

Aalborg University

Master of Urban Planning
and Management

Migration of the highly skilled

Local authorities shape the
attractiveness of their cities



Marieke Irma Piepenburg

Handed in at AAU the 12th of January 2012

Title page source: *Slightly different*; <http://www.sea-cubed-composites.com/images/approach/Slightly-different.jpg>

SYNOPSIS

Little by little the working population is getting older, retires, and cannot be completely replaced by a new generation in the working age due to a fertility rate, which is below the level of replacement (Thalberg 2003: 3). This phenomenon of demographic change which together with a lack of well educated people among the population leads to the so-called 'scarcity of skilled labour', has a great influence on the country's and city's ability to sustain a working economic and social system.

Local authorities decide more and more often to participate in the competition for 'the best minds' and therefore try to increase the attractiveness of their cities. The question for these city officials is what is the right approach in order to increase the attractiveness for the group of highly skilled professionals?

This Master thesis provides the reader with information gathered from both theory and practice, on the topic. Apart from a review of theory on migration and location, within this thesis the case studies of Vienna and Hamburg are analysed. Thus, one can find information about different factors local authorities should focus on in the development of a city, as well as information on strategies and tools used in practice in order to increase the attractiveness of a city.

Title of the Master thesis:

Migration of the highly skilled – Local authorities shaping the attractiveness of their cities

10th semester Master thesis

MSc in Urban Planning and Management
Aalborg University

Duration:

1st September 2011 – 12th January 2012

Author of the thesis:

Marieke Irma Piepenburg

Project supervisor:

Helen Carter

Number of prints: 4

Number of pages: 67

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been written between the 1st of September 2011 and the 12th of January 2012, as part of the 10th semester of the Master of Science program in Urban Planning and Management, Aalborg University. I hope this report could be of some usefulness for further research on the topic and identified themes.

Special thanks go to AAU and all its staff members, especially Allis Hansen and Dorte Holmgaard Jensen, who always supported me during my studies by providing me with all the important information and making even the impossible possible.

Furthermore, I would like Helen Carter for her never ending support and helpful advice. I am very grateful that you have been supervising me for the whole two years of my Master study now and I appreciated working with you a lot.

Thanks to everyone, who supported me - or just came over from the other side of the world!

Ein ganz besonderes Dankeschön geht an meine Familie, die mich auch fernab der Heimat sehr unterstützt hat. Schön, dass es Euch gibt!

Gràcies, el meu amor. Sense tu no hauria aconseguit tot això i hauria perdut la confiança moltes vegades en el treball.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Synopsis	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Figures	v
1 Introduction.....	1-1
1.1 Problem formulation and research question	1-1
1.2 Structure of the report.....	1-3
2 Methodology.....	2-4
2.1 Approach for the Research	2-4
2.1.1 Selection of the cases.....	2-5
2.2 Methods	2-6
2.2.1 Literature Review	2-6
2.2.2 Document Analysis.....	2-6
2.2.3 Interviews	2-8
2.3 Methodological Reflections	2-13
3 Theoretical framework.....	3-15
3.1 Migration Theory.....	3-15
3.1.1 Macro-scale.....	3-15
3.1.2 Micro-Scale	3-16
3.2 Location Theory	3-22
3.2.1 Hard location factors	3-23
3.2.2 Soft location factors.....	3-23
3.3 Conclusions on the theoretical framework.....	3-25
3.3.1 Working hypotheses	3-26
3.3.2 Short summary.....	3-27
4 Empirical Framework.....	4-28
4.1 Presentation of the case studies	4-28
4.1.1 Vienna.....	4-28
4.1.2 Hamburg.....	4-29
4.2 Findings and Analysis	4-30
4.2.1 Why attracting highly skilled professionals?.....	4-31
4.2.2 What should a city be like?.....	4-32
4.2.3 Which factors influence attractiveness?.....	4-33
4.2.4 What can local authorities do?	4-37
5 Conclusion and Discussion.....	5-46
5.1 Conclusion	5-46
5.1.1 Actors	5-46
5.1.2 Factors	5-47
5.1.3 Tools and working hypotheses	5-49

5.1.4	Summary.....	5-51
5.2	Discussion.....	5-53
	Bibliography.....	a

LIST OF FIGURES

1-1 Age structure of the population on 1 January 2009 and of immigrants in 2008, EU-27	1-1
Source: EU SEC 2011: 53; based on Eurostat (online data code: migr_pop2ctz, migr_imm2ctz)	
1-2 Research Questions.....	1-2
Source: Author's own.	
1-3 Structure of the report.....	1-3
Source: Author's own.	
2-1 The study's approach	2-4
Source: Author's own.	
2-2 Research questions Case studies.....	2-8
Source: Author's own.	
3-1 Selected Push- and Pull- Factors.....	3-18
based on BBC UK; accessible online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/geography/images/pop_002a.gif (6.10.)	
3-2 Factors influencing migration according to Lee.....	3-20
Source: Author's own. Based on Lee 1966.	
3-3 Interplay of individual and different factors according to Lee	3-21
Source: Author's own. Based on Lee 1966.	
3-4 Factors influencing the location of industries.....	3-22
Source: Author's own. Based on findings from theory.	
3-5 Factors influencing the location of individuals/employees.....	3-23
Source: Author's own. Based on findings from theory.	
3-6 Aspects of Attractiveness.....	3-25
Source: Author's own. Based on findings from theory.	
4-1 Demographic pyramid Vienna	4-28
Source: Vienna in figures 2011: 10	
4-2 Demographic pyramid Hamburg.....	4-29
Source: Hamburg facts and figures 2011: 4	
4-3 Structure Analysis.....	4-30
Source: Author's own.	
4-4 Structure of the HWC.....	4-42

Source: Author's own. Based on Hamburg 2006

4-5 Actors Marketing Hamburg4-44

Source: <http://marketing.hamburg.de/Staedtische-Marketing-Gesellsc.97.0.html?L=1>

4-6 Hamburg as a brand.....4-44

Source: <http://marketing.hamburg.de/Erfolgsbausteine-2009.717.0.html>

5-1 Criteria Mercer Study Quality of Living.....5-53

Source: <http://www.mercer.com/articles/quality-of-living-definition-1436405>

1 INTRODUCTION

In the European Union as well as in Northern America the ongoing demographic change challenges industries and cities. Little by little the working population is getting older, retires, and cannot be completely replaced by a new generation in the working age due to a fertility rate, which is below the level of replacement (Thalberg 2003: 3). This phenomenon which, together with a lack of well

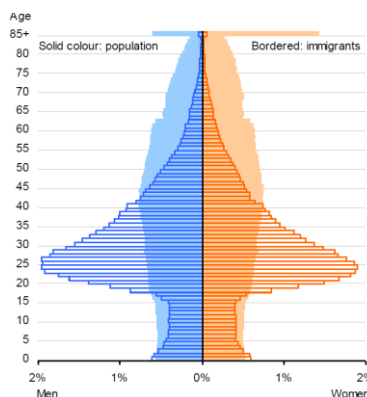
“Soon enough highly skilled professionals will be scarcer than oil”

*Olaf Richter, Personal Manager,
Germany*

Hamburger Abendblatt 18./19.01.2009

educated people among the population leads to the so-called ‘scarcity of skilled labour’, has a great influence on the country’s and city’s ability to sustain a working economic and social system. The European Commission for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion stated in the latest Demography report that “the EU’s demographic picture has become clearer: growth is fuelled mainly by immigration, whereas the population is becoming older and more diverse” (EU SEC 2011: 13). Well aware of the ongoing development and the upcoming labour shortage, industries started to recruit skilled labour from all over the world. Personal Managers in Europe as well as in America see the scarcity of skilled labour as a difficult situation in which the location of highly skilled professionals is as difficult as locating oil and announce the “war for talents” (Ed Michaels 1998). This statement from 1998 brought up a fierce discussion about the ways to attract the needed labour. In the course of time companies realised that offering well-paid positions and great working conditions are not sufficient in order to attract a greater number of highly-skilled professionals.

