The New Argonauts’ (Saxenian, 2006), she describes 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. She also stresses the importance of the openness to foreign creative talent as one of the key factors for the success of Silicon Valley and 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 which stimulates innovation, investment, and trade between countries. The connection which is constructed by the mobile ICT engineers is the basis for the economic success of the industries in their home and host countries.

Thirdly, countries 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 show (i.e. Wolter, 1997), an increasing movement of highly skilled workers has emerged. Often this migration is temporary and can be described as circulation\(^7\) 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. 3)\(^8\). 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. 52; Pethe, 2006, pp. 7).

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

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

\(^8\) As Fassmann points out that the distinction between circular and trans-national migration is problematic, if migrants keep up their social and functional relations to their home society on a large scale (Fassmann 2008, p. 23).
companies developed which lead to the ‘brain exchange’ of highly skilled professionals within these large international organisations. The expertise of the highly skilled employees was needed to control and supervise the new sales offices, production units, and bank branches abroad (Boyle et al., 1994; Findlay, 1995). These so called ex-pats were typically seconded to a foreign branch for two to five years. Although they were privileged compared to those professionals who came from third world countries a decade earlier, and they were compensated for their international assignment with relocation service and a salary above the home level, the seconded professionals had little choice to select their country of destination. They were part of the international stream of investments and trade which was allocated due to the outcomes of international investment opportunities. I.e. the ex-pats 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. Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1996). The Globalisation 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, 2006a). 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 organisations have also an 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, Wolter, 1999, Koser and Salt, 1997) hierarchies were reduced and activities were outsourced. Not only the size of the companies reduced, but also the expensive international career opportunities for employees. The companies in the creative knowledge industries tend to be very small. A large share has less than five employees. On the one hand, this particular structure of the sector makes it less likely that intra-company mobility is a common feature in the creative
knowledge sectors. On the other hand, the technological progress enabled small actors to be mobile internationally, because the international communication and transport became cheaper and easily available. Instead of being seconded within a large company, it appears to be more likely now that highly skilled individuals change between small and medium companies on their own steam.

2.4 Florida’s conception of the international mobile creative class

‘Regional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas’, writes Richard Florida in his book ‘The rise of the creative class’ (Florida, 2002a, p. 249). 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 his first texts, Florida does not distinguish between national and international migrants, but his later book ‘The flight of the creative class’ (Florida, 2007) uses examples which indicate that he does not only have national migration, but also international migration in mind (Florida, 2007).

Florida mainly focuses on the ability of places to attract foreign creatives, when he writes: ‘Today, the terms of competition revolve around a central axis: a nation’s ability to mobilise, attract, and retain human creative talent’ (Florida, 2007, p. 3, p. 95). The attractiveness of regions is important, because the economic success will increase with the inflow of talent. This is the most important formula which Florida uses. A detailed description in which ways foreign migrants contribute to the host economy is difficult to decipher in his work. Several hints can be found: foreign creatives ‘help build our scientific enterprises’ (p. 95), account for ‘a disproportionate share of most influential scientists’ (p. 101), relieve the ‘looming talent shortage’ (p. 103), ‘take American ideas and American relationships back home’ (p. 110) and contribute to the entertainment industry (p. 125).

Florida has a very broad conception of the creative class which comprises 30 per cent of the American work force. Again it is unclear in which aspects the mobility of the creative class is different from other highly skilled persons. But not only Florida lacks a clear definition of what is meant by the mobility of the highly skilled. Scholars 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 are not internationally mobile (cf. OECD, 2008), 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 fields like international mergers and acquisitions. Although differences between the creative knowledge occupations seem to exist, their scope is still unclear as well as their contribution 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 student exchange programmes such as Socrates and Erasmus, are examples for the promotion of 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 (Florida, 2007).

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 transfeerees 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. Hence, 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 (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006b) 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 need 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 (Kanjanapan, 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 ex-pats 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, 2006b). According to Scott (2006b, p. 1112) the group of ex-pats 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 per cent 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 were 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 for 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 (Scott, 2006b). 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. Ex-pats who 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 ex-pat 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 (Kibbelaar, 2007).

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 generalising 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 for this in the
international academic debate so far. As far as matters of settling and staying of highly skilled migrants are discussed, the focus is mainly 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 (Glebe, 1986; White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003; Freund, 1998) 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, 1998, p. 1740). This pattern varies between different OECD nationals. Japanese corporate transferees and their families show the strongest segregation of all national groups in London (White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003) Düsseldorf, (Glebe, 1986; Glebe, 1997) and Frankfurt/Main (Freund, 1998). They live more often in suburban locations, and share less often similar housing patterns with similar status groups. The high concentration is often ascribed to the activities of relocation services and Japanese real estate agencies, the importance of public transport access to work, security of the residential environment, quality of the dwelling (cleanliness of kitchen), proximity to school, and other community institutions (White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003; Glebe, 1986, 1997). In particular the proximity to schools is often stated as a pivotal point for all OECD nationals too, although this view is also contested (White and Hurdley, 2003). Generally, expatriates rent more often than home nationals due to their temporary status, although the rental sector is with some ten per cent of the dwellings relatively small in some of the investigated cities such as London (White, 1998, p. 1742). Rarely the flats of the transferees are owned by their companies. Instead White and Hurdley (2003) 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 probably the most prominent and extreme example which illustrates how activities of affluent immigrants lead to a significant increase of housing prices (Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Hiebert, 2000, pp. 31; Olds and Yeung, 1999; Olds, 1998; Brosseau et al., 1996). 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 (Brosseau et al., 1996). Due to their acquisition of large suburban properties the prices in the higher housing market segment rose (Ley et al., 2002, p. 725). In addition, entrepreneurs built malls and developed larger inner city housing projects (Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Olds, 1998, 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 industrialised countries and the effects of their inflow can vary considerably. Recently, Scott (2006b) 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 (2005) point at the ‘middeling transnationalism’ in large European cities such as London which comprises an increasing number of mobile middle class individuals. Compared with the typical ex-pat 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 (Scott, 2006b). 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, especially in the case of Leipzig. 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 Leipzig. 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 transnational migration to Leipzig 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. As a result, there is the assumption that a great number of transmigrants move between countries of the EU. Furthermore one might think about Leipzig of being connected with East European countries in a migration system, because of its socialist history.

As seen in section 2.2.4 new migration forms are attributed to the idea of transnationalism. Especially the movement of highly skilled is described as nomadic and pluri-local. Therefore the approach of transnationalism seems to be adequate to deal with the specific situation of highly skilled migrants in Leipzig. The question is, if the city is open to transnational migrants and transnational social spaces. What motivation do migrants have to build up networks in Leipzig? Is there a specific situation for transmigrants in transformation cities? Does the concept provide us new perspectives on the relations between migrants and Leipzig?
Since Leipzig is not characterised by a great amount of transnational firms but by educational and scientific institutions and organisations, which can be seen as transnational social space, there might be a high correlation between migration of highly skilled and the improvement of qualifications and chances of employment and career. Therefore we will focus on the migrants and their relation and integration in organisations and networks. Based on the theory of transnationalism, it can be supposed that networks play a decisive role for transmigrants living in Leipzig.
3 INTERNATIONALISATION OF GERMANY AND LEIPZIG
– INTEGRATION INTO GLOBAL MARKETS

This chapter seeks to provide some background information about the degree of internationalisation of the German economy and in particular the economy of Leipzig. The issue of internationalisation has been introduced by the ACRE team Leipzig because it is considered to reflect the ability and openness of a country in a globalised world to attract foreign capital and workers.

With a rising integration of the global economy, international interdependencies are supposed to intensify. The more multinational corporations act on global markets, the more they face insecurity in political regulation in foreign markets. Financial interrelations and exchange of people are strategies to circumvent this global political regulation gap when trade relations reinforce distant markets. Thus, the ACRE team Leipzig will give a short overview about the development of foreign direct investments, and trade relations, and immigration to Germany. These statistical data provide a brief introduction into the degree of internationalisation of Germany. Following the case of Germany, the city region Leipzig will be illustrated.

Three main indicators of internationalisation will be presented in this chapter. The first is the trade balance of the Germany and Leipzig. In economics, the export-base theory says that the competitiveness of a territory depends on the degree of export surplus (effectively: a financial inward stream). So, for Germany and Leipzig, the trade balance will be examined following the questions, with what regions was traded recently, in which quantity, and how efficiently (in the sense of an export surplus). We can thus see, if Germany’s and/or Leipzig’s economy is based on international markets.

Subsequently, a second indicator of internationalisation will be looked at: foreign direct investments. These investments from Germans abroad or foreigners in Germany show how trustworthy the German institutional framework is. In addition it is an indicator showing the efforts German companies make in order to stabilise their economic activities in foreign countries. Trade relations (see above) are important to realise turnover and profit, but they suffer high instability due to external and unpredictable risks. Foreign direct investments are thus a type of producing stability, as they are oriented to longer time-spans than trade contracts. A strong degree of involvement into global financial investment flows – both inwards and outwards – is a significant of a positional consolidation of a certain territory in the global market.

Finally, a third indicator will be used: the integration into global migration flows. When trade relations stabilise with long-term financial support (foreign direct investment), a consequent development is the integration of people into these global markets. Here, especially labour force becomes a point of interest. As this work package of the ACRE project intends to highlight migration-patterns of a global creative industries/knowledge-intensive industries
labour market, will first have a look at census data in order to estimate the integration of Germany and Leipzig into these global labour markets for highly skilled labour force. A high degree of incoming highly skilled migrants might indicate that Germany is economically so strongly integrated in the global market that there are already institutional structures that help individuals to bear the private risk of moving into the ‘foreign’ German labour market in the sense of transnational circular migration as presented in chapter 2.

3.1 Internationalisation of the economy in Germany

3.1.1 Trade balance of Germany

Germany is a country only having few natural resources, but still one of the world’s largest economies. Thus it becomes clear that the integration of Germany into global markets is important.

On the one hand, the import of natural resources as a base for industrial production has to be maintained. On the other hand, the final products are sold all-over the world, reaching a constant trade surplus. The German Federal Statistical Office indicates that the value of imports as well as of exports, in 2007, rose to a new historical peak. The imports reached a level of 769.9 billion €; the exports reached a volume of 965.2 billion €. Hence, the trade surplus arrived at 195.3 billion €\(^1\). When having a more detailed look at the composition of this trade surplus, it becomes obvious that the surplus is founded on the export of goods from industrial production. Germany’s services balance constantly shows deficiencies. Especially since the late 1980s/early 1990s Germans imported much more services than they exported.\(^2\) Therefore it becomes clear that the German economy is integrated into world trade relations – buying lots of natural resources and services, while selling goods from industrial production.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>62872,5</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>91664,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>61951,0</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>73327,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>56417,1</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>69760,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>45993,4</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>64498,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>44693,6</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>62948,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>41966,2</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>52813,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>36250,3</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>50689,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>32091,2</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>47631,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>29822,3</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>36373,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>28890,7</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>36193,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2008\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) See: http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Statistiken/Aussenhandel/Aktuell,templateId=renderPrint.psml (last visited: January 10th, 2009)


\(^{3}\) See: http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/DE/Content/Statistiken/Aussenhandel/Handelspartner/Tabellen/Content100/RangfolgeHandelspartner,property=file.pdf (last visited: January 10th, 2009)
In 2007, the major trade partners for the German economy had been the other large economies of the world (see Table 3.1). Especially, France, the United Kingdom, the USA, the Netherlands, and Italy are major trade partners for import as well as export. When it comes to importing, China and Russia are important for the German economy. Whereas, China delivers consumer goods, Russia rather is one of Germany’s major providers of natural resources, especially gas and petrol.

3.1.2 Foreign direct investments

The United Nations’ World Investment Report 2008 compared foreign direct investment flows and stocks for every country in the world\(^4\). In 2007, Germany accounts for an inward FDI flow of 50,925 Mio. US $, and an outward FDI flow of 167,431 Mio. US $. This means that German companies to a much larger volume engage abroad than foreign companies do in Germany. This tendency is characteristic for advanced industrial countries. For the sum of all EU countries inward flows are smaller than outward investment. Yet, Germany, with these volumes of flows, is less dynamic than the two other large European economies of France and the UK. There inward flows were, respectively, 157,970 Mio. US $ and 223,966 Mio. US $. Outward direct investments by these two countries were 224,650 Mio. US $ for France and 265,791 Mio. US $ for the UK. One might suggest that these lower dynamics of the German capital interdependence is related to an already high level of integration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.2 - FDI stocks as percentage of national GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nonetheless, a closer look at the stocks of FDI inward to and outward from Germany reveals that the German economy is less integrated into international financial transactions than other large economies. An indicator for this degree of global integration is the percentage of foreign direct investment stocks on the gross domestic product of a country. Germany, in 2007, could account for 19.0 per cent inward and 37.3 per cent outward FDI compared to GDP (see Table 3.2). Especially the inward percentage is significantly lower than for all developed countries, still for all countries, in the world (not shown in table above, but in World Investment Report 2008). This means that incoming FDI in Germany is comparably low. Whether this is caused by stronger political regulation or general foreclosure of German economy against foreign

investors, Germany does not seem to be place for foreign direct investment as favourable as other countries. Also the outward investment compared to GDP seems to be relatively small for a developed country. German companies seem to rather invest in their own country.

3.1.3 Internationalisation of labour force in Germany

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) annually publishes the *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI*, in which the largest flows of international migration are described and referenced to changes in national migration regulation. In the 2008 report, the OECD states for Germany:

‘The decline in long-term migration that has been evident for a number of years continued in 2006. This notably concerns family migration, humanitarian migration, and – in particular – immigration of persons of German origin from the successor countries of the former Soviet Union.’ (OECD, 2008, p. 244)

Germany is characterised by a decrease of migration dynamics. The year 2006 marked a long-term bottom point in respect to migration inflow to the country. Since, the 1990s different immigrant groups show declining inflow, especially the ones with German origin from former Soviet territories and Jewish resettlers. But also emigration decreased since the 1990s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3 - Migration flows in selected EU countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: OECD, 2008*

As a result, migration dynamics in Germany only reached a level of 6.8 immigrants and 5.9 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants (see Table 3.3). So the amount of incoming migrants, related to the resident population, is smaller than in some of the other EU economies. Especially, Spain was able to develop a dynamic growth of inflow migration to its territories. Comparable data for outward migration is only available for the UK. The UK seems to be able to retain its inhabitants in a more sustainable way than Germany. When it comes to describing general migration balance, it has to be mentioned that other EU countries show much better patterns of attracting and retaining human capital than Germany.
Table 3.4 - Immigration flow according to stay permit in selected EU countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Immigrants according to type of arrival reason (annual inflow in 1,000)</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>international students</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>international students</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>99.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>international students</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>117.0</td>
<td>137.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>international students</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>international students</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD, 2008

As Table 3.4 shows, the relatively low general German migration dynamics can also be found when having a look at labour market related reasons to come to the country. The population of incoming migrants who receive a residential permit according to work reasons is much smaller than in the UK and in Italy. A closer look at statistical data from the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF, 2007) yet reveals that incoming foreigners, who receive stay and work-permit due to their qualifications or occupations, rose between 2006 and 2007.

Table 3.5 - Incoming knowledge-intensive and creative workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for work permit</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>change rate 2006/07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT experts</td>
<td>2845</td>
<td>3411</td>
<td>19.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic staff, Scientists</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>2205</td>
<td>18.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executives, Specialists</td>
<td>1320</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>29.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expatriates</td>
<td>4783</td>
<td>5419</td>
<td>13.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists, Executives, Specialists from new EU countries (ASAV law)</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>90.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly-skilled with high salary</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>88.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>38.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists from new EU countries (ASAV law)</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>-7.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>3382</td>
<td>2898</td>
<td>-14.3 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BAMF, 2007, pp. 74-102

As could be seen in Table 3.5, the number of highly skilled professionals, who arrive in Germany, grew from 2006 to 2007 with growth rates between 13.3 per cent and 90.9 per cent. In 2005 the Immigration Act changed German immigration law according to EU standards. Thus, especially highly-skilled immigrants from new EU member countries could enter the German labour market easier. The incoming dynamics of artists, however, is slowing down.

Another important indicator of global attractiveness is the amount of incoming foreign students into a country. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF, 2007), which is subordinated to the Federal Ministry of the Interior, states in its 2007 Migration Report:
'Im Rahmen der Internationalisierung des Hochschulstudiums und im Hinblick auf den weltweiten 'Wettbewerb um die besten Köpfe' ist es das Ziel der Bundesregierung, das Studium für ausländische Studierende in Deutschland attraktiver zu machen.' (BAMF, 2007, p. 60).5

These students might not necessarily stay in the country, but they could. Here, the 2005 German Immigration Act facilitates the stay for foreign graduates, who are looking for a job or found employment in Germany (BAMF, 2007, p. 68). Whether the ca. 30,000 foreign graduates from German universities – among them 23,777 so-called ‘Bildungsausländer’ (foreign nationality and university qualification obtained abroad) – will thus stay in Germany for longer could not be said (BAMF, 2007, p. 69). At least they will stay related to the country in their later professional career. Thus, incoming foreign students are a strong human resource for the global integration of the national economy. Germany could account for a large population of incoming students – more than in France, Italy, or Spain. Yet, the recent trend seems to show a slight decline of the inflow. The UK universities, again, are welcoming more foreign students.

The numbers show, that Germany, from the human capital point of view, still lacks appropriate openness to foreigners. The United Kingdom seems to play an exemplary role for the openness of a labour market for immigrant labour force. Especially against the background of the German demographic development, the accessibility of Germany as an immigrant country still seems weak compared to other EU countries.

The German economy seems to be well integrated into the global market. Its performance in international trade – especially in exporting goods – is remarkable. Nonetheless, the integration into international flows and networks of financial and human capital still remains on a lower level than in other large EU economies.

5 ‘In the course of the internationalisation of academic studies and in respect to the global ‘competition for the best talents’, it is the objective of the German Federal Government to make the academic courses in Germany more attractive to foreign students.’
3.2 Internationalisation of the economy in the city region Leipzig and in Saxony

3.2.1 Trade balance of Saxony

The Statistical Office of the City of Leipzig does not publish any data concerning the degree of internationalisation of Leipzig. Thus, data from the Federal State of Saxony are used to describe the regional situation. The Saxon foreign trade balance was dominated by a surplus of imports until the late 1990s. Yet, since 1997, the exports exceeded the imports. In 2007, imports reached a level of 14830.3 Mio. €, and exports could account for a level of 23,340.7 Mio. €\(^6\). Thus, the Saxon regions follow the national development with an export surplus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>2594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistical Office of Saxony\(^7\)

As Table 3.6 shows, the major trade partners of the Saxon regions are found among close-by countries in the East of Europe, such as Czech Republic, Poland, and Russia. Here traditional trade relations might play a role. Nonetheless, the Saxon economy is also connected to the large international markets like China and the USA. As for Germany in general, also Saxon enterprises are in trade relationships with other EU countries. A specific market for exports from Saxony is Malaysia, which does not play such an important role for the German economy in general. Main Saxon export products are industrial goods from automotive and microelectronics sectors. In 2006, the industrial production sector could account for an export ratio of 38.8 per cent\(^8\).