1-1 Age structure of the population on 1 January 2009 and of immigrants in 2008, EU-27



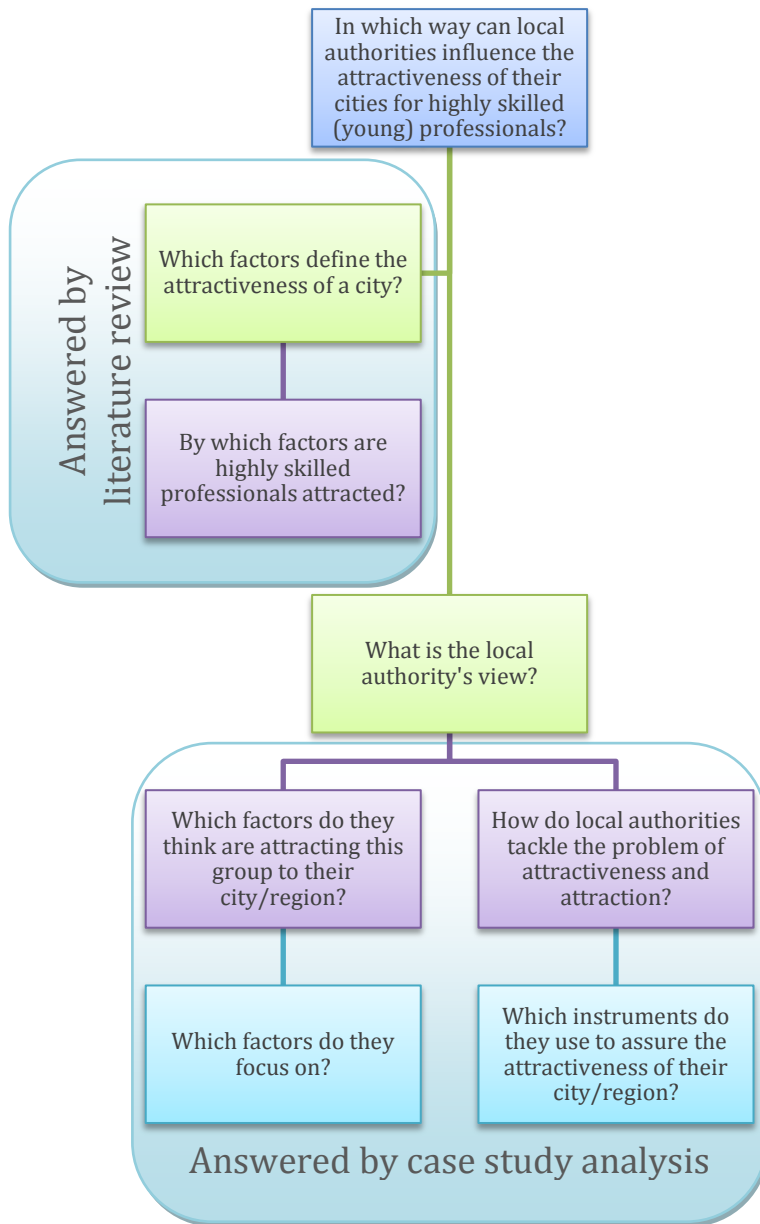
This is when, initiated by the economic sector, those responsible for the economic development of the city started to realise that the city itself could hold the key to success in this competition for labour. Hence, cities started to compete for highly skilled professionals. As the local market could not offer as much workforce as needed, a special focus was put on the idle potentials of immigration. In the European Union “the net migration [...] contributed 71 % of the total population increase” (EU SEC 2011: 54), while also most of the migrants are at working age (see figure 1-1). In order to attract highly skilled professionals to their cities, local authorities needed to develop strategies.

1.1 PROBLEM FORMULATION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Strategies to attract highly skilled professionals to a city can be based on various theories, researches or assumptions. Publications on what defines an attractive environment or which factors attract certain groups to a city are numerous. City Officials who decide to rise to the challenge of attracting highly skilled labour to their city hence face a high number of publications on different topics connected to the issue.

This thesis offers an insight into the theoretical background such strategies could be based on, as well as into the practical work on the topic from the cases of Hamburg and Vienna. It addresses policy makers, different actors within a local authority, as well as experts from various fields such as urban planning or urban economy, who work on raising the attractiveness of their city and especially aim at attracting highly skilled professionals. Raising the attractiveness of a city is understood in this thesis as a planning issue, as planning means to look at the future development of a city as well. The thesis shall provide insight into theory and practice and support local authorities in shaping their own approach in how to tackle the challenge of attracting skilled labour to their city.

1-2 Research Questions



Hence, the main research question for this study is “In which way can local authorities influence the attractiveness of their cities for highly skilled professionals?”. In order to answer this research question several sub-questions are formulated, which specify the different information needed as to answer the main question. With the intention of providing insight into both theory and practice, the research questions are also divided into those which can be answered by the theory review and those which are directed to and answered within the analysis of the case studies.

In a first step the factors which define the attractiveness of a city are determined on the basis of a theory review. The factors which are elaborated here are of a more general kind, serving the local authorities to get to know about both reasons for migration as well as what a city should be like to be called attractive. A special focus is, however, also on those factors which are known to attract especially the group of highly skilled professionals.

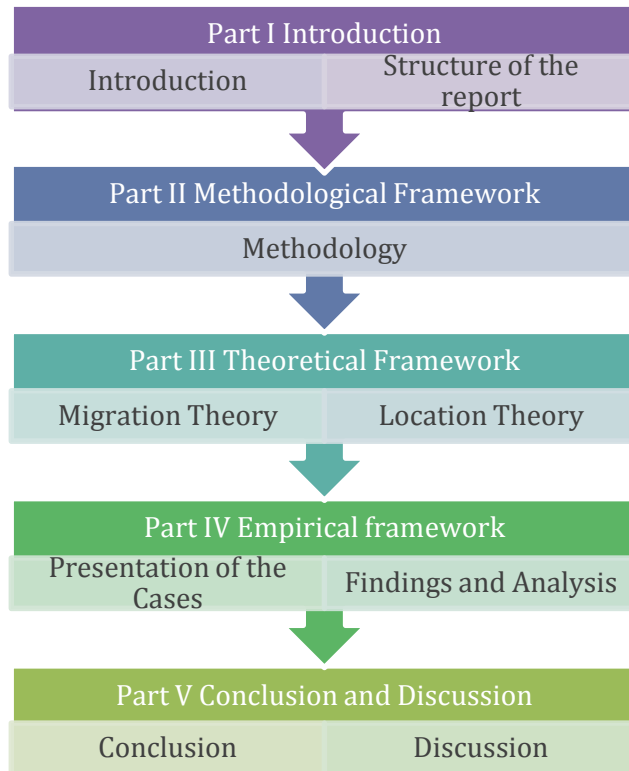
As this first part represents theoretical approaches and thoughts about the topic in general, the second part examines the point of view of different actors within the cities of Hamburg and Vienna. The analysis of these case studies aims at learning about how the local authorities in Hamburg and Vienna see the topic of attractiveness for highly skilled professionals and how they approach it. This includes the analysis of the factors the different local authorities focus on, which

factors they think are attracting the target group to their city, and how the generally approach the problem of attractiveness and attracting people to their city. In their approaches also the instruments used to assure the attractiveness of their city are analysed and which practical experiences the cities of Hamburg and Vienna made.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This thesis consists of five parts which form the structure of this report and are shown in the figure below (see fig. 1-1).

1-3 Structure of the report



In part I (chapter 1), the reader is provided with a general introduction to the topic. This includes a brief discussion about the context on which the topic is based. Furthermore this part shall provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the rationales behind the choice of the problem formulation and the research questions. Additionally rationales behind the way in which the research questions are answered throughout the thesis shall be elucidated.

Part II contains a description and justification of the methodological approach chosen for this report as well as the methods conducted within this research. Within this part (chapter 2) the methods and the approach chosen for this research are also critically reflected.

After the presentation of the methodological framework, the theoretical framework is introduced (chapter 3). It covers two different angles taken on the

topic: Migration and Location theory. Additionally more recent research is added on to the theories in order to complete the picture. At the end of the theory chapter working hypotheses are set up, which form the basis for the analysis of the case studies.

The analysis is carried out in Part IV (chapter 4) of this report. In this part the case studies are briefly presented, followed by an analysis of the relevant documents and the conducted interviews. Finally, in a fifth part (chapter 5) a conclusion is drawn. The conclusion answers the research questions set up in the first part of this study and also contains recommendations for local authorities on how to tackle the challenge of attracting highly skilled professionals to their city. At the end of this report, there is a discussion on the research topic.

2 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodological choices and considerations made in this research are elucidated. Firstly, the approach for this study is presented. Furthermore an explanation for choosing to work with case studies is included in this chapter. In a second part of the chapter the methods conducted during the research phase are presented. Some of these methods were employed individually, others supplementary to each other. This will be described at the end of this chapter. Finally, a reflection on other possible approaches and method, which could have been suitable for this research as well but might have led to different findings and interpretations, is carried out.