\(^6\) See: http://www.statistik.sachsen.de/21/12_03/12_03_01_tabelle.asp (last visited: January 10th, 2009)
\(^7\) See: http://www.invest-in-saxony.net/set/153/exportpartner_mai08.138271.jpg (last visited: January 10th, 2009)
\(^8\) See: http://www.invest-in-saxony.net/de/Gruende_fuer_Sachsen/Lage_und_Geschaeftsumfeld/Wirtschaft_und_Handel/40345.html (last visited: January 10th, 2009)
3.2.2 Foreign/multinational direct investments in Saxony

Statistical data on a sub-national level for FDI is not available. Only the Saxon economic development agency indicates that in Saxony companies from 20 different countries have invested a total sum of 10 billion €. Among these, the United States are the home country of the largest group of investors. Large multinational corporations have invested in the Saxon regions. The chip producers AMD and Infineon settled in the so-called Silicon Saxony, in Dresden; the automotive companies BMW and Porsche invested into facilities in Leipzig, Volkswagen in Dresden and Chemnitz/Zwickau; the logistics global player DHL transferred the European air hub from Brussels to Leipzig’s airport, next to logistics companies like Deutsche Post, Schenker, and a distribution centre of the German mail-order warehouse Quelle; and Dow Chemical, the World’s second chemical corporation, invested in former GDR-facilities in Böhlen, near Leipzig. So, incoming investment seems to be an indicator of prosperous conditions in Saxony. On outgoing investment of Saxon companies, no data was available. Yet, it could be supposed that outward investment might still be small, as equity bases of Saxon companies are still weak.

3.2.3 Internationalisation of Saxon resident population

The German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees’ migration report also differentiates between the amount of inward and outward flow of foreigners according to the 16 Bundesländer.

Figure 3.1 - Immigration and emigration of foreigners to/from Saxony

![Graph showing immigration and emigration of foreigners](image)

Source: BAMF, 2007, pp. 256-260

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The Figure 3.1 shows the amount of immigrating and emigrating foreigners from abroad to Saxony and vice versa. Within the last ten years, the migration dynamics slowed down. In the long run both flow directions declined. However, the development shows different peaks. The inward flow started to decline after 1999, probably related to the general downturn of the New Economy. Outward directed flows culminated temporarily in 2004, when the new member countries joined the EU – Poland and Czech Republic having direct borderlines with Saxony. Generally, Saxony reached a small surplus level of immigration of foreigners throughout each of the last ten years. This indicates that Saxony is an interesting region in the Eastern German context for foreigners. The four other Bundesländer of Eastern Germany all perform weaker. A more detailed presentation and discussion of statistical data on migration concerning the city region Leipzig will be presented in chapter 5.

3.2.4 Attractiveness of Leipzig as an international labour market

Above some examples of German multinationals have been cited. BMW, Porsche, and DHL are the largest and most recent investments in Leipzig. Nonetheless, it has to be stated that Leipzig’s economic structure is still characterised by a small share of industrial production, and a large proportion of public sector. Thus, the attractiveness of Leipzig for incoming foreigners is not primarily characterised by international companies as pull-factors. Especially, for low-skilled workers, Leipzig is not attractive as a migration destination. The production plants of BMW, Porsche, and the logistics district around DHL and the airport of Leipzig might offer some jobs for low-skilled workforce. But there is already a strong competition for these positions among the large population of native low-skilled workers, who suffer from long-term unemployment. According to the Leipzig Chamber of Commerce, there are several small and medium sized enterprises in the industrial sector, which are successfully operating in international markets (export base of 43.5 per cent in 2006), especially selling casting products, plant engineering, electrical engineering and print-publishing technology. Yet, the industrial sector, consisting of 168 companies, in the city could only account for 15,967 jobs and a total turnover of 5.428 billion € in 2006 (IHK-Leipzig, 2007) 10.

By contrast, the high share of public sectors in Leipzig and the high density of research institutions offers an attractive labour market for incoming high-skilled knowledge-intensive workers. The four large public German scientific research organisations run research labs in the city: Max-Planck-Institutes (Evolutionary Anthropology, Human Cognitive and Brain Science, and Mathematics in Sciences); Frauenhofer-Institutes (Cell Therapy and Immunology, and Centre for Central and Eastern Europe); Leibniz-Institutes (Regional Geography, Tropospheric Research, and Surface Modification); and Helmholtz-Centre for Environmental Research. In addition, the academic institutions such as the University of Leipzig, University of Applied Sciences in Technology, Economy, and Culture, the private Leipzig Graduate School of Management, the private University of Applied Sciences in

Communications Engineering and Technology, Saxon Academy of Sciences, and a lot of other institutions of academic education attract students and young researchers to come to Leipzig. Especially life sciences and biotechnology are expanding around the facilities of BioCity Leipzig, offering German and foreign scientists’ assistance in research and business planning.

In the creative industries sectors, Leipzig is dominated by media industries. The regional public broadcasting station MDR is the predominant producer of media formats and movies in the city region, supporting a media sector of 30,200 media workers with an annual turnover of 2.780 billion € in 2006 (Bentele et al., 2006). Academic education in the creative sectors is offered by the Master Programme Media Leipzig (MML), by the German Literature Institute (DLL), the Academy of Visual Arts (HGB), and the University of Music and Theatre (HMT).

So, the city of Leipzig is rather characterised by knowledge and creative sectors than industrial production, and thus it is more attractive to incoming migrants from these sectors. The traditional ‘expatriate’, sent abroad by a large company within the companies’ career schedule, might not be the predominant type of transnational migrant found in Leipzig. The industrial sector, which uses this type of transnational labour rotation, is underdeveloped in Leipzig. It has to be mentioned here that, the City’s creative and knowledge-intensive industries are largely dependent on public funding. Especially around the large academic and scientific institutions groups of researchers and artists have developed, who are financed by public programs. So, the infrastructure for creative and knowledge-intensive working in the city is attractive, but incoming workers could not rely on a regional private market to provide them with a decent income.

Recently, some Leipzig-based companies were quite successful. These companies are mostly operating in the IT sector, and were founded as university spin-offs or public start-ups. The biggest company is Spreadshirt, a producer of creative apparels, distributed by an online platform. The company was founded in 2001 by graduates of Leipzig’s Graduate School of Management and developed until 2007 to an international company with more than 250 employees in Europe (Leipzig, Berlin, Utrecht, Paris, and Legnica) and the USA (Boston and Greensburg). The current CEO is the US-American Jana Eggers. The company won different prices in categories like employment, start-up, and online company. Another important IT company is the university spin-off IT Campus Group. Founded in 1999 by an informatics engineering professor from the University of Halle, the Leipzig-based company aimed at stopping the brain-drain of IT graduates from the Halle-Leipzig region. His idea was, to found a modern IT company, who could retain graduates from the Universities of Leipzig and Halle within the region. The company grew to an international group with presences in the UK, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Slovakia. A third example of successful IT start-ups in Leipzig is PC Ware, which was founded in 1990, immediately after reunification. The company could develop to a large international IT group, employing 1,485 employees.

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12 http://www.itcampus.eu/de/main/company/ (last visited: January 10th, 2009)
internationalisation of Germany and Leipzig

worldwide in 2007. Running branches all over Europe, in South Africa, China, and North America, the company offers services mainly oriented on software licensing\(^{13}\).

So, the field of IT activities, in combination with creative industries, seems to be more dynamic than traditional industrial production. The IT companies of the city – as part of knowledge-intensive industries – accounts for a significant part of Leipzig’s attractiveness for firm-related transnational migration.

To conclude, the Saxon regions, and especially the city region Leipzig, are still struggling with the heavy structural re-orientation caused by post-socialist transition and increasing global integration. The lack of long Tradition companies marks a disadvantage on the financial markets. Equity stocks of regional companies are small, and global operation thus is either difficult to finance or too risky. Yet, since 1989, some important investments of national and international global players had been done in the region. In Leipzig, these investments primarily concerned the automotive and the logistics sectors, rather secondary the metallurgy and machine construction. The city region is still looking for a new economic profile, and large scale attraction of transnational work migrants could not be observed in relation to a specific economic sector.

The creative industries are an emerging economy in the City region Leipzig. There are also lively alternative scenes and professional and academic education infrastructure. In combination with vacant and cheap space, public project funding, and an open-minded City Council, a lot of young Creatives are attracted to the city. Yet, it has to be stated that the regional private sales market still is too small to provide decent earnings for all the creative workers. Export-oriented cultural and artist products are necessary for a further development and internationalization.

The knowledge-intensive sector – especially scientific research – has a long tradition in Leipzig. It did sustain through socialist time, and with large public funding it is offering an important share of the regional labour market, that attracts a lot of international scientists and is well-connected into global knowledge transfer. In addition, in biotechnology, environmental engineering, and IT disciplines a series of research spin-offs are growing in Leipzig. They show first forms of the use of scientific knowledge in private market applications and value-adding.

3.3 Conclusion – How integrated are Germany and Leipzig?

Germany is one of the countries with the highest global integration when it comes to trade relations. It is evident that the country has a strong export base. The export surplus is largely achieved in the other Western markets, especially within the European Union and the United States. Due to the scarcity of natural resources, the country imports gas, petrol, and other important natural resources in large quantities. Thus, strong trade relations also exist with Russia. The rising Asian countries, mainly China, provide mass production consumer goods,

as these goods’ production is more expensive in Germany. Germany’s manufacturing sector rather produces high-tech and R&D-intensive machinery and technology in the sector of investment goods for export. When it comes to the integration into global financial flows, others countries, namely France and the UK, outperform Germany, having higher volumes of inflow and outflow in recent times. In addition, Germany attracts less investment than German companies invest abroad. The same accounts for migration flows. Especially the UK generates a higher attraction power – more inflow, less outflow, more international students arriving. So, Germany might be well integrated on the level of trade relations, but taking the rather long-term foreign direct investments and the inflow of (highly skilled) migrants into consideration, a weakness of attraction must be stated for recent years.

Leipzig has to be interpreted in the context of its Eastern German past. After the collapse of the Leipzig manufacturing sector after the reunification, not so many exportable goods are produced anymore. Nonetheless, the traditional trade relations with the near Czech and Polish markets seem to persist and found one base of Leipzig integration into Eastern markets. Reliable data on foreign direct investments could not be found for Leipzig. It might be suggested that the only important, recent large scale investments comes rather from (German) multinational corporations (BMW, DHL, and Porsche). Any other remarkable economic development is based on endogenous developments. Hence, Leipzig still suffers from a rather marginal position on the German landscape of foreign direct investments – not only in industrial production but even more in knowledge-intensive industries. Concerning the migration flows, Leipzig shows an Eastern German pattern, which is distinct from Western German immigrant groups first of all in the origins of foreigners. Leipzig did not experience a lot of Gastarbeiter immigration, although the GDR also had contracts with other (socialist) countries in order to obtain foreign human capital. A certain percentage of the contract workers stayed in Leipzig after the collapse of the GDR, over all Vietnam people. But in comparison to Western Germany their number is much smaller.

Additionally, traditional ex-communist bloc relations show up again. A high share of the foreigners consists of Russians, Ukrainians, and Polish, who show a strong tendency to good performances in Germany’s education system (high degrees, better results than Germans). However, also French, US-Americans, Italians, and British immigrants mark a large share of Leipzig immigrant population. Nonetheless, Leipzig is still a city with below average percentage of foreigners, and the regional (Saxon) decrease of immigration flow does not seem to support the image of an ongoing internationalisation of the population.
In order to understand the situation of transnational migrants in Leipzig it is necessary to refer to the migration to Germany in general and the specific situation of Eastern Germany. Germany has been an immigration country for decades but since the later 20\textsuperscript{th} century there is a new situation. As the German society is aging and the question of ‘brain drain’, and shortage of workforce is discussed in the public, immigration becomes an important topic.

In this chapter the migration policy of Germany and its changes will be described. Migration forms like the return of German repatriates after World War II, elopement and eviction, played a decisive role in Germany’s history and especially for the German migration policy. But here the focus lies on labour migration. After a short history of labour migration in Germany and the former GDR, the present situation of the labour market in Germany will be described. It will be discussed whether ‘brain drain’ and ‘brain gain’ can be noticed and to what extend; additionally it will be discussed how this issue might influence migration flows and high skilled migration to Germany.

4.1 Migration policy in Germany

Germany is an immigration country, but it did not have an explicit immigration policy in the past. After World War II, Germany went through an economic boom and additional work forces were needed. Since 1955 Germany recruited people from other countries, so called \textit{Gastarbeiter}. This happened under the ‘rotation’-law, which said that the migration was meant to be temporary. After the official recruitment of foreign workers was stopped in 1973, migration to Germany was characterised by family reunification, returning ethnic German repatriates, refugees and asylum seekers (BMI, 2008, p.12ff)\textsuperscript{1}.

The ban of labour migration was held up, but in the early 1990s it showed that specific sectors of economy had to face labour shortage. Therefore exceptional rules for seasonal workers and contract workers (ASAV, AAV) were established. When the IT branch grew, more IT specialists were needed, than Germany could to offer.

In the 1990s it became obvious that Germany’s migration policy should be changed. The shortage of work forces, especially in the booming IT branch, and the missing legal possibilities to recruit foreign work forces required a new migration policy. In the beginning the recruitment ban was held up, but exceptional rules for seasonal workers and contract workers (ASAV, AAV) were established. But that was not enough. The official ban on labour migration had to be abolished. The first step was taken in the year 2000 when the ‘green card”

\textsuperscript{1} Federal Ministry of Interior Germany.
program was introduced. This initiative primarily focussed on recruiting foreign computer experts. It allowed up to 20,000 IT-specialists from countries outside the EU to work in Germany for five years (Fertig, 2002).

But this was just the first step towards a broader transformation of German migration policy. It has been realised that there is an increasing worldwide competition for the best educated and trained people and that Germany has to do everything to strengthen its position in this global competition. Above all the new Immigration Act targets scientists and researchers as well as managers in business and industry from outside of the EU by granting them a settlement permit. Furthermore foreign students who complete their studies in Germany are held to remain in the country for employment purposes. Up to one year they are allowed to search for a job.

This is a very economy oriented migration policy since recruitment is free only for highly qualified persons. The ban on recruitment remains in effect for unskilled and less-skilled foreigners. A residence title is only granted if there is a concrete job offer. Even skilled persons will be given work permits only in exceptional cases. Foreign self-employees were permitted to work if they invest at least 500,000 €, and the planned business is expected to have a positive economic effect and if it creates at least five jobs (BMI, 2008, p. 81ff). Obviously there is a great turn concerning Germany’s migration policy, having regard to the competition for the best. At the end of the year 2008 the demanded amount to be invested has been lowered to 250,000 € as well as the demanded income limit of high skilled migrants of at least 86,400 € per year has been lowered to 63,600 €\(^2\). Germany needs highly skilled workers and entrepreneurs, while the migration of unskilled or lower skilled is still considered to be avoided.

The Immigration Act is strictly related to the ‘Residence Act’, which started in 2005. Here work permit and residence permit are issued in a single act. The residence titles are reduced to limited residence permit, settlement permit without any geographical restrictions, and EC long term residence permit for foreigners who have been lawfully resident in Germany or another member state of the EU for five years. Besides this the visa is used for short-term residence (Borella, 2007, p. 15ff).

It is important to note that the new migration regulations for the highly skilled tend to be indifferent with respect to origin countries. Since globalisation requires researchers to be more mobile the procedures for researchers from all over the world entering the EU and taking up research activities have been simplified. In order to support Germany as a country of science, residence titles are granted to researchers who are going to work in a research institution recognised by the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)\(^3\).

In contrast to the ‘green card’ program, the new law grants highly skilled migrants an opportunity to establish their permanent home in Germany. Family members are allowed to immigrate too, and to work in Germany. This is a major point to attract the best talents coming to Germany and is seen as a core guarantee for the inclusion of foreigners. The

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\(^2\) See: www.aufenthaltstitel.de/zuwg/1661.html (last visited: January 26\(^{th}\), 2009).

\(^3\) Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in Germany.
important role of integration has been acknowledged and supported through the introduction of integration and language courses.

4.2 Short history of labour migration in Germany

Labour migration to Germany has changed in the last decades. Besides globalisation, the reunification of Germany in 1990 played a decisive role concerning labour migration. Since the Western and Eastern part of Germany experienced different political systems, it is important to distinguish between labour migration in Western and Eastern Germany before and after 1990.

In the beginning the labour migration to the former GDR and the labour migration to Western Germany until 1989 will be described. Afterwards we will have a look at labour migration in and to Germany after reunification, with a specific focus on the Eastern federal states.

4.2.1 Labour migration to the former GDR

As already mentioned the history of migration is different in the Eastern part of Germany. While labour migration has always been important to (Western) Germany the former GDR mainly was characterised by political immigration. Political refugees, students and trainees from other socialist countries, who were qualified in the GDR and sent back, were admitted. The immigrants mainly came from Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique. Labour migration became more usual in the middle of the 1970s when the GDR suffered a shortage of work forces.

Although the majority of the immigrants returned to their home countries after 1990, it is estimated that nowadays there are still 15,000 to 20,000 former contract workers and their families living in Eastern Germany (Weiss and Dennis, 2005).

At the end of 1989 there were 380,000 members of the Soviet Army and their family members (200,000) living in the GDR. Besides them, there were 191,200 other foreigners, among them 90,600 contract workers (Weiss and Dennis, 2005).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contract workers in the GDR (December 31st, 1989)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contract workers in total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Federal Office for Labour and Social Affairs of Germany*

The Vietnamese were the most homogenous group of immigrants in the GDR. The GDR and Vietnam introduced a policy of mutual economic benefit after the Vietnam-War. While Vietnam suffered the consequences of the war like high unemployment, economic crisis, inflation, and conflicts with China, the GDR had to face a catastrophic shortage of labour.
forces, which was caused by demographic factors and mainly by the centralistic planning system. In April 1980 a bilateral agreement between the GDR and Vietnam planned to send Vietnamese workers for five years to the GDR in order to fight the shortage of work forces. This labour migration also meant external help for individual Vietnamese who now could acquire new qualifications and work in a foreign country in order to support their families at home (Weiss and Dennis, 2005).

Between 1980 and 1989 the number of contract workers in the GDR increased from 1,534 to more than 59,000. Most Vietnamese worked as industrial workers (85 per cent), mainly in the industry districts of Chemnitz, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle and Berlin. On the one hand the contract workers were seen as only workers but not humans by both regimes, on the other hand they were equal to the German workers concerning labour rights and social assurance (Weiss and Dennis, 2005).

They were housed in group accommodations where strict rules and control existed. Visits had to be announced. These accommodations developed to niches for the foreign contract workers, because integration of foreigners was not considered as a task for society or policy. Usually the migrants were isolated from the population of the GDR. Although the entire isolation could not be reached, because of contacts at work, at political organised activities or because of smuggle, contacts between the different cultures were not welcomed. So the migrants had to retire into the private and simultaneously adapt to the public. 60 per cent of the East Germans did not have any contact to foreigners and knew very little about them (Weiss and Dennis, 2005). It is interesting to see the difference between the public propaganda of ‘brotherhood and solidarity’ to other socialist and communist countries by both regimes, GDR and Vietnam, and the reality of the people from other countries in the GDR. While the politicians claimed solidarity between socialist people there was none in the everyday life, but isolation and segregation.

This missing integration and the following lack of knowledge about their way of life is one of the reasons why foreign contract workers became the target of insults and discrimination. Because of prejudices and dissatisfaction with the GDR system foreigners became scapegoats.

4.2.2 Labour migration to Western Germany until 1989

After World War II Germany had to manage rebuilding and reconstruction. Very soon it developed an economic boom: the so called Wirtschaftswunder. Working places emerged. But Germany had to face a shortage of work forces especially in the construction and the agriculture branch. There were several reasons: the age-group with low birth rates (because of World War II) entered the labour market, the duration of trainings was extended, the working time shortened and the age of retirement decreased. The economic increase was in danger.

In 1955 German politicians decided to recruit foreign low skilled workers to fill the gap; shortly afterwards the first Italian guest workers (Gastarbeiter) arrived. When the Berlin Wall was closed in 1961 the labour migration from the East to the West, that had supplied Western Germany with additional work force, was stopped. Again labour shortage became a significant problem. Other labour migrants followed after recruitment agreements with Spain
and Greek (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965), and former Yugoslavia (1968). In 1960 there were already 329,000 and only four years later half a million labour migrants. In 1973, when the recruitment was stopped, Germany had 2,600,000 guest workers (BMI, 2008, pp. 12).

The labour migrants worked in all branches. Usually they had to do low qualified jobs even if a lot of them were higher qualified. Their wages were as high as the German ones. Equation concerning labour rights was aspired and achieved in 1992.

Originally the labour migration was planned as a temporary one. This is known as the rotation principle: after a specific time the migrants should return to their home countries and other migrants should follow. But in the late 1960s more and more migrants just stayed in Germany. On the one hand the firms were interested in keeping the trained workers. On the other hand the migrants began to feel home. Since the recruitment was stopped in 1973 a lot of migrants decided to stay, because a later return to Germany seemed to be impossible. Family members immigrated subsequently. Migration to Germany after 1973 mainly were characterised by reunifications of families, returning ethnic German repatriates, refugees and asylum seekers. The ban of labour migration was held up, but in the early 1990s it showed that specific sectors of economy had to face labour shortage. Therefore exceptional rules for seasonal workers and contract workers (ASAV, AAV) were established. When the IT branch raised more IT specialists were needed than Germany had to offer. Finally the green card program for IT specialists was introduced in 2000 to solve the labour shortage in the IT branch (BMI, 2008, p. 12ff).

4.2.3 Labour migration in and to Germany after the Wende

The labour migration concerning Germany after 1990 has two dimensions. First there is a labour migration in Germany itself, from the East to the West and reverse. In this context it is often discussed if Eastern Germany is suffering brain drain and loss of human capital. Second, there is labour migration to Germany, which is promoted in case of highly skilled migrants as Germany in the whole also seems to experience brain drain. In 4.3 it will be discussed whether there exists brain drain in Germany and probable consequences and problems which would emerge.

After Germany was reunited in 1990 Eastern Germany experienced a massive structural change. Institutions and industry districts broke down and new institutions and structures were introduced. After the Wende Eastern Germany was characterised by suffering loss; young people went to regions in the western part of Germany, the birth rates decreased. It seemed as if the population was shrinking rapidly. On the other hand highly skilled and qualified workers from western regions moved to Eastern Germany in order to build up new institutions, firms and corporations. In this context it is often discussed if there is a brain drain and loss of human capital in Eastern Germany (Friedrich, 2008).
The migration from Eastern to Western federal states of Germany is characterised by two migration waves (see Table 4.2). The first migration flow from Eastern to Western Germany occurred from 1989 until about 1992. After the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 roughly 600,000 East Germans migrated to Western Germany until 1990 (Heiland, 2004, p. 176). Mainly young families with children decided to leave. When the first free election was held in 1990 the initial migration declined, because a migration to Western Germany seemed to be possible at a later date. At the same time in the course of Reconstruction East and the movement of the Government to Berlin there was a migration from Western to Eastern Germany. The migration from East to West and reverse was balanced. The second migration flow in the later 1990s was pushed by disparities in economy and labour market. This time many young people, aged between 18 and 30, migrated (Heiland, 2004, Friedrich, 2008). It can be said that there is a distinct circular and interregional migration in Germany concerning mainly young, well educated people.

However, the political transformation process in the end of the 1980s not only had inner German consequences but all over Europe. Since the states of Eastern Europe had kept strict control of their citizens’ movement to the West, the emigration restrictions were removed with the fall of the Iron Curtain. Thus Western European countries, especially Germany because of its geographical position in Europe, had to face an increasing migration from the East. Disparities in income and living standards, unemployment and social conflicts caused by the transformation brought a lot of East Europeans to decide for migration to the West (Dietz, 2002, p. 29, Siebert, 2003, p. 6f).

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4 The referred data does not distinguish between labour migration and migration in general (Heiland, 2004).
4.3 Brain gain and brain drain in Germany

Currently there is a big public debate whether there is brain drain in Germany and especially in the Eastern federal states or not. The issue of brain drain has been discussed in the media and in politics. Therefore not only the low birth-rate in Germany but also the assumed shortage of highly skilled workers cast a new light on the need of selected immigration.

4.3.1 Migration flows

Concerning Germany there are different migration flows with different motivations to migrate. Besides students and highly skilled movements, which will be described in 4.3.2, Germany is confronted with asylum immigration, the return of ethnic German repatriates, and foreign labour workers, who do not fulfil the demanded skills, and illegal immigration. The latter will not be described.

The immigration of asylum seekers to Germany, which have increased in the early 1990s (1992: about 440,000 asylum applications), is declining (2007: 19,164 total first-time applications) (BMI, 2007, p. 17, 24). Between 1993 and 1995 more than 200,000 ethnic German repatriates immigrated annually. In 2006, there were only 7,747 repatriates coming (BMI, 2008, p. 21).

There is also temporary migration which includes the employment of foreign workers under bilateral agreements and seasonal workers. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, Germany has concluded bilateral agreements with most Central and Eastern European Countries. This includes the possibility for foreign firms to send their workers to Germany. The thirteen contracting parties are allowed to send 40,390 workers a year, but only 19,636 contract workers are actually employed in Germany (May 2007). The bilateral agreements also include the possibility to send workers to Germany for up to 18 months in order to gain further occupational and language training while working. While 11,550 are allowed to come, only 483 foreigners were employed under these terms from January to May 2007 (BMI, 2008, p. 24f).

Furthermore there are foreign seasonal workers which come from countries with whom a placement agreement was made. Seasonal work is thought to discharge temporary demand of workers. These countries are Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Croatia, only for the hotel and restaurant sector. Foreign seasonal workers who come on their own are allowed to stay for four months and a year; German employers can engage foreign workers up to eight months a year. From 1995 to 2004, the number of seasonal workers grew from about 177,000 to 324,000. Then it dropped slightly to 294,000 in 2006 (BMI, 2008, p. 25).

About 74 per cent of the immigrants in 2007 were younger than 40 years, in comparison the German population in total was only 45.2 per cent were under 40 years old. While 19.8 per cent of the population are older than 65 years, only 2.2 per cent of the migrants belong into this age group. Concerning the people who moved away, 69.3 per cent were younger than 40 years, which means that there are younger people in Germany. Concerning gender, fewer
women than men migrate. But there are specific countries which are characterised by a high percentage of immigrating women like Thailand, Kenya, Peru, Ukraine, Estonia, the Russian Federation, Lithuania, and the Philippines. A disproportionately high percentage of men immigrating to Germany comes from Algeria, Hungary, Croatia, Lebanon, Bosnia Herzegovina, Iraq, Tunisia, India, Poland, and Portugal (BMI, 2007, p. 25 f).

Table 4.3 - Immigration and emigration of Germans and foreigners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>immigration total (incl. Germans)</th>
<th>of which foreigners</th>
<th>emigration total (incl. Germans)</th>
<th>of which foreigners</th>
<th>Net migration total (incl. Germans)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1,133,794</td>
<td>766,945</td>
<td>539,832</td>
<td>438,082</td>
<td>593,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1,256,250</td>
<td>835,702</td>
<td>574,378</td>
<td>465,470</td>
<td>681,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,198,978</td>
<td>925,345</td>
<td>596,455</td>
<td>497,540</td>
<td>602,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1,502,198</td>
<td>1,211,348</td>
<td>720,127</td>
<td>614,956</td>
<td>782,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1,277,408</td>
<td>989,847</td>
<td>815,312</td>
<td>710,659</td>
<td>462,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>1,082,553</td>
<td>777,516</td>
<td>767,555</td>
<td>629,275</td>
<td>314,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1,096,048</td>
<td>792,701</td>
<td>698,113</td>
<td>567,441</td>
<td>397,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>959,691</td>
<td>708,453</td>
<td>677,494</td>
<td>559,064</td>
<td>282,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>840,633</td>
<td>615,298</td>
<td>746,969</td>
<td>637,066</td>
<td>93,664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>802,456</td>
<td>605,500</td>
<td>755,358</td>
<td>638,955</td>
<td>47,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>874,023</td>
<td>673,873</td>
<td>672,048</td>
<td>555,638</td>
<td>201,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>841,158</td>
<td>649,249</td>
<td>674,038</td>
<td>562,794</td>
<td>167,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>879,217</td>
<td>685,259</td>
<td>606,494</td>
<td>496,987</td>
<td>272,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>842,543</td>
<td>658,341</td>
<td>623,255</td>
<td>505,572</td>
<td>219,288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>768,975</td>
<td>601,759</td>
<td>626,330</td>
<td>499,063</td>
<td>142,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>780,175</td>
<td>602,182</td>
<td>697,633</td>
<td>546,966</td>
<td>82,542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>707,352</td>
<td>579,301</td>
<td>628,399</td>
<td>483,584</td>
<td>78,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>661,855</td>
<td>558,467</td>
<td>639,064</td>
<td>483,774</td>
<td>22,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>680,766</td>
<td>574,752</td>
<td>636,854</td>
<td>475,749</td>
<td>43,912</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Federal Statistic Office of Germany

As Table 4.3 shows, a lot of immigrated foreigners do not stay permanently. This means that in contrast to traditional immigration countries, like the US or Australia, a great part of the immigrants’ returns to their home countries. From 1991 to 2007 roughly 82 per cent of those moving away from Germany were foreigners. But there are also Germans leaving the country. Between 1991 and 2003 there was an extremely high emigration of Germans. In this period an average of 116,000 moved abroad and from 2003 to 2007 the emigration rate increased to 150,000 a year.

In 2007, the main migration flows occurred between Germany and other European Countries. So 151,151 moved to countries of the EU-14 and 131,663 came from there (net: -19,488), 192,804 moved to countries of the new EU-12 and 265,927 came from there (net: 73,123), and 114,980 moved to European countries who are not members of the EU and 103,823 came from there (net: -11,157). Other 60,842 moved to the US, Australia and Oceania while 57,986 came from there (net: -2856), another 69,836 emigrated to Asia and 83,985 immigrated from

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5 The immigration of Germans means returning Germans and ethnic German repatriates.
there (net: 14,149). From Africa, there came 25,056 while 19,896 moved there (net: 5160). Obviously there is a great migration flow between Germany and East European Countries. In 2007, Poland was the main destination area with 120,791 migrants from Germany\(^6\) (BMI, 2007, p. 12).

Since 2001 the percentage of German doctors going abroad increases from 1,437 to 2,575 in 2006, and 2,439 in 2007. They mainly went to Switzerland, Austria, the US, and the UK. While 5,500 scientists went abroad in 2002, in order to do a sponsored research, there were only 5,100 leaving the country in 2006. They prefer to go to the US. But as a survey from 2005 shows, the declared brain drain of highly skilled Germans is not that dramatic. Most of the highly skilled only stay temporary and come back to Germany (BMI, 2007, pp. 153).

### Table 4.4 - East-West Migration 1991 to 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>East-West Migration</th>
<th>West-East Migration</th>
<th>Net Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – 17</td>
<td>558,509</td>
<td>304,489</td>
<td>-254,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 – 24</td>
<td>809,482</td>
<td>453,534</td>
<td>-355,948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 – 29</td>
<td>480,347</td>
<td>376,165</td>
<td>-111,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 49</td>
<td>887,151</td>
<td>660,331</td>
<td>-226,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 – 64</td>
<td>197,217</td>
<td>156,330</td>
<td>-40,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and older</td>
<td>110,268</td>
<td>111,356</td>
<td>1,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,049,974</td>
<td>2,062,205</td>
<td>-987,769</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Friedrich, 2000, p. 14*

Besides the migration from and to Germany there is also a migration in Germany. This mainly concerns younger people moving from the Eastern federal states into the West (see Table 4.4). Although there are migrations from the West to the East, between 1991 and 2006 the Eastern part of Germany had to suffer a loss of about one million people.

The East-West migration plays a decisive role concerning the development of the Eastern German population and its economy. It seems as if the migration of young mobile Eastern Germans is strongly connected to the labour market since the main destination areas are the regions around Hamburg, Hannover, Frankfurt/M., and Stuttgart where highly skilled and trainees can find jobs (Friedrich, 2008, p. 18). It can be said that mainly well educated young people leave and in the first moment it looks like brain drain. Yet it has to be pointed out that a lot of them move to Western federal states in order to acquire further educations and qualifications. Therefore it can not be said who of the leaving people might return. Furthermore there is also migration to the East: 66.3 per cent were born in Eastern Germany, 15.1 per cent came from the Western part, and 18.6 per cent from abroad. Current research assumes that there might be no brain drain but circular migration (Friedrich, 2008, p. 19, Kempe, 2001, Schultz, 2008).

---

\(^6\) It is not said, how many German born and foreigners went to Poland.
4.3.2 Migration of highly skilled to Germany

As one has seen there are several migration flows to and from Germany. We will now have a closer look to the migration of highly skilled. As already mentioned, the German government seeks to support a selected migration of highly skilled and students.

There are several ways of the recruitment or of attracting highly skilled to Germany. Besides the promotion of trade and interaction relations in economy by politics in order to attract highly skilled, educational and scientific institutions, international firms, exchange agencies, or direct recruitments of smaller firms fight for the best talents to bring them to Germany. As we have seen, migration policy has changed in order to adapt to the new needs. However, the number of highly skilled in Germany is not as high as in traditional immigration countries like the US, or Australia. ‘Highly skilled’ refers to a variety of categories – corporate transferees, consultants, health/education professionals, missionaries, academics, military personnel, artists, entertainers, sportsmen, journalists, graduate students.

Since the winter term 2003/2004 the number of foreigners studying in Germany grew from 180,306 to 188,436 in the winter term 2006/2007, and declined in the winter term 2007/2008 to 177,852. A huge number of foreign students came from China (23,983), followed by Poland (10,289), and Bulgaria (10,161). It can be observed that since 1999 the number of first-year students from the Middle and East European Countries, as well as from Turkey, and the US increased. Furthermore there are more foreign students reaching their graduate level in Germany (BMI, 2007, p. 59ff).

Concerning highly skilled (here ICT-specialists and academics), there were 3,411 admissions given to ICT-specialists in 2007 (2006: 2,845) – 68.8 per cent of these were Indians – and 2,205 admissions in 2007 were given to other academics (2006: 1,854). The academics mainly come from China, India, the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Ukraine. Furthermore there were 1,707 admissions for leading staff and workers with special skills for firms in 2007 (2006: 1,320). Here the migrants mainly came from China, Korea, and India. 5,419 admissions were given to specialists in respect to international person transfer (2006: 4,783). And again, India and China were the leading countries sending workers to Germany, followed by the US. There were 630 working permission (EU) given to scientists and graduate workers from the new EU member states (2006: 330), and 2,898 residence admissions given to artists (2006: 3,382) (BMI, 2007, pp. 85).

As we see, the numbers of highly skilled increase and Germany’s migration policy starts to grip. However, there are disparities in Germany: like statistics show, there are less foreigners living in the Eastern Part of Germany. Therefore it can be assumed that there are less highly skilled migrants as well.
Chapter 5 will present data on the migration issue for the city region Leipzig. Socio-economic and demographic data for Leipzig will give an overview over the current situation of the migrants and foreign population. Yet, it has to be mentioned that data availability is insufficient for the surrounding districts. Therefore the chapter concentrates on the city of Leipzig, and tries to compare it to other larger German cities.

5.1 Definition

Before presenting statistical data on migrants in Leipzig, it is necessary to define some German terms.

*Foreigners*: all people, who are not German in the sense of article 116 of the exp. 1 GG, i.e. they don’t have a German citizenship. In addition to that, we also define stateless people and people with uncertain nationality as foreigners. Germans, who also have a foreign citizenship, do not rank among the foreign population.

*People with migration background*: all immigrants who were born after 1949 in the today's area of the FRG, as well as all German born foreigners. Additionally, in Germany as Germans born people who have at least one parent who had/have the status of an immigrant or had been born as foreigner in Germany.

5.2 Foreign population in Leipzig

The data of different spatial levels are shown in Table 5.1 to classify the contingent of the foreign population in Leipzig. It becomes evident that the different development of the old and new states of the Federal Republic of Germany apparently also affected the contingent of the foreigners living here.

In relation to the whole of Germany, and in particular to the large cities of Hamburg and Berlin, Leipzig exhibits a substantially lower number of foreigners. However, in comparison to the new states of the Federal Republic of Germany, it becomes obvious that Leipzig has more foreign fellow citizens. Table 5.2 gives a more detailed overview of the contingent of the foreign population, as well as of the total contingent of the population with migration background in Leipzig.
Table 5.1 - Foreign population in Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial level</th>
<th>Population total (31.12.2007)</th>
<th>foreign population</th>
<th>2006 total</th>
<th>2007 total</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>82,217,837</td>
<td>7,286,325</td>
<td>7,284,521</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New federal states</td>
<td>16,553,565</td>
<td>320,242</td>
<td>316,062</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxony</td>
<td>4,220,200</td>
<td>120,708</td>
<td>117,449</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leipzig</td>
<td>510,512</td>
<td>31,981</td>
<td>32,788</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>1,741,182</td>
<td>248,246</td>
<td>257,825</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>3,353,854</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>470,004</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 5.2 - Foreigner dates respectively population with migration background in the city of Leipzig

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population group</th>
<th>residents</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
<th>gender</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population total</td>
<td>510,512</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>247,282</td>
<td>263,230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>477,724</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>228,329</td>
<td>249,395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>32,788</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>18,953</td>
<td>13,835</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrants</td>
<td>49,321</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>27,618</td>
<td>21,703</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistical Office of the Free State of Saxony, Resident Register of the City of Leipzig*

Table 5.3 gives an overview of the origin of the migrants living in Leipzig. Subpopulations from the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Vietnam dominate. Compared with the numbers for whole Germany there are enormous deviations in ranks of the origin states.

Table 5.3 - Comparison of the main origin states

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>State origin</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
<th>State origin</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>Proportion (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1,713,551</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>2343</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>528,318</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>2322</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>384,808</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>2316</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Serbia and</td>
<td>330,608</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>294,891</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>225,309</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>others</td>
<td>2,139,264</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>others</td>
<td>18537</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When comparing Hamburg and Berlin, it is likewise recognisable that the origin of the dominant subpopulations differs clearly among the inhabitants with migration background (see figure 5.1). When looking at continental origin the portion of migrants from the European Union in Leipzig is higher than in the compared cities.

![Figure 5.1 - Overview of the continental origin in city comparison](image)

In this sense 32,788 foreigners are living in Leipzig (Stadt-Leipzig, 2008). The average age for women is 32.9 and for man it is 34.2 (Stadt-Leipzig, 2008). Both values are clearly under the average age of the German population.

The proportion of foreigners in Leipzig who are working in permanent employment (sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte) is only 2 per cent of the number of employed. The firms with foreign owners have a proportion of 7.4 per cent (see table 5.4 and 5.5).

### Table 5.4 - Workers in permanent employment in Leipzig, 31.12.2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workers in permanent employment (sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigte)</th>
<th>Total (at residence)</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>151995</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>3103</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: City of Leipzig 2008*

### Table 5.5 - Firms in Leipzig, 31.12.2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firms</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German owner</td>
<td>48186</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign owner</td>
<td>3825</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: City of Leipzig 2008*
The high unemployment rate for the foreign population in Leipzig is significant. That means that 3388 people (45.8 per cent) of the foreigners are unemployed (Stadt-Leipzig, 2008). The share of the foreign population of all people who are registered as unemployed is 8.9 per cent (Stadt-Leipzig, 2008).