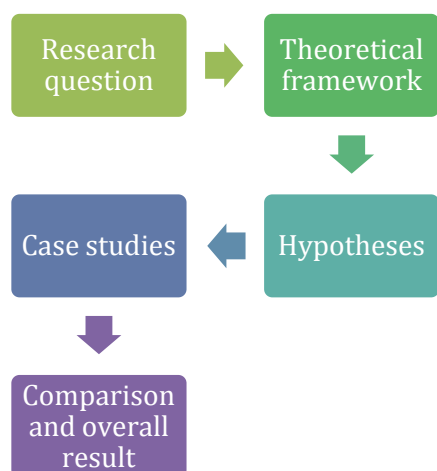
2.1 APPROACH FOR THE RESEARCH

This study is performed by bringing together data from different sources - such as theory, other research, document analysis from case studies and interviews conducted - and analysing these data in order to answer the research questions. The basis for the research is a discussion of the theoretical background connected to the topic, derived from the fields of Migration Theory and Location Theory. The theories offer a broad insight into reasons for migration, factors influencing migration and the location of industries as well as an overview of how local authorities should tackle the challenge of developing an attractive environment for certain target groups.

To link theory and practice, interviews are conducted with people involved in the processes of attracting certain groups to a city. The findings are added on to the results received from the literature. During the interviews information about the history of migration in the area and the city's relationship to migration in general is gathered. Furthermore, reasons for migration are questioned and the attractiveness of places in general and, specifically, the example of the city, are discussed. Throughout the interviews, a focus is placed on the approach a city uses in order to attract certain groups, including which policies, methods and instruments are used and which actors are involved in the process. The people chosen for the interviews work in the cities of Vienna and Hamburg. A more detailed explanation, on how and why these cities were chosen for this research and who the interview partners are, is given later in this chapter. Moreover a close look is taken at the preparation, performance and analysis of the interviews. A third source for the analysis is found in the documents published by the local authorities or other actors within the case studies. These papers were chosen mainly because of the location of their publication; most of them were published on either the city's homepages or on those websites administrated by other key actors, such as institutions.

All in all, the three sources – theories, interviews and other documents – lead to a broad picture of the topic 'attractiveness of cities' and form a basis for carrying out an analysis of the current situation regarding the attractiveness of cities found in literature and planning practice. Taking a critical look at the picture allows a conclusion on how to deal with the attractiveness of

2-1 The study's approach



cities, from both a theoretical and a local authority's point of view. As a result, at the end of this study, recommendations to local authorities on how to tackle the challenge of increasing the attractiveness of a city are given. These recommendations include factors which local authorities should take into account as well as possible methods and instruments in order to work on these factors.

The approach of this study was based primarily on knowledge gained from previous research and lectures as well as the study of literature in general on Migration and Location theory. This basis also kindled the interest to do

research in the field of attractiveness of cities and reasons for migration.

Based on this knowledge, the research questions were then set up. In a second step, the theoretical framework, which points out factors attracting highly skilled professionals to a city or region, is introduced. On the basis of these theories, coming from the fields of Migration and Location theory, working hypotheses are developed on how local authorities can try to attract the above mentioned group (see chapter 3).

These preliminary hypotheses are tested in the case studies, are revised again and then form a picture which is as complete as possible. This picture is created by comparing the findings from theory and the analysis of the case studies and bringing together the results of both parts. In this way, various possible ways available to local authorities to approach the problem of attracting highly skilled professionals to a city or a region are presented at the end of this report.

2.1.1 SELECTION OF THE CASES

The selection of the cases is carried out using a trans-European web search of cities' concepts on attracting highly skilled labour. The city of Hamburg and their Hamburg Welcome Center are in a rather prominent position in all kinds of searches focusing on different key words connected with the topic. Furthermore, the researcher is personally familiar with the situation in this city. The city of Vienna, on the other hand, is chosen due to more practical reasons. After having decided to use Hamburg in this research, it was necessary to look for another city of another German-speaking nation. Similar to the reasons for choosing Hamburg as a case study, Vienna is chosen because the background here is familiar too.

Furthermore, Hamburg and Vienna share more similarities, for example in the political system of the countries, the way the city authority is organised and also in the geographical location, which is important when looking at migration flows. A brief presentation of the two cities, stating some facts about the two cities and their situation, can be found at the beginning of the analysis chapter. Both cities also offer interesting approaches on how to handle the topic and show similarities as well as differences at first sight. As selecting two out of dozens of cities dealing with the topic will never lead to a complete picture, the reader should be informed that this research only shows some of the many possible approaches, methods and relevant factors influencing the attractiveness of cities. This research does not aim to show a direct comparison of the two cities in an evaluative way, but instead it aims to point out different ways of approaching the same challenge: attracting a skilled labour force to a city.

2.1.1.1 COMPARISON OF CASES

The two cities of Vienna and Hamburg are chosen as case studies. As described in the previous sub-chapter, among other reasons, these cities are chosen as they show interesting approaches towards the topic. Within this research these different approaches are analysed, compared and discussed to work out more generally in which ways local authorities could approach the challenge of attracting highly skilled professionals.

As mentioned above there is no intent of a direct evaluative comparison of the two cases. Still the two cities are comparable to a certain extend (a brief presentation of the two cities can be found at the beginning of the analysis chapter): Both are metropolitan regions, both are already and were attracting skilled labour, both are –even in times of demographic change- still growing in population. Furthermore Hamburg and Vienna can call themselves two important cities or even metropolitan areas within Europe, which both have a long history of migration as well. It might be a result of their attractiveness that they had some kind of magnet effect on people, but which factors do attract people to these places? The city's view on this question is going to be analysed within this thesis.

2.2 METHODS

This sub-chapter describes the rationales behind the choices of methods considered relevant and most beneficial to this project. Among these are the preparation of a semi-structured interview guideline, conducting interviews and the ways data collected at the interviews was handled. Furthermore the approach for the analysis of the city's publications and other documents is presented. Within this chapter also the considerations in order to attempt limiting possible sources of errors are described. Finally methodological limitations and alternative methods are discussed.

2.2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

First of all literature from the theoretical frames of migration theory and location theory is collected and scanned for the following categories:

- 1) Reasons for migration
 - a. Factors influencing the choice for migration
 - b. Migration of highly skilled workers
 - c. Migration of young people
- 2) Attractiveness of places
 - a. Factors influencing the choice of location
 - i. For industries
 - ii. For individuals
- 3) Cities and attractiveness
 - a. Literature offering advice for local authorities
 - b. Literature from local authorities
 - i. Goals and objectives of local authorities
 - ii. Instruments used in order to set up an attractive environment
 - iii. Actors included in the process

The relevant literature is then compiled and discussed in the theory chapter. Highly theoretical ideas are combined here with later research, which supplements the theoretical view and also adds a more recent view on the topic.

2.2.2 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Within the study of the two cities, an analysis of the texts published by the interviewed local authorities or other institutions is carried out. These papers are chosen mainly because they were published by either the local authority or other key institutions or actors. This analysis also follows certain categories. A special focus is on the third point mentioned above; cities and attractiveness. The categories are as follows:

- 1) Reasons for working on the subject
- 2) Factors mentioned/worked with
- 3) Methods used during the process
- 4) Instruments used during the process
- 5) Actors involved in the process

Methods are defined here as ways to collect data, to evaluate this data and to draw conclusions from it, while instruments are tools to develop and safeguard planning as well as to promote it. Furthermore instruments are used to implement planning in practice. A small selection of documents is listed below in order to give the reader a perception of the kind of documents which were analysed.

- Documents from the Vienna Immigration Commission
 - Bericht Wiener Zuwanderungskommission 2010

- Positionen und Empfehlungen WZK 2011
- Article from the homepage of the Vienna tourism agency
 - Wien: Einfach lebenswert (2011)
- Program of the government of Hamburg 2004-2008
 - Hamburg im Aufwind – die Zukunft der Wachsenden Stadt gestalten (2004)
- Branding analysis Hamburg
 - „Was macht Hamburg attraktiv?“ Analyse des Erfolgsmusters der Marke Hamburg (2009)
- Image brochure of the city of Hamburg
 - Willkommen in Hamburg/ Welcome to Hamburg (2007)

In this selection of documents which were analysed, one can see very different types of papers which aim at different audiences. Whilst the publications from the WZK are mainly directed at the local authorities who asked them for consultation, articles from the tourism agencies of the cities aim at people who should be attracted to the place as a holiday destination. The program of the government of Hamburg, then again, is a statement of the City Council publishing the approach chosen by the officials of the city. It is, at the same time, information for interested citizens in the form of general instructions for those working for the city. These different backgrounds and audiences have to be kept in mind when analysing the documents. The handling of official documents published by states or private sources is looked at later in this section.