In the area of education there are currently only numbers for the proportion of foreign schoolchildren and students. In this sense the proportion of foreign schoolchildren, who are going to school, is 6.1 per cent of the whole number of schoolchildren.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.6 - Foreign schoolchildren at schools in school year 2007/2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qualification degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprised:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary school (Grundschule)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grammar school (Mittelschule)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary school (Gymnasium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other schools (andere Schulen)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: City of Leipzig 2008*

The proportion of foreign students is 9.1 per cent of the total. The most common origins of foreign students in the winter term 2007/08 were China (13.8 per cent), Austria (6.5 per cent), and Russia (6.1 per cent). In the last three years, the number of new foreign students has not changed noticeably. The percentage of new foreign students was 15.9 per cent in the winter term 2007/08.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.7 - New students in Leipzig 2005 to 2007 (City of Leipzig 2008)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion (%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: City of Leipzig 2008*

When examining the distribution of migrants and foreigners in the urban area of Leipzig, it becomes clear that in the districts Mitte, Ost, Süd, and Alt-West there is a significant higher number of these groups. The number of migrants in the districts Mitte and Ost lies between 10 per cent and 19 per cent of the total population.
5.3 Distribution of migrants in Leipzig

At the moment there are 27 religious communities existing in Leipzig which mostly consist of migrants. These religious communities contain representatives of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and others.

Altogether it can be claimed, that Leipzig has a lower proportion of foreigners and migrants in comparison to Germany and especially the big cities in Western Germany. However, this proportion in Leipzig is higher in relation to the new federal states and to Saxony. The share of the dominant migration groups in Leipzig differentiate from the rest of Germany. The high number of unemployed foreigners in Leipzig is striking. One can also detect a light concentration of foreigners in certain areas of Leipzig. The high number of firms with foreign owners is evident. In the area of education, there are no significant differences between the shares of schoolchildren at various education levels. There is also a higher proportion of foreign students in tertiary education in Leipzig.
5.4 Migration policy and institutions for migrants in the Leipzig region

As described in section 4.1, migration policy is established in law on a federal level in Germany. Local migration policy is predetermined within this context. During the GDR no specific policy was established for dealing with foreign or migrant population. After 1989 when the GDR-orientated local government was substituted by a new administrative organisation, first consisting of local experts, one of the developed strategies was to deal with the foreign immigration to Leipzig. At this time a department for immigrants’ affairs was created.

The main activity of this institution is to foster the integration of immigrants into the community of Leipzig and to reduce discrimination. The multi-disciplinary challenge consists primarily of communicating and networking the different external actors, who deal with immigration in Leipzig. Besides the department of immigrants’ affairs, the immigration office gives advice in legal matters.

Furthermore, there are several advice centres and local institutions in the city of Leipzig which offer services for migrants and promote cross-cultural exchange. Additionally, a range of integration measures, like i.e. language courses, are also provided. Besides, there are many associations and organisations of migrants, which represent the interests and the specific culture of the members.

The Club International in Leipzig is a ‘city club’ founded in 1996 which wants to inform regional stakeholders from political, economic, scientific, and cultural spheres about issues of internationality of Mitteldeutschland (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia). Major intentions of the club are the promotion of intercultural and international understanding, the intellectual exchange between people from all over the world living in Mitteldeutschland, and the prevention of xenophobia. Exclusive events and public evenings offer possibilities for dialogue and networking. Regular meetings such as the ‘cigar lounge’ or the ‘foreign affairs salon’ take place alongside unique evenings such as Russian evening or American Thanksgiving. Club members are regional mayors, university chancellors, chief executive officers of multinational companies located in the region, consul generals, and other important stakeholders of the regional population. The membership is quite expensive and exclusive. The club, therefore, tends to be elitist. The generally small share of foreigners in the population of the city region Leipzig is accompanied by a small number of expatriates and transnational migrants who came to the city region because of job related reasons. Even an institution such as the Club International only has a few foreign members, who are working in private enterprises in the city region.
Brain gain and brain drain in the Leipzig region

It is often discussed if the Eastern federal states suffer brain drain. In Leipzig and its region there is a debate about solutions for the brain drain problem and for labour shortage. In consequence of the aging society in the Eastern federal states of Germany and the selected migration of young people to Western Germany, experts and entrepreneurs speak of labour shortage which will get problematic in the future. Yet nowadays there is a great demand for engineers and a competition for highly skilled workers (Behr et al., 2008, p. 15ff).

In 2005 and 2007 the IHK (Chamber of Trade and Industry) of Saxony conducted a survey on labour demand in the economy of Saxony. 1,079 firms of 300,000 members of the IHK Saxony were asked about their current employment and qualification structure, about their demand for new employees and required qualifications, and about their recruitment experiences.

The asked firms stated that, because of the developing economy in Saxony, the number of job vacancies increased from 360 (2005) to 1350 in 2007. Still, high qualifications are demanded. Saxon firms in particular are looking for masters, skilled workers and graduates, in the field of research and development. It shows that the level of qualification of the employees is increasing. In 2007 the time needed to find highly qualified persons¹ for job vacancies has increased (32 per cent of the asked firms need more than six months) while the time needed to find unskilled or less skilled workers declined. The main reasons for this are missing professional experience and specific qualifications which are demanded for the job. Furthermore the highly skilled workers ask for wages which cannot be paid and therefore look for other opportunities. At the moment a problematic shortage of highly skilled workers cannot be stated, but in respect of demographic change and age-related retirement of workers it can be claimed that the demand for highly skilled workers will increase in the next years (IHK-Leipzig et al., 2008).

¹ Especially the recruitment of graduates, engineers in particular, needs more time than in 2005.
Chapter 6 presents the methodology the ACRE team Leipzig has applied in WP7. The chapter is structured following:

Section 6.1 gives a short introduction into two interview types the team used in WP7. It explains the aim and procedure of each interview type.

Section 6.2 then explains the structure of the sample and how the interview partners for the guided and the expert interviews had been selected. It presents the different interviewees and their background. It also comments on the questionnaire the team used and on the focus of the guided and expert interviews.

Section 6.3 comments on the interview situation and describes precisely the steps of analysis. The focus lies on the explanation of the grounded theory, the method applied for analysis.

Section 6.4 finally comments on limitation and problems the ACRE team Leipzig experienced during the research period for WP7.

6.1 Expert interviews and guided interviews

In WP 7 the project-team focussed on two types of interviews and groups: on the one hand the project-team carried out expert interviews with people working for institutions or organisations which present important issues of WP 7 like migration in and to Germany and Leipzig or right-wing movements in the city.

On the other hand the project-team conducted guided interviews with transnational migrants living and working in the city of Leipzig either within the creative or the knowledge-intensive industries.

The expert interviews were reconfigured as half open and semi-structured guided expert interviews. Semi-structured interviews have no given order of questions. The openness means that every focus area starts with a general open question. The selection of the interview partners was done by theoretical sampling, which means that the selection is based on certain and formalised criteria (Lamnek, 2005, p. 266). The expert interviews were not recorded; they were transferred into summarised reports because the aim of the expert interviews was to get a general overview of the main issues of WP 7 like migration, xenophobia, situation of migrants in the city region Leipzig or programs offered by the city to attract migrants.

The interviews with the transnational migrants were also conceptualised as half open and semi-structured interviews. The main questions were taken from the draft developed by the Amsterdam team and additionally conceptualised after carrying out the expert interviews so
that the team was able to refer to important issues which the team believed to be relevant for the transnational migrants in Leipzig. These interviews were recorded and transferred into transcripts afterwards in order to analyse them. The guided interviews were analysed with the help of the grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 2005).

6.2 Structure of the sample and selection of interview partners

As mentioned in section 6.1 the selection for the expert interviews as well as for the guided interviews with the transnational migrants based on specific criteria. The ACRE researchers decided to quantify the sample to five expert interviews and to 25 qualitative guided interviews.

6.2.1 Expert Interviews

The interviewees for the expert interviews were chosen with the help of LOPs and pre-research. The ACRE team chose several criteria which seemed to be relevant for transnational migrants coming to the city of Leipzig. They included the issues of xenophobia, economical development and chances for foreigners coming to Leipzig – as a result the project-team interviewed the following people:

Table 6.1 - Expert interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organisation/ Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eiko Kühnert</td>
<td>Specialist Department for extremism and prevention of violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stojan Gugutschkow</td>
<td>Immigrant welfare officer for the City of Leipzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Stefan Röhrbein</td>
<td>President Club International e.V. Leipzig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anja Treichel</td>
<td>Executive of association for bi-national families and partners, IAF e.V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthias Feige</td>
<td>Executive of International affairs IHK Leipzig (Chamber for Industry and Commerce Leipzig)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own survey

The questionnaire for the expert interviews depended on the institution which was chosen for an interview; mainly the questions aimed on the situation in Leipzig, Saxony and Germany in general. The ACRE team wanted to analyse the situation in the city of Leipzig in comparison to other parts of Germany, in order to gain a realistic appraisal of the situation of transnational migrants in the city.

6.2.2 Guided interviews with transnational migrants

The structure of the sample for the transnational migrants was based on the objective to get a diversified variance in order to obtain a maximum of contrasts. The procedure for finding relevant interviewees was based on the snowball-principle. It was intended to choose a heterogeneous sample based on the different nations which are located in the city of Leipzig. The main problem and limitation for the ACRE team Leipzig was to find 25 transnational migrants living and working in Leipzig within the creative and/or knowledge-intensive
industries as the city of Leipzig shows a low number of migrants (6.4 per cent 2007). Therefore the team could not choose out of a big pool of transnational migrants. At the end the sample for WP 7 was structured the following (see table 6.2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.2 - List of interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrique Fernández-Gómez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascal Joubert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoko Murakami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dao Uladh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathie Peters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hector Iglesias-Gonzáles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossana Campo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kung-yi Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennifer Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Pajak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janika Ivanova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tim Brandon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge-intensive Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Scott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ton van Weezel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antónia Pessoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Racheva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yin Chuntai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lidia Porchia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luana Silva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambar Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutung Sukarno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result the ACRE team Leipzig interviewed fifteen transnational migrants working within the creative sector, mainly freelance artists who earn their money outside of the city of Leipzig. This group consisted of eight females and seven males, the majority had their origin in West Europe or America, three of them in Asia, one in Australia and another two in East Europe.


2 All interviewees’ names have been changed for reasons of anonymity.
On the other hand the project-team interviewed another ten transnational migrants who are working within the knowledge-intensive industries. Most of them earned their money either in Leipzig or financed themselves with the help of fellowships. This group consisted of five females and five males. Their origin was mainly the same as in the first group: the majority had their origin in Western Europe or USA, three of them in Asia, one in East Europe and another one in Latin America.

6.2.3 Questionnaire

Based on the general interview guidelines, the interviews took place with the help of a semi-structured questionnaire. Several themes were covered by the structure of the interview guidelines. In addition to the provided questionnaire, the ACRE team Leipzig added some questions after having carried out the expert interviews. Additional questions concerned issues like right-wing movements in Eastern Germany, personal experiences with xenophobia or unemployment.

The opening question referred to the reason for choosing Leipzig as a working and living place. The purpose was to find out what factors led to this decision. The interviewees then were asked about their first impression when coming to Leipzig, because the majority of the interviewees had never been to Leipzig before or had not even heard about the city before. Then the interviewees were asked to talk about positive and negative aspects of the city, the attention lay on both hard and soft factors. Thereby the team wanted to find out which factors, aspects and issues are relevant for transnational migrants coming to Leipzig. At the same time the team wanted to reveal existing problems for migrants moving to Leipzig, and what could be improved in order to attract or keep transnational migrants.

These questions were followed by the aspect of right-wing movements and media reports on xenophobia. The transnational migrants were asked to reveal their fears and attitudes towards this issue when coming to Leipzig and to report on bad experiences.

Then the team wanted to know if Leipzig is attractive for migrants and if it offers an international atmosphere although the number of migrants living in the city is rather low. In summary the first part covered the issues on coming to Leipzig, actual living and working situation, positive and negative aspects of the city, and personal experiences concerning hard and soft location factors.

The second part covered issues like the definition of home and future plans. Thereby the ACRE team Leipzig wanted to find out if Leipzig offers identification potential for people coming from outside. Is the local population open-minded to alternative living models or is it rather hostile against people coming from other parts of the world. The interviewees were asked to explain their impression. Another question focussed on future plans of the transnational migrants, whether the interviewees plan to settle here in Leipzig or plan to leave sooner or later. The team wanted to find out which factors are decisive for this decision, and thereby it should be revealed for example if official institutions offer special programs or initiatives for migrants coming to Leipzig.
Finally the interviewees were asked to mention their wishes for Leipzig in the future. The team wanted to reveal important aspects for transnational migrants, which should be fulfilled (if possible) in order to attract more of these people or at least to show, that Leipzig can only attract a certain group of migrants coming to Leipzig.

6.3 Interview situation and analysis of the interviews

The interview situation for the expert and the guided interviews was different. For the expert interviews the project-team, in a first step, did a research on the whole topic of transnational migrants. Who is defined as such? Who exactly comes to Leipzig? Where are these people from and in which fields do they mainly work? What aspects are difficult for people coming from abroad? In a second step the team determined which institutions in Leipzig could answer some of these aspects precisely. In a third step the team arranged five interviews. The interviews took place in the working place of the interviewees.

For the guided interviews the project-team searched for transnational migrants with the help of the snowball-principle, separated for both groups. After having realised the first interview for both groups the team tried to look out for interviewees with differing characteristics – concerning age, gender, standard of living or level of education. This went on until having realised 25 interviews. The interviews took place either in public places like cafés, at home or at the working places of the transnational migrants.

Before analysing, the empirical material needed to be qualified: for the recorded guided interviews with the transnational migrants this included the transferring of the interviews into transcripts in normal written language (Mayring, 1999, p. 70).

>'In projects of qualitative social research the quotation of passages of an interview (...) which are defined as typical or exemplary by the researcher are an important and mostly the only way documenting important messages or opinions.’ (Bühler-Niedersberger, 1985, p. 475)

The five expert interviews were transferred into summarised reports in order to gain the most important aspects each of the interviewees had mentioned. As a guideline for the summary the project-team developed a draft, which included the main aspects of the questionnaire. This procedure made sure that the most relevant aspects of the interviews were detected in the phases of analysing the gained material. Summarised reports are recommended if the researcher is especially interested in the main issues of a topic as well as when there is a lot of material and time is short (Mayring, 1999, p. 74).

After transferring the expert interviews into summarised reports, the question draft for the guided interviews with the transnational migrants could be modified for the situation in Leipzig.

In contrast to the expert interviews the guided interviews with the transnational migrants were recorded and transferred into transcripts. Then they were analysed with the help of the grounded theory.
6.3.1 Grounded theory

The general conception of a grounded theory is the following: at the beginning the general sample has to be defined. Who should be included and who should not? The project-team was looking for transnational migrants living and working in Leipzig either in the creative or the knowledge-intensive industries. The sample therefore consisted out of two main groups.

In a second step one has to realise one interview for each group which will be the reference case. Now one has to look out for interviewees who are in total contrast to the reference case. When interviewing a well-situated male, coming from the western part of the world, for the knowledge-intensive industries, one has to choose as a contrasting case a more instable female, coming from a non-western country. The same procedure has to be done for the creative industries. Now one starts to analyse the contrasting and the reference cases in order to develop different types of transnational migrants. One has to think about several differentiation levels between interviewees and search for the next interview partners fulfilling these differences. The aim is to cover the whole range of types of transnational migrants being attracted to come to Leipzig.

After conducting the interviews, the project-team analysed the interviews for these two groups and searched for issues which appeared in all of the interviews within one group. These issues concerned images of Leipzig, spatial conceptions of the city, experiences with xenophobia, networking, definition of home, perception of the city concerning its internationality, spaces of fear, collectivity, financial situation and the reasons for coming to Leipzig. The team also included the results of the expert interviews which had revealed other important issues for WP 7. This included the lack of skilled labour in the Eastern part of Germany for example.

At the end the two groups of transnational migrants were compared in order to find out if these two groups have anything in common concerning their perception and judgement on Leipzig.

The ACRE team analysed the interviews on four levels. The first level concerns the reference case, which is the starting point for every grounded theory. For both branches two reference cases were chosen which represent one typical transnational migrant for the branch. At the same time two contrasting cases describe the very opposite of each reference case; again this was done for both branches.

On the second level all the interviews were considered and analysed in terms of different categories which seemed relevant for transnational migrants coming to Leipzig (motivation to come to Leipzig; quality of city region Leipzig; accommodating in Leipzig; current living and working situation; networks/networking; Leipzig as city of disruption; xenophobia; internationality and institutional limitations; definition of home). That procedure presents an intermediate step.

After having analysed the interviews in terms of the categories, the team picked out the most relevant ones in order to identify two types of migrants for every branch presenting a conglomerate of different characteristics. These types do not correspond to one specific person. This presents the third level of analysis.
Finally the fourth step meant a further abstraction of the four types of transnational migrants which had been formulated in the third step of analysis. Here the four types were reduced to two types according to their key motives to migrate.

The aim of a grounded theory is to develop a theory on a certain issue. In WP 7 the team wanted to find out why people from abroad come to Leipzig, the reasons for their decision to stay or leave Leipzig, and the images of the city are developed by the transnational migrants. The results on this are presented in chapter eight.

### 6.4 Limitation and problems

The Leipzig Metropolitan Region – as defined for the ACRE project – consists of the city of Leipzig and the three surrounding districts (*Landkreise*): Muldentalkreis, Delitzsch, and Leipziger Land. While the city region Leipzig shows a total resident population of 510,512 inhabitants in 2007, the number of foreign people living in the city region Leipzig reached in 2007 only 32,788 people. The surrounding *Landkreise* in the Metropolitan Region only could account for relatively small cities. Only three of these cities have more than 20,000 inhabitants – Delitzsch, Borna and Markkleeberg. In addition Markkleeberg could be considered as a suburb of Leipzig assuming residential function for commuters working in the city of Leipzig. Especially creative and knowledge-intensive industries seem to play a significant role only in the city of Leipzig. The surrounding *Landkreise* in the Metropolitan Region with their very small rural towns do not show significant concentrations of foreign people working in the branches in focus of this working package. Therefore, after confirmation of these assumptions by the networking experts of the branches, the sampling focused on finding interview partners in the city of Leipzig.

The experienced problems in finding proper interview partners give insights into the current situation of Leipzig’s creative knowledge industries. The city still lacks of a large and diverse population and concentration of companies in these industries.
Chapter seven presents the main results of the analysis of the interviews. The structure of chapter seven follows the four levels of interpretation. They can briefly be described as an increasing abstraction of the results.

Section 7.1 includes the first level and describes the reference and contrasting case for the knowledge-intensive industries and the creative industries. The description of these cases bases on four migrants who are living and working in Leipzig.

Section 7.2 presents the main results of the interviews focussing on the categories network, Leipzig as a city of disruption, xenophobia, definition of home and the perception of the city, concerning its internationality.

Section 7.3 reveals four general types of transnational migrants who can be identified for Leipzig. These types do not describe one concrete person but a conglomerate of different characteristics concerning opinions and perception of Leipzig.

Section 7.4 finally differentiates the transnational migrants by their key motives to migrate.

Figure 7.1 sums up all the steps which were taken in order to analyse the interviews.

Figure 7.1 - Research scheme

Source: own survey
7.1 Reference and contrast cases for the Creative and the Knowledge-Intensive Industries

7.1.1 Creative industries

Reference Case

The reference case for the creative industries is Yoko Murakami. Yoko is a Japanese painter and she came to Leipzig in February 2008. She receives an artist fellowship for one year by an international art program and works and lives in the Baumwollspinnerei, an artistic and creative centre in the western part of Leipzig. This centre is located in a former cotton-weaving factory. Yoko’s first impression of the city was quite negative – she came during wintertime, so it was cold and grey. Her image of Leipzig has mainly been shaped by Plagwitz, the city district where the art centre is located. It is a former industrial district therefore one can find many old and abandoned houses and factories.¹

‘...nicht so viele Leute […] in Stadt und sehr dunkel […] jaa und ich bin erstmal direkt hier gekommen, na in Spinnerei. Deswegen so Industriestil (…)’.²

Her negative image of Leipzig has changed after getting to know a lot of people, mainly artists who also work in their studios at the art centre, like Yoko is doing.

She is well integrated into the Leipzig art scene which is dominated by the Baumwollspinnerei. That means that her impression of Leipzig is shaped by a very limited perception which is connected with a creative milieu. She does not really mention any problems she has noticed in the city. She thinks positive about the relatively low living costs and about the nature scene Leipzig offers; she is especially positive about an artificial lake on the outskirts of Leipzig; this reminds her of her home city in Japan.

‘…Ich komme aus klein Hafenstadt, Leipzig gibt es keine äh keine Seen, aber gibt es Cospudener See…’.³

She is only critical about the city-tunnel which is under construction at the moment.

‘...jetzte Leipzig macht Ü-Bahn, ja [...] und diese Station ist drei oder vier, ja? [...] ich versteh nicht, warum Ü-Bahn macht Leipzig [...] Das versteh nicht, aber natürlich Leipzig hat da auch ist stolz na auf (4) Leipzig? [...] uund sie möchten vielleicht wissen moderne Stadt zu zeigen [...] für Auslander’.⁴

¹ The citations are the original versions of the interviews and have not been changed. If the interviews were held in German, the footnotes will present the translated version.
² ‘...not so many people in the city and very dark; yeah and I first came directly here to the Spinnerei. With industrial architecture…’
³ ‘I am from a small port city; in Leipzig there are no lakes, but there is the Cospudener Lake…’
⁴ ‘Now Leipzig is building a tunnel with three or four stations, right? I do not understand why Leipzig is constructing a tunnel, but sure Leipzig wants to present itself as a proud and modern city for foreigners.’
Maybe she criticises the tunnel because it does not accord with her perception of Leipzig. Leipzig to her is a creative, compact, and small-sized city where she always meets friends on the streets and does not feel any anonymity like she did in Berlin for example. To her a tunnel only fits into huge and anonymous cities which aspire to be very modern. Leipzig to her is a quite familiar and private space.

To Yoko an image of a city mainly depends on the social contacts she can establish there. This also explains the positive image of Leipzig she has developed.

‘...aber Leipzig ist ja jeden Tag ich treffe [...]zufällig [...] mit Freunde [...] äh, das ist sehr wichtig für mich, für mein [...] Leben.’

Yoko is aged 23, economically not yet established and her stay in Leipzig is temporary limited. She finances herself with the fellow ship. Additionally she could sell some of her paintings during a gallery circuit at the Baumwollspinnerei.

Before she came to Leipzig, Yoko had been living in Berlin for a while. When telling her German friends about her plans moving to Leipzig they warned her about xenophobia in Leipzig.

‘...deutsche Freund von mir [...] hat gesagt, oh Yoko, gehste nach Leipzig? Leipzig ist äh (2) nicht so viele Ausland und gibt es viele Neonazis.’

Therefore she developed some fears when moving to Leipzig. However she was surprised positively because she felt that the local people are quite open to foreign people.

‘...deswegen hat ich große Angst na eigentlich [...] ich denke [...] natürlich Ausländer und besonders Japaner sind sehr wenig in Leipzig, aber (3) die sind ei-ziemlich uffen...’

It is possible that she feels an openness of the local people because she had negative expectations when coming to Leipzig due to her Asiatic appearance, which makes it possible to identify her as a foreigner. She describes the local people as open but actually she does not have any real contact to those people – she is living and working in her creative milieu and mainly gets to know people who are similarly interested in arts and creativity.

Generally Yoko could imagine staying in Leipzig but she also realises that she is still young and as an artist should move to other places in order to get new impressions.

‘...wenn es geht, ja, ich möchte in Spinnerei eine kleine Atelier haben [...] ja ich weiß nicht, natürlich äh nächste Jahr kommet auch vielleicht andere Einladung [...] ja ich bin jung ich muss ja viel Erfahrung haben (...)’

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5 ‘But in Leipzig I am meeting friends casually every day and that is very important to me.’
6 ‘German friends of mine where telling me, oh Yoko, you are moving to Leipzig? Well in Leipzig there are not many foreigners living and there are a lot of neo-Nazis.’
7 ‘Therefore I had a lot of fear when coming to Leipzig and sure, there are only few foreigners living in Leipzig and especially Japanese people, but the locals are quite open.’
8 ‘If it is possible I would like to have a small studio in the Spinnerei, but I know maybe there will be another invitation next year and I am still young and should make other experiences.’
The comment shows that Yoko is not that integrated into the city like she pretends. She is living in a milieu where it is essential to move around the world and experience different cultures.

**Contrasting Case**

The contrasting case to Yoko is Tim Brandon. Tim is from Great Britain and is working as an installation artist. He came to Leipzig about ten years ago because he had been invited by another British artist who worked in Leipzig and had invented a huge installation organised as a monthly party in an old trade fair building.

‘...I got invited to come here, to help äh with Ken Jamey [...] I kind of liked the environment, so I decided I’d stay a little bit longer [...] Originally was only planned to be maybe three months and now it’s eleven years, no ten years.’

When asked about the issue xenophobia, Tim stated that he is not so much concerned with that problem. He perceives press releases concerning this problem, but he does not connect this problem with his image of Leipzig, which is a quite open one in terms of the people living here.

‘...I haven’t really seen- I mean, occasionally there is äh far right marches in the city, but normally these are organized from [...] organisations, which aren’t from the city and they just concentrate on something like Vö- Völkerschlachtdenkmal [...] I mean, maybe this creates the image in the press, that people see Leipzig as a place [...] reality. The- I’ve- I’ve never seen really any racist [...] problems in the city.’

Tim is aged 38, economically established, he rents a studio in the Werk II which is a socio-cultural centre in the southern part of Leipzig, in Connewitz. When he first came to Leipzig, he felt certain openness in terms of empty spaces which could be used by artists and other people in order to realise personal projects; he also likes the size of the city which makes it easy getting to know new people and meet them on the streets. He mentions positively the low living costs in Leipzig which make it possible for artists to live and work in the city of Leipzig.

‘I mean you don’t need to earn so much money to be able to (2) exist and then invest in your own work.’

In comparison to Yoko, Tim is not as optimistic and positive about Leipzig like she is. This might be related to his age, the long time he has been living in Leipzig, and to his non-connectedness to the Leipzig art scene which he expresses by a critical view on the Baumwollspinnerei.

‘I don’t know, maybe that’s all over [...] I think it was a brief-brief period of time [...] I’m not sure and I don’t know what wrong [...] were, but I think they have been steadily declined and the amount of people [...]’
In general the Baumwollspinnerei is seen as a role model for the creative milieu of Leipzig. The critical view Tim has can not be objectified since it is very successful, until today.

Besides the Baumwollspinnerei, Tim is pessimistic about rising living costs in the last ten years, and social problems which can be perceived throughout the city. This makes clear that he perceives the city out of a wider angle in comparison to Yoko due to his longer experience in everyday life in Leipzig. He also mentions the Immigration Office and its unwelcoming atmosphere.

‘...Well, Auslandsamt [Immigration Office] isn’t even designed to look pleasant [...] , I mean iron bars [...] on the windows in the waiting room [...] which creates instantly a little bit of attention.’

Finally he mentions the fact that a lot of people, especially artist people, have to earn their money outside of Leipzig because the city suffers unemployment. At the same time this outward orientation is typical for a certain group of migrations coming to Leipzig and working within the creative industries. They are no longer concentrated and connected to only one place. They look where they can realise creative projects and go there for a limited period of time. At the same time they keep their living place in the city of Leipzig because they are satisfied with the living environment.

His social contacts in Leipzig are not limited to a certain group of people – he does not have many Leipzig artists as friends because he is quite critical about this scene. He knows a lot of German as well as foreign people. He finances himself with exhibitions which he organises outside of Leipzig, mainly in Spain and France.

He plans to stay in Leipzig although he knows that a good job offer might force him to leave Leipzig.

‘I mean, if an amazing opportunity arises, äh it’s- it’s going to be very hard to say ‘Oh, do I do it or (.) not’ but I think- I mean I think I will keep a base in Leipzig [...] Leipzig is quite, how do you say it?, an angenehme Stadt [...] ’

This comment again shows the attitude this group of creatives has – they are open minded to different projects no matter where they will take place, but at the same time they keep their private living place in a space where they feel at home.

First Interpretations

When describing two typical people presenting transnational migrants living in Leipzig and working in the creative industries, it becomes clear that this group is not homogenous and brings together different types of migrants with different perspectives on the city. These differing perspectives are very much influenced by the personal situation of the migrants although both of them are working within the same branch. The personal situation determines the role one takes into consideration when living and working in a new context. Although both of them are coming from outside as artists to Leipzig, Tim decides for the active role. His attitude is a global and active one. Hence he is establishing himself in Leipzig, but at the
same time he realises jobs throughout the world because by this he can actualise his artistic themes and interests. His global network makes it possible for him to be economically independent of Leipzig and the local job situation. At the same time he notices that the city of Leipzig offers good living situations concerning low living costs, wide range of dwellings, and the size of the city which makes it possible to meet people easily and establish networks. These networks at the interface of personal and professional contacts are essential for people within the creative industries. As they are not so much integrated into professional networks like people working for the knowledge-intensive industries, they have to establish their networks on their own, in order to receive social contacts which can be useful for different concerns.

The network issue is also important for the second group of migrants within the creative industries which can be found in the city of Leipzig. Nonetheless their network might lead them to new places because they still tend to be in an educational phase where it is important getting to know new places and people in order to receive new inspirations. This leads to a rather passive role in Leipzig because they know that they will leave this place sooner or later. At the same time this group of migrants also appreciates the living situation Leipzig offers although they also mention critical issues like social disparities and disintegration of migrants.

7.1.2 Knowledge-intensive industries

Reference Case

The reference case for the knowledge-intensive industries is the couple Smith. They are American citizens and came to Leipzig in 2000 when Joseph Smith had a call to the Leipzig Graduate School of Management; he now is retired. Claudia Smith works as a freelance journalist.

They are aged 62 and 65 and they are economically well established. They can be defined as representatives of a new middle class (bourgeoisie) which has settled in Leipzig. In comparison to the middle class that existed in Leipzig until World War II, the new middle class in Leipzig is structured under a new context and differs from the former one – the new middle class does not possess many houses - although they are wealthy, they are not millionaires. But they do care about the city. They network in different contexts, have been establishing themselves in Leipzig, and plan to stay here.

‘...and then we bought this place, when (. ) a barber sold it, was available. (. ) And then we had a rebuild, 'cause it was a hulk (. ) [...] I plan to die in Leipzig’

When they came to Leipzig their first impression was mainly shaped by the many houses under reconstruction in the different city districts. But then they got to know the cultural diversity of Leipzig and were impressed by it.

Their social contacts are quite mixed and not focussed on a certain group. Mainly they are integrated into a circle of academic and international people from the university or the network groups like the Women International Club. When they came to Leipzig they experienced a lot of informal help by the colleagues of the Graduate School and felt well
integrated. In contrast to Tim, Joseph mentions the Immigration Office and his positive experiences there.

‘I’ve actually liked the Ausländerbehördeamt [Immigration Office]’

The different perceptions of the same institution might result from the different background: Joseph is much older than Tim. As a professor he has got a different social position which also leads to a differing habitués that influences the perception of Joseph. Tim as an artist, also concerned with political art, might be more sensitive to the issue of mistreatment of foreigners by local authorities.

The couple describes the contact to local people as difficult. They have the impression that it is easier to make contacts with Western German people due to their different socialisation.

‘We spent most of our time in Leipzig […] I am particularly found it much easier to make German friends in my western city, than in Leipzig…’

This might have to do with the low number of migrants living in Leipzig and certain prejudice against foreigners. Western German people are more used to people coming from different countries.

Like already mentioned the couple is also critical about different aspects of Leipzig. Joseph criticises the government of the city for the lack of initiatives which could improve the economic situation of the city.

‘…they had a great chance, I believe, to sell the äh, Stadtwerk Leipzig at a wonderful price (.) and they chose not to do that’

He also mentions the lack of industrial jobs, and that there are no corporate headquarters in Leipzig. He misses an entrepreneurial culture, and Claudia criticises the focus on consumption which is expressed by the building of new shopping centres.

‘…it’s a shame we have no real corporate headquarters here […] That we’re overbuilding shopping and not finding our message’

Finally they are missing sufficient international connections to Leipzig because the couple is travelling a lot. In general the couple criticises the lack of good city marketing and stresses that Leipzig offers a lot of positive features for different requirements. Yet one should not forget that their perception of the city is limited to certain districts and people. Although they are trying to get contacts to the local people their main social contacts are limited to people who are well off, internationally orientated, and open minded.

In terms of xenophobia they did not recognise any problems themselves although Claudia has heard about this issue.

‘I think that there (.) are some problems for some people with children in the schools, when their children are perceived as (.) not being native Germans, ähm, I’ve had, I’ve heard some parents express some (.) äh concern that, that their children (.) are not always that well accepted.’
They think that solving economical problems could improve this situation because they see social disparity as the catalyst for right-wing violence and xenophobia.

**Contrasting case**

The contrasting case to the couple Smith is Anna Racheva. Anna comes from Bulgaria and works on her PhD in biology at the University of Leipzig. She came about five years ago to Leipzig for studying Biology. After finishing her studies, she had the offer to work part-time at the Institute for Biology and realise her thesis. Anna is aged 29 and economically not yet established, compared to the couple Smith.

After finishing her thesis in 2009 she plans to leave Leipzig in order to move to another place.

_‘Ich würde dann doch entweder die Stadt wechseln oder ins Ausland. [...] einfach um was anderes zu machen’_  

She wants to leave the city because she is interested in seeing other places. Additionally she might not see a working perspective in Leipzig due to her specialisation on the physiology of plants.

When she came to Leipzig her sister was living here. Therefore it was quite easy for her to settle down and find her way around. Additionally she was well integrated into the social networks of her institute and her seminar group at the university. Her social contacts are limited on her student colleagues. Like Yoko she perceives the city out of a closed social circle. She does not have many contacts to locals.

She mentions different positive aspects of Leipzig. For example she appreciates the architecture, the green areas, the compact city structure, the divers living opportunities, and the support of foreign PhD candidates by the delegate of the university. She also mentions the wide range of leisure activities.

_‘Was ich sehr gut finde, ist, das das es so ein breites Angebot gibt an an Kurse, Sport ähm irgendwie Weiterbildung, also alles Mögliche’_

In this paragraph, she expresses an overwhelming range of opportunities to engage in, although the term ‘courses” as well as the delay signal ‘ähm’ demonstrates no practical interaction to the range of opportunities. For her as a foreigner it is quite difficult to get an overview on the wide range of offers. Although she says that she feels well integrated, she notices that her integration is limited to her working place. This might have to do with her temporary stay in Leipzig. In comparison to the couple Smith who plans to stay here forever and therefore try to establish a wide range of social contacts, for Anna it is not so demanding and necessary.

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9 ‘I would either move to another German city or another country just to do something else.’
10 ‘What I like is that there is a wide offer of courses, sport courses or vocational training, just everything.’
On the other side, Anna mentions different negative aspects of Leipzig. In terms of xenophobia she states that she has been hearing about right-wing violence in Germany especially in small towns and in the rural areas. This issue has shaped her image of Germany.

‘…zum Beispiel in kleinen Städten, ich meine, da kann auch hat man viel weniger die Möglichkeit irgendwie auszuweichen...’  

Although she did not experience right-wing violence personally she is more anxious since living in the city of Leipzig. She also criticises the non-openmindedness of the locals towards foreigners.

‘…aber mir wäre es eigentlich lieber, wenn man das für selbstverständlicher nehmen würde, ne. Das da einfach auch andere Leute da sind.’

At the same time she states that there is a growing openness towards foreign people living in the city of Leipzig in the last years. This perception might have to do with her integration into the city. She does not feel new and strange anymore and does not pay so much attention how people react on her. Another issue might be her language skills. During the time she has been living in Leipzig her German became a lot better, so that she does not feel that insecure anymore. Further critic concerns the working limitation for foreign students who are only allowed to work a limited period of the year in Germany. As her view on Leipzig is dominated by the perspective of a PhD student, she also criticises the lack of service for foreign researchers.

‘…wenn zum Beispiel ähm andere Wissenschaftler hier einfach zu Besuch kommen oder was weiß ich, so ein Austausch für ein paar Monate. (.) Ich glaube da könnte man noch ein paar Möglichkeiten schaffen, zum Beispiel Ausländer die mit Kinder her kommen...’

First interpretations

Like in the case of the creative industries, the group of transnational migrants working within the knowledge-intensive industries present a heterogeneous group with different stages of commitment towards the city of Leipzig. This commitment is determined by the degree of being established in Leipzig. The first group which was described by the case of the couple Smith presents the ones who have been establishing themselves in Leipzig and therefore take an active role into account. They would like to improve different issues in Leipzig by their engagement in networks. They are mainly concerned with economic problems. That means that networking to them is also important like for the migrants of the creative industries. Yet in the case of the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries there is a clear cut between personal and professional networks due to their degree of integration into their working place networks. The second group within this branch presents similar results: although they are much more passive concerning their commitment to Leipzig they also

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11 ‘For example in small towns, I mean there you have only little chances to evade.’
12 ‘But I would appreciate it if it would be more considered as normal; I mean that there are other people living here.’
13 ‘For example if other scientists come for a visit or for an exchange program for a couple of month. I think that one should offer more possibilities for researchers coming with children for example.’
develop stable networks in their working sphere. For they know that they will leave Leipzig after a limited period of time, they are not so much concerned with problems of the city. It is not relevant for them. They are well integrated into their research field which makes it needless that they bother with problems outside of this world.

Section 7.1 revealed the results of the first step of analysis and presented the reference and the contrasting cases for the creative industries as well as for the knowledge-intensive industries. These cases where described elaborately in order to present a widespread picture of transnational migrants coming to Leipzig. Although every migrant is different, one can identify several compliances within the branches and the different types of the branches. In section 7.2 the ACRE team Leipzig presents the second step of analysis which also presents a further abstraction of the interviews. The presented results are now more generalised as in section 7.1.

7.2 Main interview results for transnational migrants coming to the city of Leipzig

After having described four cases of transnational migrants, section 7.3 presents the four types of transnational migrants the ACRE team Leipzig has been identifying.

In order to identify these types it was necessary to focus on different categories which describe the attitude of the migrants towards Leipzig. Therefore Section 7.2 presents the second level of interpretation and is actually an in-between step. Before formulating different types of transnational migrants identifiable for Leipzig, the cases have been interpreted in order to find out the major categories which are most decisive for the perception of the city of Leipzig by the transnational migrants. The results of this in-between step then made it possible to formulate four transnational migrant types.

The following categories seemed to be the most important ones: the issue of networks/networking, Leipzig as city of disruption, xenophobia, definition of home, and perception of the city concerning its internationality. Section 7.2 will introduce each of the five categories, their general meaning, and the results of the interviews in relation to the categories.

During the interpretation of the interviews the ACRE team uncovered the main difference between the transnational migrants which also influenced the formulation of different types of transnational migrants in Leipzig: for both branches one can identify migrants who either have been establishing themselves in the city or plan to establish themselves, or migrants who plan to stay only for a limited period. The latter of the knowledge-intensive branch tend not to be much older than thirty years, they have limited working contracts, and the majority of them are still in a vocational training phase.

The migrants of the creative industries who plan to stay only for a limited time are also quite young in comparison to the established migrants working in the creative industries. To them it is important to see different places in the world in order to get new inspiration and to learn new techniques or getting to know other artists. They tend to organise their stay in Leipzig by their own and often do not have proper working contracts.
The established migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries and the creative industries tend to be older than 30 years, are economically already well established, and are no longer in an education phase.

7.2.1 Networks / Networking

The category networks/networking has been introduced by the ACRE team Leipzig because it presents an often discussed issue when dealing with changing production processes and new forms of working routines.