The documents chosen for the analysis were drawn, without exception, from the internet and in particular from the websites of the local authorities. Only documents which were open to the public were analysed. These documents were chosen because they are supposed to show the view of the local authorities on the topic and can include evidence or hints as to which topics were most important to the authorities, and also which messages are most easily brought across and which fields were not mentioned at all in the published documents. Another reason for choosing documents from the internet is their refresh period. Documents published on websites are usually of more relevance to the current situation as they can be more easily updated than is possible with print media.

Not all the documents analysed were also published by the local authorities. Documents on the work of the Vienna Immigration Commission, for example, were published by another agency. Even some of the city's documents were written and/or published by external experts; probably in order to add more objectivity and, subsequently, validity to their publications. It is also plausible that the local authorities needed more expertise in certain areas or that they did not have the capacities to conduct the research and write the publications themselves.

Here, Bryman (2008) links four well known criteria in scientific research, which need to be considered when analysing documents: authenticity, meaningfulness, credibility and representativeness (Bryman 2008: 521). Bryman makes a difference between official documents which are derived from the state and those which are derived from private sources like companies and organisations. He states that official documents which are derived from the state can mostly be regarded as being authentic on the one hand, and on the other hand as being meaningful in a way that they are easily understood. The two other standards, however, are not as easily proved (Ibid.). When thinking about the credibility of a document, the question is whether the source of the publication is biased. Indeed, local authorities have normally a biased view of their city, but this is what makes these documents so interesting for some research, Bryman states. (Bryman 2008: 251) Anyway, because of the biases these documents reveal the fact that it is very important to handle them carefully and to take into account the context in which they were written and to whom the texts were addressed originally. Whether or not the analysed documents are representative, is a complicated issue, because the documents are, in a sense, unique and are most likely to be chosen for a research because of their official character. (Ibid.) Official documents which have been derived from private sources are, according to

Bryman, also likely to be authentic and meaningful, but have to be looked at critically and not just be taken over complacently into the research (Bryman 2008: 252). As the authors of a document normally have a certain point of view which they want to bring across, the documents are likely to be biased by this view. Also, the position a person has within an organisation can be reflected in what that person writes. (Ibid.)

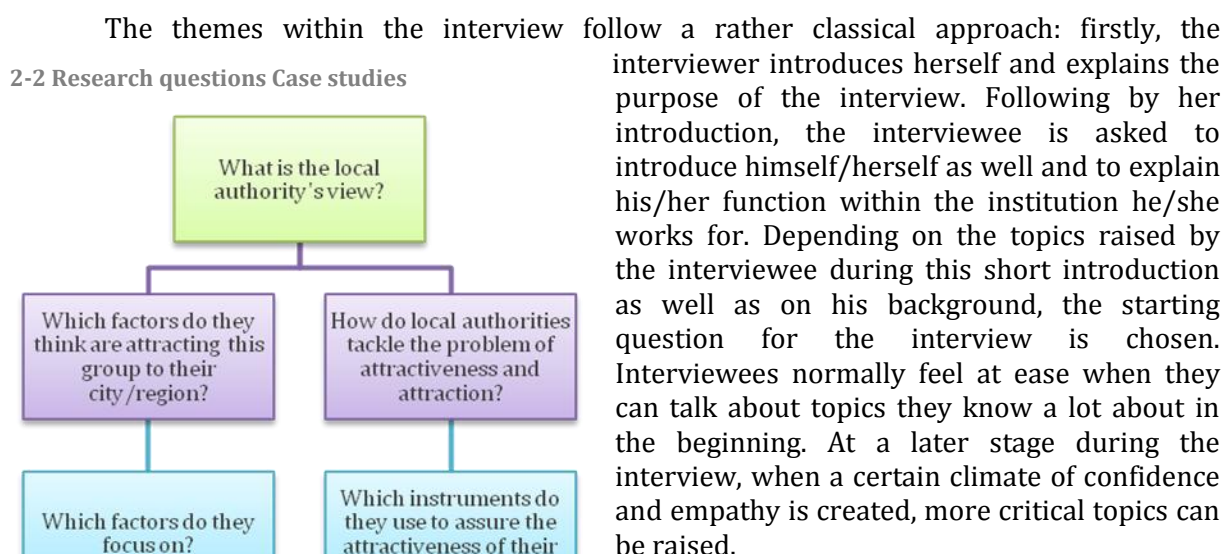
In the case of the Vienna Immigration Commission, for example, the organisation was supposed to consult the local authorities and the Europaforum, in its function as the facilitator of the commission, compiled the different aspects raised throughout the commission's meetings. Hence, the Europaforum had the task of giving an overview on both majority and minority reflections, ideas and suggestions. However the documents published by this commission are biased due to the members' different backgrounds and the task they were given by the City officials. When critically reflecting the documents which are analysed within a research project, by questioning statements and examining the context, one can avoid problems of credibility and representativeness. Furthermore, for this research the biased view of the local authorities is interesting as their approach needs to be investigated.

2.2.3 INTERVIEWS

In order to complete the picture drawn up from the theory and the document analysis, several interviews were carried out in the two cities of Vienna and Hamburg. These interviews were held with people working closely with the topic of migration and the attractiveness of their city. The methods used in order to prepare, perform and analyse these interviews are explained hereafter. The approach is derived from experience from earlier interviews conducted by the researcher, but it also follows the suggestions for interviewing in qualitative research as presented by Bryman (2008: 436ff).

2.2.3.1 PREPARATION OF THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

During the interview several topics needed to be covered in order to answer the research questions. In order to ensure the fact that these topics are mentioned during the interviews, a semi-structured interview is performed. Apart from ensuring that important questions are dealt with, the semi-structured interview also leaves both the interviewer and the interviewee free to adapt the interview to new situations. As intended by conducting interviews of this kind, the order of the topics dealt with is not strict, but can be adjusted. This allows the interviewer more interaction with the interviewee as well as picking up certain topics or interesting points raised by the interviewee. In this way the interview becomes more a discussion rather than a question-and-answer game.



The topics for the interviews conducted in this research are closely linked to the research questions presented before. The following sub-questions to the research needed to be answered by conducting the interviews (see figure 2-2). The intention behind interviewing local authorities was to get to know their view on factors influencing the attractiveness of their city or region.

Therefore, two fields need to be taken into account. Firstly, it is necessary to find out which factors the authorities see as being important for the attractiveness of their city. Factors influencing the attraction of highly skilled workers who draw the particular attention of the authorities need to be identified. Additionally, it is important to find out about the reasoning for focusing on these factors. Secondly, it is important to explore the approach the local authorities follow in order to attract the group of highly skilled workers to their city or region.

It was necessary to find out in which ways the authorities try to handle the challenge of attracting this group. This topic includes finding out which institution is in charge of the topic, for which reasons the topic of attractiveness came up at all and which instruments the local authorities used and use in order to uphold the pulling effect of their city or region on skilled labourers. Each of the interview guidelines is adapted slightly to the background and function of the interviewee. In the cases of both Vienna and Hamburg, the literature review and document analysis showed certain key institutions in charge of the topic. These are the main addressees for the interview requests. As an example a translated interview guideline for the first interview in Vienna is published here.

Interview guideline Vienna; Interview 1: Dr. Eugen ANTALOVSKY; Europaforum Wien; 28.10.2011

My introduction

Start:

Maybe we could start the conversation by you introducing yourself and briefly describing your role in the Europa Forum and the Immigration Commission.

If you think of the topic of migration; can you remember when this issue came into focus and which were the reasons?

Political reasons?

The Vienna Immigration Commission was established in 2009 in order to deal with challenges which result from migration. How were the exact topics identified within the commission?

In the WKZ's policy paper you mention the „conviction that a successful realization of an criteria-led immigration system needs offensive information and recruitment measures“. How did you reach this decision? How did you come to that conclusion?

Please explain the approach or the reasons behind this belief.

In the report you name criteria such as

- an orientation towards the EU-27 countries *and* countries from outside the EU;
- the communication of chances/demands of the location of defined target groups;
- offer contact points/services following the one-stop-shop principle;
- to orientate the city's approach globally as well as orientation towards regions/countries of destination;
- develop an overall communication;
- develop a welcoming culture

Which target groups are defined here and why? (High and very high-skilled workers; specialists / skilled workers, students)

How do you personally see the various factors influencing the attractiveness of cities?

Factors mentioned in publications:

Environment / climate

Water

Leisure time (even outside)

Cultural Landscape

Education system

Cost of Living

Transport links

Geopolitical situation

Transport hub Environmental standard

Safety Standard

Moderate costs of living

Internationality

Culture

Higher education, innovation, research site

robust, diverse business location

Brand: openness and tolerance

Which instruments are used best, in your opinion, to monitor the implementation of the concepts to enhance attractiveness?

In the report you talked about various instruments of the city and regional economic policy, what do you mean by that?

In addition: Peer Review - What cities were seen as example / model?

Conclusion: How would you evaluate the efforts of the City of Vienna? Is the adopted approach successful? Do you see Vienna as an attractive place to live?

My closing words

2.2.3.2 PERFORMING THE INTERVIEWS

The interviewees, even though they come from different backgrounds, are all involved in the work within their institutions on the topic of attracting highly skilled workers. As mentioned before, in Hamburg as well as in Vienna, key institutions were delegated by the local authorities to be in charge of the topic.

In Vienna, this is the ‘Zuwanderungskommission’ (immigration committee); which has been working since 2009 on the topics of migration, mobility and diversity. The work of this committee was initialised by Vienna’s town councillor for integration. Hence there is a close relation between the committee and this councillor’s department. The committee was then managed by the Europaforum (Centre for urban dialogue and European policy), an institute established by the Vienna municipality. The interviewees are mentioned below:

- Dr. Eugen Antalovsky, Executive Director Europaforum Vienna, member WZK
- Dr. Karin König, Department of Integration and Diversity
- Markus Penz, Team Manager, Strategic Destination Development, Vienna Tourist Board

As a managing director and senior consultant for urban development, European urban and regional policy, diversity management and European as well as local governance, Dr. Antalovsky has a very broad view on the topic, not only seen from his function as executive director of the Europaforum, but more from a planner’s point of view. Markus Penz brought the point of view of the tourism branch into the discussion, which is certainly a branch which depends on the attractiveness of the city as a destination. Dr. Karin König on the other hand provides more insight into the viewpoint of the local authority of Vienna. She also provides more information about the Start Wien initiative, a first place to go to for people migrating to the city.

In Hamburg the key institution is the Hamburg Welcome Center. Just like the Start Wien initiative, it is a place where people who are interested in settling down in the city can gather information on different fields such as accommodation, work, education, and amenities. The executive director of the Hamburg Welcome Center offered to give an interview providing a thematic overview about all the different work covered by the institution.

- Birte Steller, executive director Hamburg Welcome Center

Due to practical reasons, all interviews are held in German, as this is the native language of all of the interviewees as well as of the conducting interviewer. All the interviews are recorded, after having been given permission by the interviewee. Furthermore, the interviewees are allowed to choose the location, time and date of the interview within a certain time-frame in order to make it as comfortable as possible for them. While the interviews with Mr Antalovsky and Mrs König were conducted on a face-to-face basis, Mr Prenz and Mrs Steller were only available for telephone interviews. Telephone interviews can have the negative side effect that they tend to be shorter as face-to-face interviews, as the interviewee can terminate the interview easier (Bryman 2008: 457). Furthermore it is not possible to observe the interviewee and its body language, which might give more information when talking about matters of delicacy. On the other hand, the answers interviewees give on the phone do not differ much from those given in face-to-face interviews (Ibid.). As one can save time and travel costs conducting interviews on the phone, this approach which then again makes it

2.2.3.3 HANDLING THE DATA COLLECTED FROM THE INTERVIEWS

In order to analyse the interviews they are transcribed verbatim. The transcription forms a solid basis for the further analysis and allows a more detailed reflection on what has been said. Heritage (1984: 238) lists certain advantages of transcribing interviews:

- Natural limitations of our memories as well as intuitive glosses are corrected
- More thorough and repeated examination of what has been said is allowed

- Data is opened up to public scrutiny by other researchers
 - This helps to counter accusations that the analysis might be biased or led by the researcher's values
- Data is accessible for other use than was primarily intended by the researcher

These advantages were taken into account when deciding to transcribe the interviews, in spite of the time it takes to do so. According to Bryman (2008: 453) every hour of speech takes around five to six hours for transcription. Furthermore the advantages of conducting an ongoing analysis were taken into account for this decision. An ongoing analysis "allows the researcher to be more aware of emerging themes that he or she may want to ask about in a more direct way in later interviews" (Bryman 2008: 453).

The transcribed interview is reviewed by the researcher and notes are taken. Afterwards categories are set up, which follow the categories set up for the literature review and document analysis mentioned before. These categories form the basis for further analysis. Subsequently the analysis is carried out by analysing the different categories, correlating them and pointing out similarities and differences in the responses. Furthermore the findings of this analysis are correlated with the working hypotheses and form the basis for an overall conclusion of this research.

2.2.3.4 SOURCE OF ERRORS

When conducting interviews one needs to be aware of different factors that can influence the outcome of the interview; these can be sources of errors which lead to an unsuccessful interview or misinterpretation. Again these considerations derive mostly from earlier interviews conducted by the researcher, but most of the points mentioned here can also be found in relevant literature such as Bryman (2008: 436ff).

First of all, the way contact has been set up can be crucial for the first opinion the interviewee has about the interviewer. The contact should be established a good time ahead of the desired date and should include a short presentation of the person asking for the talk as well as the purpose of the interview. The interviewee should be given a time-frame from which he/she can choose when to carry out the meeting as well as having the freedom to choose the location for the interview. As mentioned earlier, these aspects may just seem to be little details, but when they are considered altogether, they can be crucial in creating a good atmosphere for the interview and can therefore lead to more frank, natural, and open responses as well.

After having taken the basic aspects into account, the next important factor for a successful interview is the interview guideline. In a semi-structured interview like those conducted in this study, the questions should cover different topics chosen by the interviewer beforehand. It helps to formulate the questions, but normally they are adapted to the situation as the interviewee should feel at ease and feel like he/she is talking to someone in a normal conversation. Important keywords taken from the review of literature which was carried out, websites and other sources of data can be added to the interview guideline in order to have a point of reference when digging deeper into the topic.

Furthermore, as described in the section 'Preparation of the semi-structured interview guideline', the sequence of the questions raised or topics treated should be chosen sensibly. Starting up an interview with a rather reflective or critical question can lead to the confusion and discomfort of the interviewee. In order to prevent this from happening, the start of the interview should always be easy to access; e.g. by asking about the position of the person interviewed followed by a description of the start of the project one is interested in. Once the memory of the interviewee about the topic of interest is refreshed, more detailed or reflective questions can be brought up. At the end of the interview the questioner should always make some closing statement including words of thanks and offering the interviewee the possibility of receiving the results of the study if he/she is interested. If these recommendations for the

conduction of interviews are followed, the outcome of the interview is more likely to be of use for the research and errors can be kept to a minimum.

Before conducting the interview, the researcher should be well informed about the work and publications of the interviewee. Having a certain background knowledge shows the interviewee the interest of the researcher and allows a more critical and reflective view on the subject as well as a maybe more interesting talk for the interviewee as he or she does not have to repeat what has already been formulated in writing. On the other hand it might be important to have some things repeated by the interviewee during the meeting if they are crucial to the research.

When the interviewer finally conducts the interview, he/she should be on time and prepared. This includes knowing how to get to the place of meeting, as well as having the equipment in working order which is required to record the interview. To create a better atmosphere between the interviewee and the interviewer, appropriate clothing as well as wording can be crucial. The interviewer should hereby adapt to the interviewees situation. Additionally, it is important to present oneself as being interested and friendly and to support the interviewee by nodding or by uttering words of approval. If one is able to record the interview, one should try not to take too many additional notes. Taking notes can influence the direction in which an interview is heading, as interviewees are more likely to feel that the interviewer is interested in the detail they are talking about when notes are being taken.

Another source of error which can arise while conducting an interview can be the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of a question or response of the interviewer or interviewee. Therefore, short and easily-worded questions should be asked and just one question should be asked at a time. If the interviewer gets the feeling that he/she was misunderstood he/she should clarify the question, rephrase it or give an example in order to get the responding person on the wanted track. On the other hand, if the interviewer is unsure as to whether he/she has understood the interviewee correctly, the interviewer can rephrase what he/she has heard and ask if he/she has understood it correctly. Additionally, topics can be approached from different angles.