The networking of the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries can be related to the theory of transnationalism which assumes that transnational social spaces emerge inter-nationally. In this branch, universities, the sciences, transnational institutions and corporations take over the function of providing information and support for the incoming transnational migrants (see Pries, 2001).

According to the logic of transnational movements, at least one part of the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries will not stay for a long time in one place and thus will not link with a city. Only those who have economic capital or/and build up strong networks (social capital) might decide to settle and engage in the further development of a city where they decide to stay and live.

In comparison to the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries who are integrated into a network which mainly is shaped by their employer or scientific institution, the transnational migrants of the creative industries are integrated into a creative-artistic milieu. When moving to a new place they mostly settle in specific urban sub-districts and connect themselves with concrete spaces (Musterd et al., 2006, p. 18). They are not integrated into transnational social spaces as described above. Rather they are linked to certain aesthetic-creative themes, and are hardly integrated into international companies or organisations. They are building up their networks both on a local as well as on a global level. That means that the transnational migrants of the creative industries are much more related to concrete social spaces and networking partners who they meet in concrete social spaces providing information and support for the incoming transnational migrants. This approach is also connected to the concept of a ‘cultural milieu’, as used by Florida and Landry (Florida, 2002b, Landry, 2000). Both formulate the importance of public and semi-public spaces to attract and stimulate the creatives living in a city (Musterd et al., 2006, p. 21).

Concerning the issue of networking, the established migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries build up their networks around economic and political themes. They tend to be active participants of the city and present a new type of middle-class (bourgeoisie).

‘For me, as a woman, that was a way to a network [the International Women’s Club Leipzig].’ (Claudia Smith)

The established migrants of the creative industries can also be described as active participants of the city, but their focus lies more on social and cultural themes. They have been
establishing their networks along private and artistic themes and participate in the international community of Leipzig.

‘I’m here to open my eyes and to learn some stuff and cultural differences and stuff […] Not converse, sitting and claiming […] that’s not […] what I do.’ (Keith Brown)

The limited-staying migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries are less engaged in the city and establish their networks mainly around working themes.

‘I don’t have much of äh, (.) socialize contacts äh, with the other people around the city […] I’m busy with my schedule […] so I get very less time…’ (Ambar Khan)

Nevertheless they expect the locals to show interest and integrate them into the city. This might be a result of their experiences they have had in other countries they were living in. They can be described as passive participants of the city.

In comparison, the limited-staying migrants of the creative industries tend to participate at least in their city district they are living in. Their engagement is mainly focussed on cultural and social themes. Due to their insecure working situation they are a lot concerned with their individual living and working situation and depend from their private network in order to establish new creative and artistic projects. They establish their networks mainly around artistic themes.

7.2.2 Leipzig – A city of disruption

The category Leipzig – a city of disruption has been introduced by the ACRE team Leipzig because of the specific post socialist situation of Leipzig. One can assume that especially creatives might be attracted by a place that offers ruptures and spatial openness, and thus potentials for the development of a creative milieu. Because of this, and the low living costs the city might appear as a good place for starting or continuing a career as an artist and building up networks.

In terms of perceiving Leipzig as a city of disruption, the established migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch identify disruption in terms of history as legitimation for their active role within the city Leipzig – like it was typical for Leipzig before World War II, when a significant middle-class (bourgeoisie) existed in the city. Furthermore they perceive disruptions in terms of society, as they try to get contacts to locals who tend not to be so open minded towards foreigners. In terms of politics, and the initiatives taken by the city concerning the economy, and reports on xenophobia. In this case they perceive a discrepancy between the image the city wants to establish, and the economic and social problems which are part of the city.

Their first spatial contact with Leipzig is closely associated with their working place and network. The longer they stay, the more heterogeneous their special contact with Leipzig becomes – it is no more limited to their working places.
The established migrants of the creative industries tend also to have their first spatial contact within their working place, network, and artistic focus. Yet in comparison to the knowledge-intensive branch, they rather remain in this space, or reduce their spatial contact only to spaces within the city which they perceive as creative. They identify disruption in terms of history because of different architecture and symbolism. In terms of society they perceive on the one hand social disparity, and on the other hand image campaigns of the city of Leipzig which exclude this problem, and in terms of politics, they perceive xenophobia, and a lack of integration of foreigners.

The limited-staying migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch tend to have a homogenous spatial use of Leipzig – they tend to stay within their working places and networks. They perceive historical disruption in terms of different political systems and social disruption as they perceive poverty and unemployment.

The limited-staying migrants of the creative branch can be described similarly: homogenous spatial use of Leipzig, social disruption in perceiving poverty, cultural disruption as Leipzig offers high and sub cultural activities, and spatial disruption as Leipzig still has a lot of vacancies.

7.2.3 Xenophobia and right-wing violence

The category xenophobia/right-wing violence is an often discussed subject when dealing with Eastern Germany. The statistics reveal the problem although not explaining it: almost 50 per cent of all right-wing criminal acts registered in Germany are happening in Eastern Germany although only 21 per cent of the total German population is living there.

When asking for the reasons for xenophobia and right-wing violence over all in Eastern Germany one can find a whole range of explanations: they include the socialisation of young people in an authoritarian, and repressive system like the GDR; social disparity which occurred after the revolution of 1989/1990 and lead to competition among the people concerning jobs, and dwellings; inexperience in dealing with other cultures or missing sensibility for other cultures; desolate situation of the security system after the revolution of 1989/1990 (Bugiel, 2002, p. 336).

Besides these possible explanations for the existence of xenophobia and right-wing violence in Eastern Germany, the media play a decisive role for the construction of an image of Eastern Germany. Although the statistics reveal alarming data for Eastern Germany concerning right-wing criminal acts, the media have created an image of Eastern Germany which does not present the reality. At the beginning of 1998 the Guardian asserted that huge parts of Eastern Germany will become no-go areas for foreign people. This picture of Eastern Germany has been transported since through the international press and has been shaping the image of Eastern Germany throughout the world (Döring, 2006, p. 194 ff). The media present the whole of Eastern Germany as potentially dangerous for foreign people and do not differentiate. This shapes the image many migrants have when coming to Eastern Germany. The interviews reveal this issue clearly. The media is selective when dealing with xenophobia; information on people of different cultures or races living peacefully together is
not given because to the media it does not have an information value (Niroumand, 1996, p. 99).

With Luhmann one can conclude that the mass media shape an image of reality which influences societies and their view on the world (Ohlemacher, 1998, p. 8).

The issue of xenophobia had been introduced by the ACRE team in order to gain insight into individual theories on the way the city is put in relation to the issue by the transnational migrants.

The established migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries explain xenophobia in Leipzig with missing job perspectives and economical problems.

The established migrants of the creative industries in contrast explain the problem with social and integration problems the city has. At the same time they cannot combine the problem with their own experiences within Leipzig and tend to transfer the problem.

‘...especially with the unemployment-numbers here, there’s a danger (.) that’s, people of Leipzig, the people, who have been here, all, all, all their lives, and growing up here, may (.) turn, especially if they haven’t got work, may turn [...] to some foreigners or some things [...] and say: ‘hey, what are you doing here? You’re taking my work.’ (Keith Brown)

‘...maybe in some smaller towns outside.’ (Keith Brown)

In general both groups want to commit themselves to solve this problem. Their networking patterns also present this active participation.

In contrast the limited-staying migrants of the knowledge-intensive and the creative industries tend to be rather passive and perceive xenophobia as an issue one has to accept. In general they perceive xenophobia in Leipzig undifferentiated.

The migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch often perceive this problem in connection with the spatial images they have from Leipzig and their gender. Especially women have developed a fear concerning xenophobia and avoid especially empty and dark districts of the city – they are using spaces in the city which offer possibilities to escape.

‘Also für mich zum Beispiel dürfte eine Stadt nicht zu klein sein [...] in kleinen Städten, ich meine, da kann auch hat man viel weniger die Möglichkeit irgendwie auszuweichen, ja.’14 (Anna Racheva)

They explain the issue of xenophobia with social problems.

The migrants of the creative industries often tend to have a certain expectation concerning xenophobia. They have been influenced by the media and mostly by German friends not living in Leipzig. They explain xenophobia with a feeling of rivalry locals develop because of

14 ‘For me, for example a city should not be too small, in small cities one has fewer possibilities to escape.’
unemployment. Therefore the locals tend to make foreigners responsible for their unemployment in order to have a scapegoat.

7.2.4 Definition of Home

In general home can be described as the place where one is born, where socialisation takes place which defines identity, character, and mentality.\(^{15}\) When asking 1007 Germans what home means to them, Emnid found out, that 37 per cent connect the term home with their place of residence, 27 per cent with their birth place, 31 per cent with family or friends, and 11 per cent with Germany. Asking whether the relevance of home is increasing or decreasing in a global world, 55 per cent state that home has an increasing meaning to them; 25 per cent reveal that it has lost its meaning due to globalisation processes.\(^ {16}\)

The ACRE team Leipzig wanted to find out whether transnational migrants, who move around the world often and are used to live and work in different places, tend to have a rather traditional recognition of home like presented above or have been developing new individual theories on home due to their migration behaviour.

Except for the limited-staying migrants of the creative industries, all other migrants have been establishing a new definition of home; home is no longer defined by the place of birth.

The established migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries first of all label themselves as Europeans or world citizens. This might be connected with their living and travelling experiences. At a second glance, it becomes clear that they have been developing a new theory on home: home for them is a place which can be selected actively. This definition explains their participation in different networks in the city of Leipzig.

On the other side the established migrants of the creative industries also identify themselves as Europeans or citizens of the world. But they evolve a different theory on home: for them this category is no longer connected with a concrete place like a city for example. They have been developing a transnational identity through their connectedness to the artistic world or an artistic theme (see also Nowicka 2006).

In contrast the limited-staying migrants display differing theories on home: the migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch have a rather practical strategy. Due to their integration into global temporary knowledge networks, they have established a limited identification with Leipzig as home. They will give up this identification when they will be moving on to their next working station.

Only the limited-staying migrants of the creative branch present a quite conservative and traditional definition of home. Due to their individuality and the strong competition among artists, they tend to identify themselves with their home country or the place where their families and friends live.

\(^ {15}\) See: http://www.uni-ulm.de/LiLL/gemeinsamlernen/materialien/heimat/theoriegruppe_bern/definitionen.html, (last visited: January 22nd, 2009)

\(^ {16}\) See: http://www.bpb.de/files/CNYHM6.pdf, (last visited: January 22nd, 2009)
7.2.5 Leipzig – An international city?

Chapter 3 discussed the issue of internationalisation of Germany and Leipzig economically. In this chapter the evaluation of Leipzig concerning its internationality, by the transnational migrants had been introduced by the team because the competition among cities in a global world is increasing. National and international recognition of a city thus plays a decisive role in order to attract companies, institutions, and migrants willing to settle in such a city. The transnational migrants were asked to evaluate Leipzig concerning its internationality – whether economically, institutionally, socially, or culturally - and to reveal (institutional) problems they recognise in the city region Leipzig.

Although Leipzig is aiming to regain a top position on an international level and to develop its global competitiveness, several (institutional) problems still prevent reaching this aim (Lange et al., 2007, p. 78-79). Amongst others Leipzig still fails to attract a high number of high qualified human resources. Although Leipzig offers attractive educational facilities, which attract young students, the city cannot bind talented people after their qualification phase due to missing job perspectives and economical problems (ibid: 2-3).

Additionally it is important to mention that the local population which has been socialised in the GDR is until today not used to deal with different cultures and backgrounds. Foreigners coming to Leipzig experience a certain mistrust and incertitude among the locals in dealing with them. Hence Leipzig is not perceived as an open and international city. This is also influenced by the low number of foreigners living in Leipzig.

The following section reveals institutional problems recognised by the interviewees. It shows the gap between the perception by the migrants and the image Leipzig wants to establish concerning its international atmosphere.

The established migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch describe Leipzig concerning the internationality of its culture as divers, but not in terms of the people living here. In general they have not experienced any institutional problems. This might be connected to their age, habitués and position they have. In addition the fact that they have been receiving a lot of informal help when coming to Leipzig by their enterprise facilitates their arrival.

The established migrants of the creative branch, in contrast, perceive Leipzig as an international city due to their integration into international networks and their divers working experiences – the majority has been working in different contexts in Leipzig. They also mention the establishment of large firms like BMW, Amazon, and DHL in Leipzig. On the other side they mention institutional problems they have experienced in Leipzig, for example with the Immigration Office and the International Bureau. This might have to do with a lack

17 ‘Poland is my home and Leipzig only an in-between station.’
of informal help and the non-integration of the transnational migrants of the creative industries into enterprises which tend to organise the stay of the migrants.

The limited-staying migrants in general do not perceive Leipzig as cosmopolitan or international.

‘Also ist nicht so [...] eine kosmopolitische Stadt, also, auf keinen Fall [...] also wie Hamburg oder München (...)’ ¹⁸ (Rossana Campo)

The migrants of the knowledge-intensive branch have not experienced institutional problems due to their integration into their companies, which have been organising the stay for the migrants.

The migrants of the creative branch who tend not to be integrated into a proper working place have experienced institutional problems over all with the Immigration Office. Their perception of Leipzig as non-international might also have to do with their general exotic status as artists and foreigners.

Section 7.2 described an in-between step that was necessary in order to formulate different types of transnational migrants who can be described for the city of Leipzig. The analysis followed five main categories which revealed the most important issues concerning the perceiving of Leipzig through the eyes of the interviewees. Section 7.3 will now present four types of transnational migrants, two for each branch, which the ACRE team Leipzig took into consideration.

¹⁸ ‘It is not a cosmopolitan city like Hamburg or Munich.’
7.3 Four types of transnational migrants identifiable for the city of Leipzig

Section 7.3 now presents the third step of analysis and defines four types of transnational migrants of the city of Leipzig. Table 7.1 sums up the main results of section 7.2 which present the fundament for the revelation of the different types of transnational migrants who can be identified for the city of Leipzig. At the end of the table the ACRE team Leipzig presents the four types and explains them precisely in the following text passage.

Section 7.3.1 - 7.3.4 present the results for each type concerning their motivation to come to Leipzig, their evaluation of the quality of the city of Leipzig, the accommodation phase, and their current situation and overall satisfaction with their life in Leipzig.

Table 7.1 - The four cases of Leipzig

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creative Industries</th>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Type 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Networks/Networking</td>
<td>- establishes networks along private and professional (artistic) themes &gt; no separation</td>
<td>- establishes networks around artistic themes and private contacts &gt; no separation between private/ professional networks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- global networks</td>
<td>- participates in his city district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- active participant of city</td>
<td>- individually oriented due to his insecure working situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of disruption</td>
<td>- historically (different architecture)</td>
<td>- socially (social disparity, poverty)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- socially (social disparity, lack of initiatives by politicians)</td>
<td>- culturally (Leipzig offers high and sub cultural activities)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- politically (lack of initiatives against xenophobia by local politicians, non-integration of foreigners)</td>
<td>- spatially (many vacancies)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xenophobia</td>
<td>- reason: social, integrative problems of the city</td>
<td>- reason: foreigners seen as rivals for jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cannot combine problem with own experiences in Leipzig</td>
<td>- tends to be passive, perceives xenophobia as issue one has to accept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- active participation: engaged into networks with aim to solve/reduce problem</td>
<td>- perceives xenophobia in Leipzig indiscriminately</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of home</td>
<td>- identification: European/world-citizens</td>
<td>- identification: with his home country, city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- evolves new theory on home: category is no longer connected with concrete place</td>
<td>- develops conservative definition of home due to competition among artists which forces him to move around, hard to settle down somewhere and develop feeling of home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- developed transnational identity through connectedness to artistic themes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internationality</td>
<td>- describes Leipzig as inter-national city due to integration into international networks, existence of international firms</td>
<td>- describes Leipzig as non-international due to his non-integration into working places and exotic status as foreigner and artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- mentions institutional problems in Leipzig (International Bureau, Immigration Office)</td>
<td>- has experienced institutional problems (Immigration Office)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Knowledge-Intensive Industries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 3</th>
<th>Type 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Networks/Networking</strong></td>
<td>- establishes networks at workplace &gt; separation between private/ professional networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- historically: active bourgeoise in city until World War II</td>
<td>- establishes networks at workplace &gt; separation between private/ professional networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- socially: difficult getting contact with locals, lack of tolerance</td>
<td>- seldom develops networks outside of workplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- politically: missing initiatives concerning economy, xenophobia</td>
<td>- passive participant of city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(disruption between city image and reality)</td>
<td>- historically (different political systems that existed in Leipzig, lead to specific behaviour by locals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xenophobia</strong></td>
<td>- reason: economic problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- cannot combine problem with own experiences in Leipzig</td>
<td>- reason: social disparity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- active participation: engaged into networks with aim to solve/reduce problem</td>
<td>- tends to be passive, perceives xenophobia as issue one has to accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Definition of home</strong></td>
<td>- perceives xenophobia in Leipzig indiscriminately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- identification: European/ world citizens</td>
<td>- perceives issue in connection with heterogeneous space of city (avoids empty, dark districts, uses spaces which offer possibilities to evade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- develops new theory on home: a place which can be selected actively (leads to active participation in city)</td>
<td><strong>Internationality</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internationality</strong></td>
<td>- describes Leipzig as non-international</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- international in terms of culture - not in terms of population</td>
<td>- has not experienced institutional problems due to integration into workplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- did not perceive institutional problems (received a lot of informal help when coming to Leipzig by enterprise)</td>
<td>(enterprise, institution has been organising the stay)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Formulation of types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creative Industries</th>
<th>Knowledge-Intensive Industries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active, globally oriented migrant (AGOM)</td>
<td>Established, active, Leipzig-based migrant (ALM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary staying, individually oriented migrant (IOM)</td>
<td>Temporary staying, passive scientific-network integrated migrant (PSIM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: own survey*
As a result of the analysis carried out in section 7.2 the ACRE team Leipzig identified four types of migrants living and working in the city of Leipzig. These types do not present concrete persons.

For the creative industries in comparison one can find the active, globally oriented migrant (AGOM) and the temporary staying, individually oriented migrant (IOM).

For the knowledge-intensive branches one can find the established, active, Leipzig-based migrant (ALM) and the temporary staying, passive scientific-network integrated migrant (PSIM).

### 7.3.1 Characteristics of the four types of transnational migrants identifiable for Leipzig

**Knowledge-Intensive Industries**

The ALM has been establishing himself in the city region Leipzig and plans to stay here for a longer period of time or even forever. He came to Leipzig because of a job offer. He is older than 40 years and in a good job position with a permanent contract. He presents a new type of middle-class (bourgeoisie). He takes an active role within the city, due to his commitment to the city of Leipzig, and presents a social class which is economically well established. He sees himself as an active developer of his environment. He is engaged into different networks where mostly non-locals come together, in order to organise events and share experiences and knowledge. He has been choosing Leipzig as his new home. This accounts for his rather critical view, always concerned about the development of the city, mainly on the economic level.

At the same time he keeps contacts to people outside of Leipzig and Germany and does not see himself limited to one city or region. Although he holds international contacts he has been choosing Leipzig as his new home because of the advantages the city offers, like the cultural diversity, high-quality dwelling, spaces for recreation, or the size of the city which makes it possible to build a strong and working network.

The PSIM in contrast is not older than 30 years and mainly comes to Leipzig in order to fulfil a limited job, often he is still in an education phase. He is aware of his temporary-limited stay in Leipzig which explains his rather passive role within the city. Although he criticises some issues of Leipzig he does not show initiative to change anything and arranges himself with the circumstances. By this he shows a quite practical way of living and integrating himself into new contexts. The PSIM is very much integrated into his scientific network and working place. He is not organised in networks outside of his job. His view on Leipzig is rather undifferentiated due to his short-term stay, and his integration into the scientific world which limits his contacts to his colleagues.
Creative Industries

For the creative branches one can find the established, active, globally oriented migrant (AGOM) and the temporary staying, individually oriented migrant (IOM).