Finally, the transcription of interviews can be a source of errors too, especially if the person transcribing did not participate in the interview. In this study the interviewer and person transcribing were the same and the transcription was done shortly after conducting the interviews. Hence, the memory of the course of the interview and what had been said was still fresh and comments could be added regarding the behaviour of the interviewee in certain parts of the talk, for example. A last source of errors can be choosing the wrong categories in order to analyse the interview. If the categories chosen do not help in answering the research question, the interviews might be regarded as not being helpful for the research, whereas they should just have been analysed from a different angle.

2.3 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

In this section, a reflection is carried out on other possible approaches and methods which could have been chosen and which might have led to different findings and interpretations for this research. These reflections range from very general considerations to more specific changes, which could have been applied in this research.

First of all and most generally, this research could have been carried out taking both sides into account: demand and supply. In this case, the local authorities 'supplying' places to live and work and the highly skilled professionals 'demanding' attractive places. Looking at both, the individual's and the authority's point of view on the topic would have led to a more complete picture. Of course, such in-depth research would have required a longer timeframe. So this was never really considered within the conduction of this Master thesis.

Secondly, different theoretical approaches could have been imbedded which would have subsequently changed the whole basis of the research. As the selection of the theories was carried out carefully, there are no other theories which the author thinks needed to be included into this research.

Thirdly, the number of documents chosen for the analysis could be higher and could derive from more varied sources. Documents which were derived from the same source tended to repeat themselves and were therefore not considered as providing the research with added value. Publications from other sources, on the other hand, would have probably not focused on the local authority's point of view on the topic, which was crucial for this research.

Furthermore, involving other or more interview partners in the research would have added a broader view on the city's perspective. The strict time-frame as well as the problem of identifying protagonists, who are important in the city's approach, did not allow this. Also, the method of conducting face-to-face interviews on a one-on-one basis could have been changed to group interviews using all of the members of the Vienna Immigration Commission, for example. This approach could have led to a fruitful discussion on the approaches chosen by the commission and at the same time would have shown the dynamics inside the group as well as different perceptions of the same statements made, e.g. in the reports published by the commission.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the reader with an overview of the theoretical framework on which the topic of attractiveness is based in. Theory on reasons that attract people to certain spaces can be divided broadly into two parts: those ideas deriving from migration theory and those based on economical geography, the so-called location theory. In this chapter literature originating from both fields is reviewed and discussed, and factors underlying the choice of location of people are examined. The chapter closes with the drawing up of conclusions on the findings of the theoretical discussion. These conclusions lead to working hypotheses, which are taken up again in the conclusion chapter at the end of this thesis.

First of all, theories on migration are presented and discussed in the framework of this research. At the beginning the main ideas from Larry A. Sjaastad's work are presented followed by a more in depth investigation on the theories developed by Ernst Georg Ravenstein and Everett S. Lee. These concepts focus on the individual as any person who could migrate.

In the field of location theory most studies deal with the location of industries. These theories focusing on the location of industries show a relation between the choice of location of industries and people. This research focuses on the individual as available labour for industries which should be attracted to an area. Its aim is to determine whether the economical development of a city might be an important factor for the settlement of highly skilled professionals.

Furthermore, the literature from the field of location theory which is reviewed in the second part of this chapter is more recent than those theories taken into account in the sub-chapter about migration theory. What makes these two different theoretical approaches interesting is the fact that, no matter their origin nor the time at which they were developed, they come to similar conclusions in the end.

3.1 MIGRATION THEORY

This sub-chapter gives an overview of the discussion of the topic in the field of Migration Theory. The chapter starts off by introducing Migration Theory on the macro scale; subsequently, theory on the micro scale is discussed. The latter includes the approaches of Everett S. Lee and Ernst Georg Ravenstein, two theorists from the middle of the 20th and end of the 19th century. The sub-chapter ends by bringing together the main factors which the theorists deem necessary in order to attract people to an area. Given the timeframe in which these theories were developed, naturally not all of what is stated is still relevant today. Some parts, however, are surprisingly still current today.

Migration is defined in various ways and hypotheses depend very much on the angle taken and the geographical context. Filtering those factors which are essential to this research is important, hence the focus on factors relating to internal migration within the European Union. Moreover, research dealing with the migration of highly skilled professionals and of university graduates will receive the most attention.

3.1.1 MACRO-SCALE

Some researchers argue that approaches to migration theory take place on either a macro- or a micro scale. On the macro scale the theory leads back to models of gravity, which claim that migration depends mostly on the distance between the area of origin and the area of destination. With an increasing distance between those two places, migration would decrease. (Kröhnert 2007: 2)

During the 1960s and 1970s this approach was developed further and the regional average wage was taken into account as an important factor when explaining migration. (Ibid.) Lowry (1966) widened this approach by adding factors of comparison between two areas, such

as the unemployment rate, the average wage, the distance and the number of people not working in the agricultural sector to the idea. The factor of people working in the agricultural sector might still apply to predominantly agricultural regions, but with the general turn towards industries placed in the tertiary and quaternary sector, this factor loses its importance in densely populated city regions like Hamburg and Vienna.

The macro scale approach to reason for migration provides evidence which show a relationship between the distance between two places and the volume of migration between them. Furthermore, researchers argue that there are certain factors promoting emigration, like a high unemployment rate, while other factors like a higher average wage promote immigration. To find out by which other factors individuals are influenced in their choice of location an approach on the micro scale is necessary. (Kröhnert 2007:2f)

3.1.2 MICRO-SCALE

Ernst Georg Ravenstein, Everett S. Lee and Larry A. Sjaastad were three theorists who approached migration theory on the micro scale. While Sjaastad argued on a rather economic basis, Ravenstein and Lee tried to explain regularities in migration from a more social point of view. At this point, Sjaastad's main idea will be presented, followed by an excerpt of the most relevant thoughts from Ravenstein's and Lee's theories. At the end of each section the theoretical statements are critically reflected and deliberations about possible conclusions for planning practice are presented.

Migration as an individual investment

Sjaastad sees migration as an individual investment in human capital. Migrating comes along with costs and benefits for the individual, which can be of the monetary and non-monetary kind. In this model the benefits can also be expected for a nearer future and do not need to emerge immediately when migrating. (Kröhnert 2007:4)

For this research this point of view could imply that individuals would also migrate even if there is no current offer of employment for them, for example, in the area of destination. Moreover, they could be influenced by factors of a non-monetary kind which are out of reach for local authorities. Other research focuses as well on the non-monetary reasons of migration and stresses explicitly the factor of a better quality of life, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.1.2.1 LAWS OF MIGRATION

Ravenstein's papers "The Laws of Migration" (1885 and 1889) initiated a discussion, which according to Everett S. Lee evolved into the field of migration theory (Lee 1966: 47). Ravenstein, detected regularities in the data he interpreted and which he wrote down as 'laws'. He primarily based his work on the British Census, but then widened his view and took data from more than 20 different countries into account. Interestingly, most of these laws developed in the 19th century still apply to today's situation. In the following sections parts of Ravenstein's work are presented and finally reflected.

Distance, Origin and Migration chains

The first of the laws developed by Ravenstein states that the majority of migration which takes place is within a short distance from the area of origin. Migrants would thus mostly be attracted to a certain place and with a growing distance to this place, the number of migrants would decrease. On the other hand he states that those individuals who migrate longer distances are normally attracted to great centres of commerce and industry. (Ravenstein 1885: 198f)

Secondly, Ravenstein claims that migration takes place in stages. First of all, the inhabitants of the area surrounding one of the big centres would move towards this centre. The

space they leave free in the surroundings of the cities would be filled up again by migrants from more remote areas. Hence a chain or a current of migration takes place. (Ibid: 199)

Economy and Migration

In his paper published in 1885 Ravenstein also notes that there is a strong relationship between technology and migration. He found out that “a development of manufactures and commerce [has] led to an increase of migration” (Ravenstein 1885: 199). In the 19th century, this was all about industrialisation, but nowadays researchers also argue for a strong interrelation between economic growth or strength of a city and the migration towards this place.

Finally, the most common motive for migration which Ravenstein noticed during his research, is to move because of economic reasons. According to him, people are most likely to move due to economic reasons and the wish to improve their situation. (Ibid: 286) Hence, the combination of a strong economic region and migrants who want to improve their situation, especially economically, could lead to strong migration.

Conclusions

According to Ravenstein’s statements cities, back in the 19th century, could attract great flows of migration. As engines for the economy they offered greater job opportunities and people stood a good chance of improving their (economic) situation. Technology, industry and commerce were attracting people from near and far.

Even though Ravenstein defined this attraction to great centres in the 19th century, it still seems to be applicable for today’s migration flows. This is especially the case in the European Union where one can see a concentration of migration flows to big cities and metropolitan regions. These migration flows, however, come from all different parts of the world and are not especially pan-European.

As this research focuses on the city’s perspective on attractiveness of places, it would be interesting to find out whether bigger cities see themselves at an advantage over other, smaller cities and towns. The strategies which local authorities follow in order to draw highly skilled professionals need to be analysed. Local authorities are also asked to reflect on factors which could be important for people in their decision-making process on whether or not they should migrate to a certain place.

Furthermore, it should be questioned whether the motives for migration are still the same as 120 years ago or if people, especially within the European Union, might be migrating for different reasons. The next sub-chapter, dealing with the Theory of Migration from Everett S. Lee and will further elucidate possible reasons for and factors influencing migration.

3.1.2.2 A THEORY OF MIGRATION

Ravenstein’s ideas were criticised by many. Nevertheless, they were the starting point for other research and theories such as Everett S. Lee’s “A Theory of Migration” (1966). According to Lee, in between the time from when Ravenstein published his work and the 1960’s, “few additional generalizations have been advanced” (Lee 1966: 48). In his paper Lee briefly introduces the work of Ravenstein and draws up on his ideas presenting factors which influence people in migrating. Migration, for Lee, “is defined broadly as a permanent or semi permanent change of residence” (Ibid: 49).

In this sub-chapter an overview of the main ideas of Lee’s Theory of Migration is given. Lee categorises reasons for migration into factors which are associated with the area of origin and those associated with the area of destination. These factors can either be repellent (push factor) or attracting (pull factor) for a certain group. The essence of Lee’s considerations on these factors is presented here and examples are modified in this research.

Furthermore Lee elaborated the idea of ‘intervening obstacles’ and ‘personal factors’ which influence the act of migration. These two concepts are also introduced in this sub-chapter and are transferred to this research. Hence, the reasoning behind Lee’s ideas is discussed. An additional focus is on some of the hypotheses Lee developed as part of his work. Here, the topics economic situation, education system and social networks are discussed.

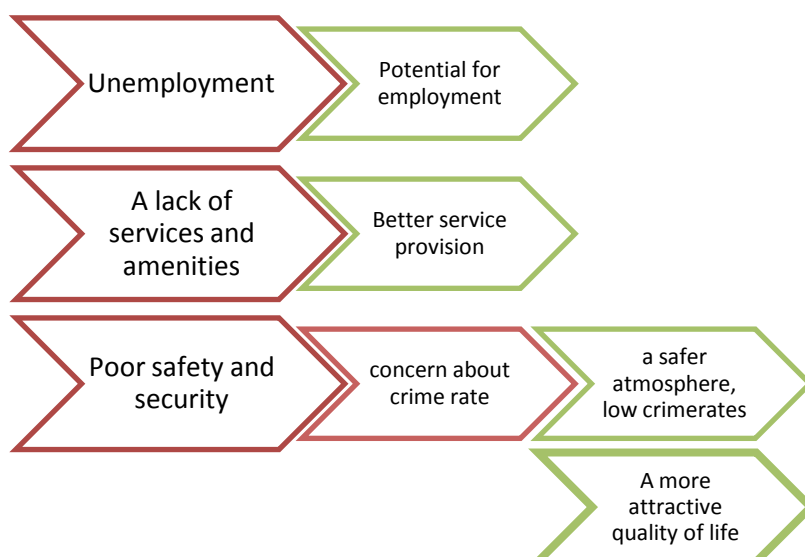
Push- and Pull Factors

The following figure shows an overview of possible push- and pull factors. Out of the factors repelling people from an area (push factors; red) one can draw the converse factors that attract people (pull factors; green). There are also factors that people are indifferent to, depending on their situation. This could be for example the distribution of kindergartens within a city for a single young man. The chosen factors in the figure are all highly connected to this research as they are current factors which local authorities can work on. Other factors like climate conditions and the political situation in a country were consciously left out of the figure as they cannot be influenced by local authorities.

Push factors include the state of unemployment or poverty as well as concerns about high crime rates and perceived deficiencies when it comes to service provision or safety and security issues. The former could be related to an overall state within a city or even a country as well as to a personal situation, while the latter might depend on personal perception as well as on the age, sex, race or previous experiences. Pull factors like conditions one hopes or thinks to find in the area of destination, vary from potential for employment and high service provision to low crime rates. Moreover pull factors also include the general term of a more attractive quality of life.

As mentioned before, these factors can be influenced by local authorities by different means and are therefore relevant factors when talking about the approach a city could take in order to increase its attractiveness. The importance of each of the factors mentioned above can be discussed and is probably depending on the given location and circumstances.

3-1 Selected Push- and Pull- Factors



Intervening obstacles

Apart from these push- and pull factors, Lee also notes that there are intervening obstacles in any act of migration between an area of origin and destination. The intervening obstacle which has been studied the most and which is also the most important one, is, according to him, the distance. Actual physical barriers as well as immigration laws might restrict the movement as

well as for example the costs of moving. (Lee 1966: 51) Nowadays, intervening obstacles, especially concerning migration law and, hence, physical barriers, have diminished within the European Union. The European Union's internal market seeks to guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, services and people within the member states. Hence, any citizen of an EU member state is free to live and work wherever they desire.

On the other hand, the distance between the place of origin and the place of destination might still play an important role in the decision-making process for or against migration to a certain place. Then again, since travel opportunities have increased during the last few decades and low-cost flights have become available, longer distances might no longer be considered to be a hindrance to migration nowadays. Furthermore, transportation costs are decreasing in some areas and might not influence the inner-European migration flow as much.

Personal factors and perception

The fourth source of influence which Lee identifies in the act of migration are personal factors. These factors affect "individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration" (Lee 1966: 51). This means that due to individual circumstances, a decision for or against migration at a certain period of time is made. The decision to migrate is, according to Lee, also dependant on factors which do not constantly exist. Depending on which stage in the life an individual is going through, factors might vary a lot. (Ibid.) Therefore there might be points in one's life when migration is more likely to happen, like, for example, after graduating from university, when looking for a job.

Additionally, Lee claims, social aspects are important when considering migration. Social relations like being in a relationship, having a family member in need of care or having small children might, for example, very well influence the choice whether to migrate or not. In other cases the increasing number of free online facilities to keep in touch with family and friends could facilitate the decision to migrate, as the distance would be seen in perspective. Throughout all stages of life, Lee states, the perception of the different existing factors is very important. He claims that the aforementioned repelling and attracting factors at origin and destination are not so much the actual factors that result in migration, moreover, it is more a question of the personal perception of these factors. One person could be attracted by a certain factor whereas another one finds this very same factor repelling or not relevant at all. (Lee 1966: 51)

Given the fact that personal factors depend on the individual and its perception of the environment, the economic and political situation and other factors, the decision whether or not to migrate might not appear completely rational to outsiders (Lee 1966: 51). Some might migrate due to (non-) economic reasons as mentioned by Sjaastad; others might follow a dream, the idea of something better. For local authorities, this would imply that no matter the effort they would put into developing an attractive environment, they could never be sure of attracting a certain number of people. In this case, local authorities could try and influence the perception of people. Concepts like city marketing or place branding aim at doing so and might be taken into consideration when trying to attract certain groups to a place.

Economic situation and diversity

Following the reasoning of Lee, the economic situation of a city is crucial for its attractiveness. Just like Ravenstein almost 80 years before, Lee sees job opportunities as one of the stimuli for migration. Hence migration towards a city would occur if it experiences economic growth and job opportunities would come up. (Lee 1966: 53)

Additionally Lee states that areal diversity is another important factor. He notes that migration is more likely occur if places within a region show great diversity from each other. This also applies to people from one area. If there is great diversity, there should be a greater flow of migration according to Lee. On the other hand he states, the higher the sameness among people or places in a region, the lower the rate of migration to and from the place. (Lee 1966: 52)

Hence not all authorities should aim for the very same goals and image of their city, but could build up on their distinctive features in order to create diversity among places.

Education system

Diversity among people can, according to Lee, be seen in terms of “of race or ethnic origin, of education, of income, or tradition” (Lee 1966: 52). Consequently one of the factors influencing diversity is a diverse educational landscape. Lee mentions that education systems which aim at producing specialists like engineers, professors or actors are at the same time producing people that see migration as a concomitant of their profession, as their specialised knowledge is needed widespread. (Lee 1966:53; 56) A wide choice of schools and universities in a region could therefore lead to members of the society who need to migrate, because of their specialised knowledge, but might, at the same time, attract people who are seeking this education.