Like in the knowledge-intensive industries, in the creative industries migrants wish to establish themselves in Leipzig for a longer period of time – the ACRE team Leipzig calls this migrant-type AGOM. He is older than 30 and came to Leipzig because of a job offer. In contrast to the ALM, he found his job within his private network which is spread globally. After getting to know the city of Leipzig, he decided to establish his living place here, although he often does jobs outside of Leipzig. At the same time he often has more than one job. One is for the breadwinning, the others present his real passion – the creative and artistic scene. Like the ALM he wants to play an active role in Leipzig, in order to change for the better. He is mainly focussed on social and integration problems and organises, with the help of others, projects and events which focus on these issues. This awareness of social problems presents his orientation – the AGOM is not living in Leipzig to earn a lot of money, but he settled down here because he realises that Leipzig offers the possibility to fulfil his creative career and therefore he wants to make this place a better one.

The IOM in contrast is aware of his limited stay in the city of Leipzig. He is not older than 30 and concerned with creative and artistic projects. Often he does not have a proper working contract, so he is always unsure about his future and is always looking for possibilities to realise creative projects. This makes him rather individually focused on his artistic interests. At the same time he is not so much integrated into working networks, although a functioning network is essential for him – but his network is constructed at the interface of private and working sphere. His uncertainty, concerning his future projects might lead to his rather passive role within the city of Leipzig. Due to his exotic status as a foreigner and an artist he still has much relation to his home country and sees Leipzig only as an in-between station.

7.3.2 Motivation to come to the city of Leipzig

The motivation to come to Leipzig is mainly characterised by a job offer or a (part-time) study. The ALM comes to the city of Leipzig in order to accept a job offer – he generally gets a permanent contract in a good position due to his age and education level.

In contrast the PSIM mainly comes for a job with a limited contract. Additionally the PSIM is still in an education phase. The PSIM is aged younger than the ALM.

The AGOM also comes to the city of Leipzig in order to accept a job offer – in contrast to the ALM or the PSIM these jobs emerge within his private network.

The IOM in the first place comes to Leipzig in order to realise a part-time study and stays here afterwards to realise artistic projects for a limited period of time. He is aware that he will only be staying for a limited period of time – due to limited projects and his goal to get other inspiration by moving around the world.
These results show that migrants who come to Leipzig are attracted by hard factors - mainly job offers. Only after having settled down in the city, they discover other attractive features Leipzig offers and these mainly concern soft factors like the diverse culture or the architecture. At this stage of analysis one has to reject Richard Florida’s thesis partly that cities in our days attract people by their level of tolerance, open minded atmosphere, or a diverse cultural offer. The hard location factors still matter, but the soft factors gain importance!

7.3.3 Quality of the city of Leipzig (soft factors)

Concerning the quality of the city of Leipzig and its soft location factors, the analysis reveals the following results for the four migration types.

The ALM appreciates the mixed architecture, the diverse cultural offer, the liveliness of the city due to the students living here, the size of the city of Leipzig which makes it easier to feel at home and not lost in anonymity, and the green spots all over the city which are good for recreation. At the same time he criticises the non-open-mindedness of the locals towards foreigners, and the problems of getting in touch with them. He explains this with historical particularities – in the GDR people were not used to having contacts with people from other backgrounds. Therefore they appear mistrustful towards the migrants coming to Leipzig.

The PSIM, like the ALM, appreciates the green spots within the city of Leipzig, the size of the city, and the collegiate atmosphere throughout the city. Additionally the PSIM mentions the wide range of leisure offers although this is just his perception because he seldom uses these offers due to his integration into the scientific world. This strong focus on his working place and network makes the PSIM feel not accepted by the locals – this has to do with his rather passive status and behaviour and might lead to the growth of mistrust on both sides.

The AGOM appreciates the green spots throughout the city, and the cultural diversity the city of Leipzig offers. This reflects his connection to the creative scene. At the same time he appreciates the locals for being open minded and friendly.

‘Everybody is very friendly.’ (Jennifer Jackson)

But in contrast to the PSIM he is better integrated into the city due to his rather active attitude. One has to keep in mind that the AGOM does not actually refer to normal locals but to non-locals who have been settling down in Leipzig or locals who are connected to the creative milieu. Like the ALM and the PSIM, the AGOM appreciates the size of the city of Leipzig which makes it easy getting to know new people or being involved into the creative scene. Additionally it is important for the AGOM to get well in contact with the people living in Leipzig because he makes his living by realising different jobs – jobs he has been receiving through his personal network. The AGOM is critical about the Baumwollspinnerei, an artistic centre in the western part of the city of Leipzig, which has become successful and famous for visual art and the Neue Leipziger Schule.
‘…it’s [Baumwollspinnerei] not such a (.) yeah open place. It’s more like people do their thing behind closed doors’ (Peter James)

This critical view might be connected to the problem that outsiders who have not been studying arts in Leipzig, or who were not born in Leipzig, or are not into visual arts have a lot of problems getting access to the Baumwollspinnerei or finding a gallery. The AGOM also criticises the commercial orientation of the Baumwollspinnerei. The AGOM also mentions the non-integration of foreigners as problematic for the city of Leipzig. This is connected with his engagement into social projects and reflects once more the active role the AGOM plays within Leipzig.

The IOM finally mentions positively the size of the city of Leipzig which makes it easy to meet new people – this circumstance is very important for the IOM because he is not very much integrated into a job network like the PSIM or the ALM. He likes the cultural diversity and the investments into culture. This is closely connected to his projects and makes it possible for the IOM to realise his own creative projects. He also appreciates the green spots and the architecture as an aesthetic attribute of the city which also creates a creative atmosphere. Like the AGOM he criticises the Leipzig art market as being too closed and dominated by the Baumwollspinnerei. At the same time he mentions negatively that the City does not offer much help for creative-artistic projects. He also mentions the lack of interest for sub cultural projects by the locals and connects this with the strong support of the City for high-cultural projects and organisations.

‘…wahrscheinlich nur für größere Sachen sind die Leute hier gewöhnt, (.) wie wie größere Konzerte [...]’ 19 (Maria Pajak)

The judgement on the quality of the city of Leipzig depends very much on the branch the migrant is connected to and the length of his stay. The PSIM and the IOM are only working and living for a limited period of time in the city of Leipzig and do not bother so much about the problems the city might have. They tend to accept existing hints or problems because they know that they will leave sooner or later. In addition their view on the city is also closely connected to their branch they are working in. The IOM is concerned about the creative and artistic scene and tries to find his niche here. The PSIM also does not perceive the city of Leipzig as a whole but as one place throughout the scientific world. He is very much focussed on his working place and network and develops a very limited view on Leipzig.

In contrast the ALM and the AGOM have been developing a much wider view on the city due to their commitment to Leipzig as their living place in the long term. Nonetheless, they too stick to their branch they are working for and perceive problems out of this view – therefore the ALM is rather concerned about politics and economics, the AGOM rather about society and integration.

19 ‘Maybe the locals are only used to big events like huge concerts.’
‘You have [...] well-trained people, you have polite people, you have people, who speak languages [...] pretty well [...] but the [...] problem is keeping them.’ (Joseph Smith)

‘...but ähm not very few organisations that would work with immigrants on the Eisenbahnstraße...’ (Keith Brown)

In general the four migrant types are happy with the quality of the city of Leipzig. The problem is that the majority does not come because of these soft factors, which means that they are not the most important things the migrants are looking for. At the same time the migrant types reflect the critical view on issues which are closely connected to hard factors like the economy, the rate of unemployment, or missing integration initiatives carried out by communal politicians. These problems also influence the quality of the city of Leipzig when people do not use the cultural offer due to money problems for example or when graduates leave the city because they are forced to find a job in another place – which leads to a less young, less diverse, and less lively atmosphere in Leipzig.

7.3.4 Accommodating in the city of Leipzig

The main difference between the four types of migrants concerning their accommodation in the city of Leipzig mainly concerns the degree of informal help.

The ALM is in a comfortable situation. He experiences a lot of informal help by his employer or the organisation he is working for. They arrange the start of the ALM within the enterprise, search for a proper living place, help finding a school for the children, and organise visa and work permits. After having settled down and having decided to stay for a long time in Leipzig, the ALM searches on his own for a new living place in order to feel at home. At the same time this shows the active role the ALM takes when coming to Leipzig.

The PSIM is also embedded into a stable network which gives a lot of informal help. Since the PSIM is a PhD candidate at the university, the co-ordinator of the foreign PhD candidates at the university helps him to find a living place and to receive a residence authorisation and offers welcoming parties so that the PSIM can establish an international scientific network. His stay in Leipzig is temporary limited and he will move on after having received his PhD. This explains the rather passive role the PSIM has within the city of Leipzig.

That means that the ALM and the PSIM do not have to bother with the bureaucracy and do not experience if the city of Leipzig pays sufficient attention towards migrants coming to the city.

In contrast the AGOM and the IOM are much more on their own when coming to Leipzig and have personal experiences with the bureaucracy.

Although the AGOM is not very much integrated into enterprises and organisations, he experiences help within his private network which has lead him in the city of Leipzig in order to realise a job or project. The longer he stays, the more people he gets to know who offer him
help so that he can settle down in Leipzig. Another characteristic of the AGOM is that he realises more than one job. One is for the breadwinning and mostly related to language schools where the AGOM works as a teacher. The other(s) are related to the creative and artistic scene and is often realised outside of Leipzig or even Germany. This is the reason for labelling the AGOM as globally oriented because, although the AGOM has got his living place in Leipzig, he does not limit his working place to the city of Leipzig.

The IOM is in a similar situation – although he comes for part-time study he often does not experience that much help like the PSIM, who is realising his PhD and is much more integrated into the university. The IOM organises a lot by himself, which might have to do with his artistic orientation – he is more concerned about his artistic issues than finding a proper job within an enterprise. That is the reason why the IOM is not complaining about missing informal help. The IOM, like the AGOM, depends very much on his private network where he receives important information concerning his settling down in the city of Leipzig. In terms of earning money it is typical for the IOM that he survives with little in order to realise artistic projects which are limited to a period of time. The IOM does not see this as a disadvantage since he is aware that he has to get other experiences and inspirations in different parts of the world.

'…für mich das ist immer interessant äh äh irgendwo draußen zu ausstellen, meine, meine Kunstwerke zu ausstellen.'\(^{20}\) (Maria Pajak)

Since the IOM and the AGOM have to deal more with the bureaucracy they are more critical with the official institutions. Both are criticising unfriendliness and hostility in the Immigration Office as well as incompetence and language problems in the International Bureau in the town hall.

'Weil ich Ausländer bin, deswegen [...] die könn’m-, meine Termine hin- und herschieben [...] '\(^{21}\) (Kung-yi Sin)

The accommodation is an important issue for the migrant. The migrant types deal different with this issue which depends on their branch they are working in. The ALM and the PSIM appreciate the informal help they receive from their employer. If the organisation of the accommodation is well done, the migrant is happy and content with his new living and working place. This was revealed by the interviews and the two types of migrants reflect this result.

Yet one has to admit that also the AGOM and the IOM who do not receive that much help from an employer are quite content with their living and working situation in Leipzig. This has to do with their integration into a private network which also offers informal help. At the same time the creatives benefit from the socio-economic situation in Leipzig which offers good living conditions even for relative low incomes. The creatives are able to compensate their insecure income due to the low living costs and empty vacancies in old industrial buildings which can be used as cheap working places or exhibition rooms.

\(^{20}\) ‘For me it is interesting having an exhibition in different places of the world.’

\(^{21}\) ‘Because I am a foreigner they [people working in the Immigration Office] can move my dates arbitrarily.’
7.3.5 Current situation in the city of Leipzig (overall satisfaction, problematic aspects)

The current situation in the city of Leipzig can be described the following for the four migrant-types:

The ALM, who has decided to stay in Leipzig for a longer time, is in general satisfied with his working and living situation. This has to do with his stable job situation, the network he has been establishing throughout the city, and his living situation. After having decided to establish himself and his family, the ALM looked for a living place where he could feel at home. Due to his income he can choose out of a wide range of high-quality dwellings in the city of Leipzig. Besides his job situation, the ALM appreciates the diverse cultural offer in Leipzig, the green spots throughout the city, the settling of research institutes and their connectedness to the University of Leipzig as well as the infrastructure, although the flight connections could be more international.

Although generally the ALM is satisfied with his life in Leipzig, he criticises several things: mainly he is concerned about economic problems which lead to unemployment and force the locals either to leave the city of Leipzig or to resignation. At the same time the ALM makes the economic problems responsible for negative developments like xenophobia and poverty. In the opinion of the ALM the responsible for these negative trends are the local politicians who are not making the right decisions and fail to attract huge enterprises to settle their headquarters in Leipzig so that they could offer jobs for highly-skilled as well as for low-skilled workers. The ALM also believes that the city of Leipzig fails to attract international institutions or embassies to settle down because of missing marketing strategies, the non-international infrastructure, and missing economical attractive offers. At the same time the ALM is willing to change negative aspects of Leipzig so that he takes an active role and presents a new type of bourgeoisie. Within his wide network he arranges projects and campaigns in order to find others who would like to help him to solve problems. Also he tries to get in contact with locals although he admits that this is not so easy - which might have to do with historical experiences the locals have made, over all during the GDR time.

The PSIM, who is aware of his temporary-limited stay in Leipzig, is, like the ALM, satisfied with his working and living situation in the city of Leipzig. This has mostly to do with his integration into a scientific network, and his awareness of leaving the city within the next few years. He especially appreciates the international atmosphere at his working place which consists of different PhD candidates and scientist who work for one project; he also mentions the wide range of leisure offers within the city of Leipzig – although this is just a general perception because usually the PSIM is so much integrated into his working field that he does not have a chance to realise them. Due to his limited stay, the PSIM in general takes a rather passive role within the city of Leipzig. However he criticises some points of Leipzig: the constructing of the city tunnel, the limitations for foreign students to work in part-time jobs, getting contacts to locals. Finally he mentions the language problems he has outside of his working place. Within his scientific research network he mainly uses English, and has no need to learn German.

The AGOM is a little bit more critical about the city of Leipzig. In general he is satisfied with his living situation although he cannot choose out of a huge range of high-quality dwellings
like the ALM because his earnings are not so high. Yet he does not see disadvantages in this. It is the opposite – he appreciates the great housing offer, and the cost-value ratio of price and quality. Additionally he mentions the low living cost in the city of Leipzig which make it possible for creatives to settle down and work for creative projects which, generally speaking, do not offer great earnings. He also appreciates vacancies in old industrial buildings which can be used by artists and creatives, in order to realise projects and the cultural diversity. At the same time he judges the traffic infrastructure of the city of Leipzig as good which makes it possible for creatives to realise jobs outside of Leipzig or Germany and keeping Leipzig as their living place.

On the other hand he criticises social problems like unemployment, non-integration of migrants and poverty.

‘...there’s a lot of unemployment problems in the Eastern Germany and still in Leipzig [...]' (Jennifer Jackson)

The AGOM also connects negative aspects like xenophobia to social problems and misses initiatives of local politicians, over all in the Eisenbahnhstraße – a street in the Eastern part of the city where mainly migrants live. In comparison to the ALM, the AGOM perceives the city more through socio-cultural eyes than through economical eyes, and this causes different perceptions of the city and its problems and needs. The AGOM is pragmatic and wants to be active in terms of fighting non-integration of migrants in the city of Leipzig. Due to his non-integration into enterprises or organisations, when coming to Leipzig, he has experienced the Immigration Office as a non-welcoming place for foreigners and experienced quite a few problems when demanding a work permit or the verification of foreign degrees.

‘Well, Auslandsamt [Immigration Office] isn’t even designed to look pleasant [...], I mean iron bars [...] on the windows in the waiting room [...]’ (Tim Brandon)

Furthermore the AGOM mentions negatively the Baumwollspinnerei and the hype which is made about it throughout the city. Overall he criticises the Baumwollspinnerei as too closed for outsiders, too commercialised, and as not very open towards new people, artistic themes and ideas.

The IOM finally is the most critical of the four migration-types. This has to do with his unsure and limited stay in the city of Leipzig. In general he is satisfied with his living situation – in comparison to the established migration types AGOM and ALM, he does not have very high requirements. He is more focussed on realising artistic projects and is happy with cheap dwellings which can be found in Leipzig. Like the AGOM he appreciates low living costs and vacancies in old industrial buildings. Both the AGOM and the IOM also mention the size of the city as convenient for getting to know new people in order to widen their personal network which is essential for them to take part in new projects – whether in Leipzig or in another place. Additionally he appreciates the diverse cultural scene of the city.

Concerning his working situation he is very active and organises projects by himself. At the same time the IOM would appreciate getting more help by the City and its politicians in terms of cheap working places or supporting initiatives. He also criticises the focus of the City on building a shopping city; he would appreciate more investment into social infrastructure. Like
the AGOM the IOM has a differentiated view on the Baumwollspinnerei. Although he appreciates the existence of such an artistic centre he criticises the closed art market in the city of Leipzig, where outsiders only have little chances to get access. For the IOM it is very essential to get his chance to realise his creative projects so that he can sell his artistic products and making his name public. This is one reason for the IOM to stay only a limited period of time in Leipzig - because of the high barriers within the art market.

At the end one can state that the four types of migrants, which can be found within the creative and the knowledge-intensive industries, are content with their present working and living situation in the city of Leipzig. All four mention positive and negative aspects. The ALM and the AGOM who have been establishing in Leipzig try to change things within their networks. At the same time all four demand help and support by the national and local government. The focus of the ALM and the PSIM lies on the economy and the politics: they demand closer connections in order to solve economic problems which would lead to the solving of social disparity. The AGOM and the IOM think that investing into culture and inter-cultural campaigns would lead to more tolerance, social evenness and integration of different social classes and ethnic groups.

Section 7.3 presented four types of transnational migrants, two for each branch. These types were analysed in terms of the five categories the team revealed as most important issues and in terms of their accommodating situation and their overall satisfaction with their lives in the city of Leipzig.

Section 7.4 finally presents the key motives of migration the transnational migrants have been mentioning during the interview.

7.4 Key motives of migration

After having described four types of transnational migrants identifiable for the city of Leipzig, the ACRE team finally focussed on the key motives of migration. As a result, the workers of both branches present a specific directedness which influences their migration behaviour and establishment in a new context.

The basis for this formulation refers to David Riesman, an American sociologist who introduced the inner-directed type as the dominating type in dynamic industrial societies (Riesman, 1971). The inner-directed type acts only according to own values and norms; achieving his goals is his principle motivation not the recognition by others.

The outer-directed type in contrast dominates in a global world. This type always acts according to his environment and its values and norms which keep on changing rapidly. The outer-directed type is able to change his living environment and his values without inner conflicts (Spinnen, 2009, p. 11).
7.4.1 Outer-directed: The transnational migrants of the creative industries

The transnational migrants of the creative industries can be described as outer-directed because they are very much related to a creative milieu of the city they are living in. This orientation also influences their migration behaviour. They are influenced by their environment and are very much related to this place. They want to be part of it and shape it with their creative projects. Therefore they are looking for places where they can fulfil their creative-artistic projects and build stable networks. When moving to a new place in order to realise an artistic project or job they try to embed themselves into the creative milieu they find in the city and adopt its norms and values. To them it is important to settle in a private professional network which allows them to get to know new people, to find social access and to connect jobs or projects. Their relation to the city is close and stable. When having lived in different places the outer-directed type disposes of a rich global network that allows him to move easily around the world.

The key motive to migrate for the outer-directed type is finding a matching milieu where the migrant can realise artistic-creative jobs or projects and where he feels well integrated, but also gets new ‘creative’ input.

7.4.2 Inner-directed: The transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries

The transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries, in contrast, can be described as inner-directed because they are closely related to their professional milieu which is non-local. The inner-directed type is related to inner values and norms he has been establishing. When the inner-directed type moves to other countries, he is mainly lead by a job offer of a company or institution. His professional network offers a lot of informal help when arriving in the new place. Within the professional network the migrants get to know new people and further job perspectives because the network is established around a shared topic. The inner-directed type keeps his values and norms and does not adapt too much to the new city – the interviews show that this is only relevant for transnational migrants who are sure about their temporal character of the stay. When deciding to stay in the new place they adopt more to the locals and their networks.

Moving to other places does not mean adapting for new values and norms, because they are everywhere the same for the inner-directed type. The key motive to migrate for the inner-directed type is a qualification or a job offer. His integration into a professional milieu makes it redundant to establish a network outside of his working place. Like already mentioned above, this depends on the decision of establishing in a new place.

Section 7.4 finally presented the key motives which determine migration in the context of Leipzig’s creative and knowledge-intensive industries.
8 CONCLUSIONS

The following final chapter presents the central findings of the empirical survey with transnational migrants. Section 8.1 presents central findings of the survey of transnational migrants in Leipzig.

The following section 8.2 discusses the degree of attractiveness of Leipzig for incoming migrants based on an institutional perspective. Therefore, based on the interpretative approach and the detected types, conclusions can be drawn on the way the institutional landscape of the city of Leipzig has been evaluated by transnational migrants.

Section 8.3 highlights and discusses the relevance and importance of personal networks, business contacts in respect to the quality of the city of Leipzig, as indicated in the cases. The report ends with first policy recommendations.

8.1 Central findings

Transnational migrants only play a minor role in the social fabric of Leipzig. Due to a specific historic, political, and economic constellation, Leipzig only has a small proportion of transnational migrants, compared to other cities in Western Germany. This situation make the problem perceptions and articulations of the transnational migrants relevant in order to evaluate recent efforts of knowledge-based and creative institutions to attract the ‘creative class’ to Leipzig. It is obvious, that the articulation of a tolerant, open-minded, and migration friendly firm, institution or milieu will influence the general perception of a city region.

In section 7.3 four types of transnational migrants were identified as representative for the city of Leipzig. For each segment (creative industries/knowledge industries), the ACRE team Leipzig identified two types. Grounded theory methodologies have been applied for the process of interpretation. The central categories that originated from the interview sequences of the interview partners are the following:

- Networks/Networking,
- City of Disruption,
- Xenophobia,
- Definition of home,
- Internationality.
The following types have been identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Knowledge-Intensive Industries</th>
<th>Creative Industries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Established, active, Leipzig-based</td>
<td>Established, active, Leipzig-based migrant (ALM)</td>
<td>Active, globally oriented migrant (AGOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migrant (PSIM)</td>
<td>Temporary staying, passive scientific-network integrated migrant (PSIM)</td>
<td>Temporary staying, individually oriented migrant (IOM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own survey

### 8.1.1 Knowledge-Intensive Industries

The ALM (Established, active Leipzig-based migrant) has been establishing himself in the city region Leipzig, and plans to stay here for a longer period of time or even permanently. He came to Leipzig because of a job offer. He is older than 40 years and in a good job position with a permanent contract. He presents a new type of middle-class (bourgeoisie) because he takes an active role within the city, due to his commitment to the city region Leipzig. He presents a social class which is economically well established and sees himself as an active developer of his environment. He is engaged into different networks where mostly non-locals come together in order to organise events and share experiences and knowledge. He has been choosing Leipzig as his new home. This accounts for his rather critical view on the city, always concerned about the development of the city, mainly on the economic level.

At the same time he holds contacts to people outside of Leipzig and Germany and does not see himself limited to one city or region. Although he holds international contacts he has been choosing Leipzig as his new home because of the advantages the city offers like the cultural diversity, high-quality dwelling offer, spaces for recreation, or the size of the city which makes it possible to build a strong and working network.

The PSIM (Temporary staying, passive scientific-network integrated migrant), in contrast, is not older than 30 years and mainly comes to Leipzig in order to fulfil a limited job, often he is still in a qualification phase. He is aware of his temporary-limited stay in Leipzig which explains his rather passive role within the city. Although he critics some issues of Leipzig he does not show initiative to change anything and arranges himself with the circumstances. By this he shows a quite practical way of living and integrates himself into new contexts. The PSIM is very much integrated into his scientific network and working place. He is not organised in networks outside of his workplace. His view on Leipzig is rather undifferentiated due to his short-term stay, and his integration into the scientific-world which limits his contacts to his colleagues.
8.1.2 Creative Industries

Like in the knowledge-intensive industries, the creative industries present migrants who wish to establish themselves in Leipzig for a longer period of time – the ACRE team Leipzig calls this migrant-type AGOM. He is older than 30, and came to Leipzig because of a job offer. In contrast to the ALM, he found his job within his private network which is spread globally. After getting to know the city region Leipzig, he decided to establish his living place here, although he often has jobs outside of Leipzig. At the same time he often has more than one job. One is for the breadwinning, the others present his real passion – the creative and artistic scene. Like the ALM, he wants to play an active role in Leipzig, in order to change for the better. He is mainly focussed on social and integration problems, and organises, with the help of others, projects and events which focus on these issues. This awareness of social problems presents his orientation – the AGOM is not living in Leipzig to earn a lot of money, but he settled here because he feels that Leipzig offers the possibility to pursue his creative career and therefore wants to make this place a better one.

The IOM, in contrast, is aware of his limited stay in the city region Leipzig. He is not older than 30, and is concerned with creative and artistic projects. Often he does not have a proper working contract, so he is always unsure about his future and is always looking for possibilities to realise creative projects, which makes him rather individually focused on his artistic interests. At the same time he is not so much integrated into working networks, although a functioning network is essential for him – but his network is constructed at the interface of private and working sphere. His uncertainty, concerning his future projects, might lead to his rather passive role within the city region Leipzig. Due to his exotic status as a foreigner and an artist he still has many links to his home country, and sees Leipzig only as an intermediate stop.

8.2.1 First level conclusion: overall results of the degree of Leipzig’s ability to accommodate and to attract foreign migrants

Recalling historic practices

During the socialist period, the iron curtain prevented labour migration on a large scale. Only two times a year, Leipzig ‘opened’ its doors and awaited traders, visitors, and guests during its trading fairs. Nevertheless, this imposed hospitality two times each year turned the city into an international place. Apart from this forced internationality, the citizens did not have the opportunity to get acquainted with other cultures, languages, and other habits on an every day basis in Leipzig. It can be assumed that the low degree of every day experience with foreigners did not enable the population of Leipzig to get used to transnational situations. In the course of such constellations, institutions had to install new strategies to interact with and to accommodate foreigners culturally.
Civil society and bottom-up policies

Leipzig is worldwide known as the starting point for the German revolution in 1989. A strong and durable civil society has been responsible for forming the opposition bottom-up. Although there is a strong believe in the integrative power of civil society, current debates have highlighted that the former heterogeneity of civil society has transformed to a reservoir of deprived and underprivileged. Within these social groupings a strong sound of being among similar and known subjects exists, in the same as a fine sound silently excludes others. This process of ‘othering’ has been described e.g. by anthropologist Michael Taussig (Taussig, 1993).

‘Othering’ is a way of defining and securing one’s own positive identity through the stigmatisation of an ‘other’. Whatever the markers of social differentiation that shape the meaning of ‘us’ and ‘them’, whether they are racial, geographic, ethnic, economic, or ideological, there is always the danger that they will become the basis for a self-affirmation that depends upon the denigration of the other group. The concept of ‘otherness’ is closely related to the term ‘alterity’. Alterity is a philosophical term meaning ‘otherness’. It is generally now taken as the philosophical principle of exchanging one’s own perspective for that of the ‘other’. The term is also deployed outside of philosophy, notably in anthropology by scholars such as Michael Taussig to refer to the construction of cultural others.

In the case of Leipzig, quite a dual articulation of the way the city deals with ‘cultural others’ can be detected. On the one hand, the city promotes its historical openness as a traditionally friendly and open-minded place. This goes along with the strong Leipzig based narrative of an important civil society. On the other hand, growing socio-economic deprivation caused by the ongoing economic changes, have led to long-term unemployment and so called ‘losers’ of the political changes after 1989. They have started to raise their voices when confronted with international competitors for the few existing jobs. When being asked in the interviews, many interviewees relegated issue of racism, right-wing problems, xenophobia, and other related problems spatially to the surrounding area and to the outskirts of Leipzig. The core city as well as the related boroughs have been whitewashed from any of these problems. The city of Leipzig appears as an island of social harmony in a turbulent sea, whereas all problems (exclusion, racism, xenophobia) hindering foreigners to become fully integrated are delegated out of Leipzig.

8.2.2 Second level conclusion: evaluation of the institutional landscape of Leipzig

Some brief methodological remarks should be added here to explain our treatment of the empirical material. The individual cases mentioned in this report aim at generating themes, categories, and narratives from sequences of guideline-supported and semi-standardised interviews. What will come to the fore are above all aspects related to every day living experiences as well as situational and socio-spatial ascriptions that provide a higher-level explanatory basis for certain actors, their associated professional groups and their networks. Those levels of meanings are reconstructed, i.e. developed from the statements in the material, and compared with the other case.
First generalisations of professional biographic transformation situations and their spatialisation become possible. The latter do not provide information about an individual case but about the specific migrant milieus, and social arenas, institutional local, regional, and supra-regional intertwining and structural situations, which are articulated in the sequences of the case.

The types presented in section 7.3 and briefly mentioned in section 8.1, thus provide valuable information about the perception of the institutional landscape of Leipzig by transnational migrants. The following aspects allow discussing the basic assumption, presented mainly by regional economist Richard Florida, that a tolerant and open-minded urban climate has to be considered as a central prerequisite for attracting those targeted high-qualified knowledge and creative oriented workers in their urban realm. The normative dimension allows asking how the interviewees have explicitly and implicitly related their personal, professional, and social situation to the distinct context of Leipzig.

The following aspects allow a first interpretation of the current institutional landscape as well as its capacity to integrate transnational workers:

*Existing social and leisure opportunities - low utilisation*

It was obvious that a rich and diverse institutional landscape of social and leisure opportunities, e.g. also learning options in the field of language course is available to many interviewees in knowledge-intensive industries. These opportunities, e.g. sport courses in universities, are important fields for engaging with the city and its inhabitants in a non-working environment. Many transnational workers are aware and know of these extra amenities although they demonstrate low orientation how to practically engage in. Linking opportunities with the demands and the individual situation of transnational workers, who are only temporarily in Leipzig, appears to be rather undeveloped. It seems that the ‘hardware’ exists (facilities, courses, technical infrastructure…) although the software (adequate communications tools, man power…), that means how to bring and invite transnational workers in these opportunities are not very well developed.

*The inner-directedness of transnational workers in knowledge-intensive industries*

This observation also led to the conclusion that especially transnational knowledge-intensive workers are ‘inner directed’ that means, they operate on a clear and determined firm-based or individual professional trajectory and are thus not explicitly working to fully engage in the social fabric of their temporary place of work, in this case the city of Leipzig. Especially transnational companies very often provide multiple inner-firm based opportunities to engage, and to socialise next to work. That is why a high degree of inner-directed trajectories leads to different interactions with the institutional fabric of the city of Leipzig.
The outer-directedness of transnational workers in creative industries

When looking at the case of transnational creative workers, a clear contrast can be detected: these transnational agents interact in quite a different way with the institutional fabric of Leipzig. Looking at the working conditions of transnational workers in core creative action fields, most of them operate on individual motives. Their degree of professional stability is definitely lower, compared to transnational workers in knowledge-intensive industries. These creative workers operate mainly in highly self-organised and less institutionalised context with less official support and opportunities. Their professional trajectories as well as their professional career opportunities depend to a high degree on personal networks. These networks are informal and instable per se, depending on trust, sympathy, but not on formalised contracts. That is why it can be assumed that transnational workers have to engage in a rather different way with representatives of cultural, creative, and intermediary institutions when being in a foreign context such as Leipzig. They have to present themselves, their work as well as their world-view to these representatives, as well as to leading local agents of creative milieus. Apart from this outer orientation, it can be assumed that creative and artistic practices tend to interact to a large degree with the social, economic, urban, as well as political environment. What we consider as symbolic ‘products’ is often a reaction to a distinct perception of the outer world (although it may be very personal).

Linking the professional argument with the production process of creative workers, generally speaking, core creative workers very often demonstrate a higher interest as well as a sensitive perception in the respective context they live in.

Therefore a major difference to the transnational worker in knowledge-intensive industries is the degree of outer-directedness of creative workers in respect to the inner-directedness of transnational knowledge-workers. This basic pattern separates the two types.

8.3 Importance of personal networks, business contacts and the quality of the city of Leipzig

The ACRE team Leipzig has introduced the category networks as well as networking practices because they have been mentioned previously in the interview sequences. When dealing with changing production processes and new forms of working routines, various forms of interaction are considered as very important in order to fulfil production processes.

The networking of the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries can be related to the theory of transnationalism which assumes that transnational social spaces emerge inter-nationally. In this branch, universities, the sciences, transnational institutions, and corporations take over the function of providing information and support for the incoming transnational migrants (see Pries, 2001).

According to the logic of transnational movements, at least one part of the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries will not stay for a long time in one place and thus will only link with a city occasionally. Only those who have economic capital or/and
build up strong networks (social capital), might decide to settle and engage in the further development of a city where they decide to stay and live.

In comparison to the transnational migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries who are integrated into a network, which mainly is shaped by their employer or qualification institution, the transnational migrants of the creative industries are integrated into a creative-artistic milieu of a distinct local place. When moving to a new place they mostly settle in specific urban sub-districts and connect themselves with concrete spaces. They are not integrated into transnational social spaces as described above due to their linkage to certain aesthetic-creative themes and non-integration into international companies or organisations. They are building up their networks both on a local as well as on a global level. That means that the transnational migrants of the creative industries are much more related to concrete social spaces and networking partners who they meet in concrete social spaces providing information and support for the incoming transnational migrants. This approach is also connected to the concept of a ‘cultural milieu’, used by Florida (2002) and Landry (2000). Both formulate the importance of public and semi-public spaces to attract and stimulate creative workers living in a city.

Key motives building networks by transnational knowledge-intensive workers

Concerning the issue of networking, the established migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries build up their networks around economical and political themes. They tend to be active participants of the city and present a new type of middle-class (bourgeoisie). The limited-staying migrants of the knowledge-intensive industries are less engaged in the city and establish their networks mainly around working themes. Nevertheless they expect the locals to show interest and integrate them into the city. This might be a result of their previous experiences in other countries. They can be described as passive participants of the city.

Key motives building networks by transnational creative workers

The established migrants of the creative industries can also be described as active participants of the city, but their focus lies more on social and cultural themes. They have been establishing their networks along private and artistic themes and participate in the international community of Leipzig.

The limited-staying migrants of the creative industries tend to participate at least in their city district they are living in. Their engagement is mainly focussed on cultural and social themes. Due to their insecure working situation they are a lot concerned with their individual living and working situation and depend a lot from their private network in order to establish new creative and artistic projects. They establish their networks mainly around artistic themes.
8.4 Problem and chances for the city of Leipzig – some policy recommendations

8.4.1 Paradoxical constellations for policy maker governing creativity and knowledge – some brief remarks on the governance of creative and knowledge-intensive industries

Recent approaches of various policy makers as well as political institutions on all level (local, urban, regional, national, European level) are trying to promote creative industries as well as knowledge industries. This becomes a tricky field. By referring to DeFillippi, Grabher and Jones (2007) four major paradoxes play a crucial role in the articulation of work practices and thus explain the problems of governance regarding creative and knowledge industries (Lange et al., 2008).

The ‘Globalisation Paradox’ addresses the impact of globalisation on labour in the advanced industrial countries, the ‘Identity Paradox’ highlights the ambivalence between individual or collective careers, identities, and reputations, the ‘Difference Paradox’ of whether to craft or standardise organisational practices, and the ‘Distance Paradox’ of whether to couple or decouple creative/knowledge-intensive in respect to routine work.

The ‘Globalisation Paradox’ argues that all countries are pushed toward the condition of a globally operating neoliberalism (Thelen, 2003). Focusing on the territorial dimension of creative cities and creative agents, the ‘Globalisation Paradox’ addresses the ambivalence of newly emerged creative milieus and their territorial embedding practices, oscillating between distinct local context for their professional practices on the one hand, and the necessity to have access to and be present on a global market on the other hand (Zhang, 2004).

The second paradox, namely the ‘Identity Paradox’, addresses the ambivalence between individual or collective careers, identities, and reputations. From an analytical point of view, static concepts of entrepreneurship are considered not to be very productive because mavericks and outsiders, as well as independent creative artists are the major protagonists in this market (DeFillippi et al., 2007). According to Kosmala (Kosmala, 2007), understanding the nature of work of artistic and creative agents in the field of creative industries is intertwined with different understandings of personality, identity, and societal position.

The third paradox, the ‘Difference Paradox’, is about whether to craft or standardise organisational practices. It has for instance been elucidated by Svejenova, Mazza and Planellas by looking at the famous Spanish cook Ferran Adrià as an ‘institutional entrepreneur’ (Svejenova et al., 2007). They pointed out how Adrià integrates the paradoxical demands on becoming and being a world famous and commercially successful haute cuisine artist. In particular, he separates creative from day-to-day restaurant activities, spending six months away from his restaurant and experimenting in a laboratory-like atmosphere.

The last paradox, the ‘Distance Paradox’, highlights e.g. how major music companies and their independents demarcate and maintain distinct spheres of influence. They embrace distance through boundary spanners and institutional structures that promote non-interference by each partner in the other’s practices and distinctive competencies. Thus, record companies
address their interdependence through a distance paradox – demarcating and maintaining distinct competencies. In this way, they enacted unique practices to their specific needs, while engaging in alliances (Gander et al., 2007).

All these four paradoxes have to be considered when drawing conclusions for policy making on the basis of the empirical results. It is rather new field of action to recommend actions and guidelines for these fluid and mobile working class.

8.4.2 Problems for the city of Leipzig

- No trained and learned interaction practices of creative, civic, and knowledge institutions engaging with transnational agents. This is caused by a distinct political as well as historical situation
- Strong perception of the ‘cultural foreign’ (*Kulturell Fremde*) as a way to articulate the ‘other’.
- Large amount of existing opportunities to integrate transnational workers – relatively low application by transnational workers

8.4.3 Chances for the city of Leipzig

**Knowledge-intensive industries**

Open-minded, local-regional scientific community, more and more internationally oriented. With the rising transnationalisation of the scientific community in this world, Leipzig based research facilities more and more integrate into global knowledge networks. This does not automatically mean, that Leipzig becomes a hotspot of the international scientific community, attracting large populations of knowledge-intensive workers. In addition to work-related networking, also the living-related amenities are a still underestimated factor of attraction and retention.

**Creative industries**

Very accessible creative milieus and scenes. Some of these branches are very internationally oriented (design, art, music). First local developments should be pushed forward into global markets (see above: ‘Globalization Paradox’). The local market cannot economically maintain the Leipzig-based creative sector, which still, to a large degree, depends on public support. Yet, the locally developed brands and ideas have good chances to economically succeed by exporting them. Existing international networks are a promising starting point.
Policy recommendations

- More investment into ‘soft’-ware (manpower) trying to combine transnational workers with existing opportunities to engage with the city, especially in the field of community engagement, leisure, and culture.
- Clear political and civic engagement against any kind of discrimination of foreigners
- Stronger engagement in transnational city-networks, in order to better link the city with other European places.
- Enhancing the number of exchange programs for scholars, Creatives etc.
- Placing transnational creative workers in various cultural fairs
- Integrating transnational in the local and regional policy.
References


REFERENCES


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 your 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