Cortright (2001) argues that “regions with great educational systems (and little else) may simply end up exporting their best and brightest and indirectly subsidizing the economic development of other areas.” For this reason local authorities should rather aim at a balance between education facilities and employment offers and should also take other factors into account that might attract people to their town.

Social networks on arrival

Finally Lee mentions the increase of the volume and rate of migration with time. He states that intervening obstacles diminish, when people already settled in new areas communicate with those back home and provide a social network on arrival. As a consequence, they would create a leapfrogging situation. (Lee 1966: 54) As the history of migration within the European continent is long and people from different countries are widespread among the member states, a social network for migrants from many countries can be found which could diminish some hindrances for migration and support the arriving migrant in settling in the new area. Here again diversity among the population of a city is important in order to create these welcoming networks for new arrivals.

Conclusions

In the theory presented in this sub-chapter there are different kinds of factors, which influence the migration flow towards a city. The first group describes hindrances like actual physical barriers, law restrictions, distance and cost of migration. The second group consists of more general factors like the employment situation in a city, wealth, security, service provision, the diversity among people and an attractive quality of life. The third and last group are personal factors such as social relations and social networks. All of these factors, it is argued, depend on the personal perception of the individual and its abilities to surmount intervening obstacles. An overview of this factor is given in the chart below.

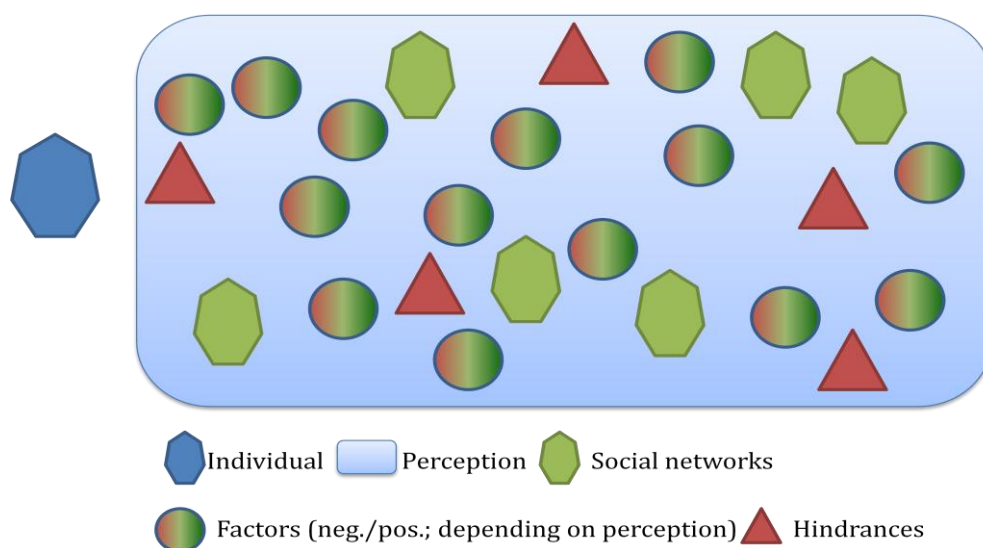
3-2 Factors influencing migration according to Lee

Hindrances	General factors	Personal factors
Physical barriers	Employment	Social relations
Law restrictions	Wealth	Social networks
Distance	Security	
Cost of migration	Service provision	
	Diversity	
	Quality of life	

While the hindrances mostly determine the possibility of migration, the general and personal factors are more likely to be able to outweigh each other. If for example the diversity among people in a certain place is not very high and the income level is average, but at the same time an individual has strong social relations towards the place and has a job offer, the latter might outweigh the former and therefore lead to migration.

The interplay of these factors, as described above, is put into a figure (see figure 3-3). Here, one can see an individual looking at a certain place and identifying various factors as well as hindrances influencing its decision to migrate. Furthermore the individual takes into account the social networks it already has established in the location. All of these factors are perceived by the individual influenced by its experiences, knowledge, and abilities.

3-3 Interplay of individual and different factors according to Lee



Which conclusions can local authorities now draw from Lee's theory? First of all they have to understand and accept that there are factors influencing the migration of individuals. Secondly it is important to realise that these factors are all influenced again by the personal perception of an individual. Hence, working on different criteria in order to attract a certain target group to an area is a way to ensure the general attractiveness of the place, but cannot guarantee migration. Accepting this cornerstone, city officials can then continue by identifying the push- and pull factors of their own town. Forming a clear view on the own strengths and weaknesses could help in placing the future fields of work as well.

After the key factors which need to be amended have been chosen, methods and instruments on how to influence these factors need to be identified. In which way can local authorities influence the different factors? Which tools do they have to support developments in their cities that would make people want to move to the town? Already existing concepts and interdisciplinary teamwork could lead to a time and resource efficient development.

While personal factors and the perception of other variables are something about which only the individual can provide information, there is existing information about local authorities' intents and approaches influencing the above-mentioned general factors in order to attract people to their city. These approaches are going to be analysed later in this research. It is also interesting to reflect at this point upon the question of which of those factors can be influenced on a local level and which need to be dealt with on another level, e.g. on a national scale and, moreover, which factors do the local authorities focus on?

When looking in detail at the factors

3-4 Factors influencing the location of industries

mentioned by Lee, one could argue that focusing on the economic situation of a city, diversity among the citizens and a good education system could be sufficient in order to ensure the attractiveness of a city. But do cities with a growing economy within diverse regions attract more people than other locations which are placed in a more similar environment? Does 'being different' from other places already attract people to move? Which role do education systems play in the choice of migration?

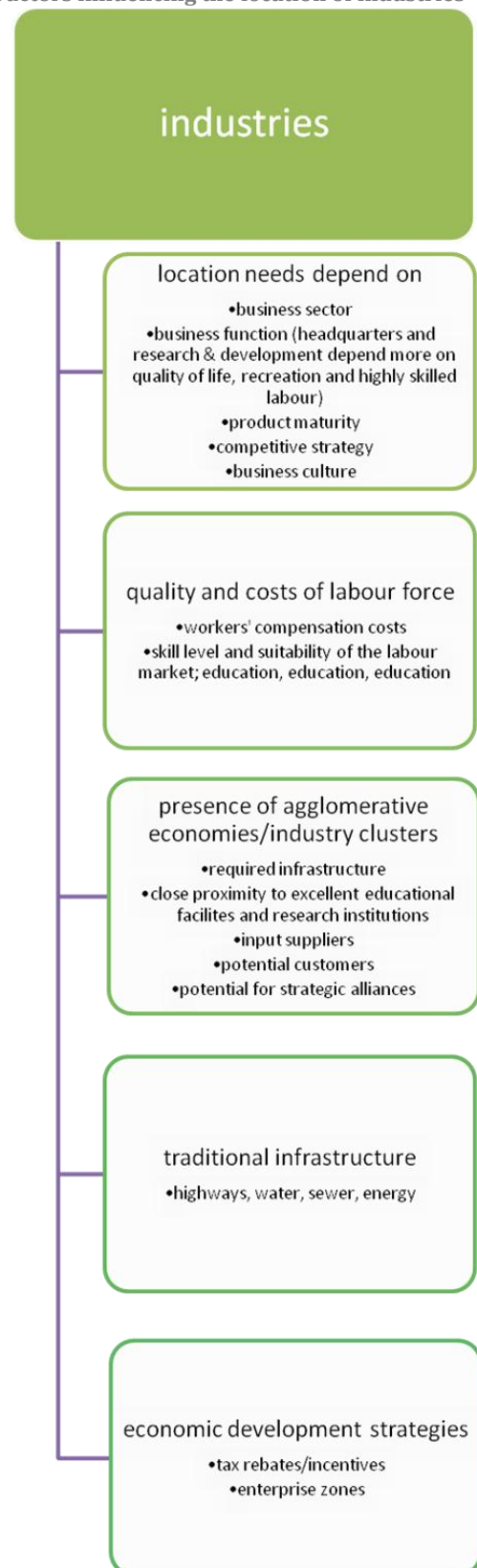
Finally, local authorities should be aware that there are certain points in the life cycle of an individual where migration is more likely to take place. Following Lee's argumentation "such times are the cessation of education, entrance into the labour force, or retirement from work" (Lee 1966: 52). Hence, highly skilled graduates, for example, are more likely to move to new places than other groups. The factors and questions brought up in this sub-chapter will be looked at as well from other theoretical viewpoints. Finally, all the different factors are brought together and form an overview of possible factors which can influence the choice of migration and the attractiveness of a place.

3.2 LOCATION THEORY

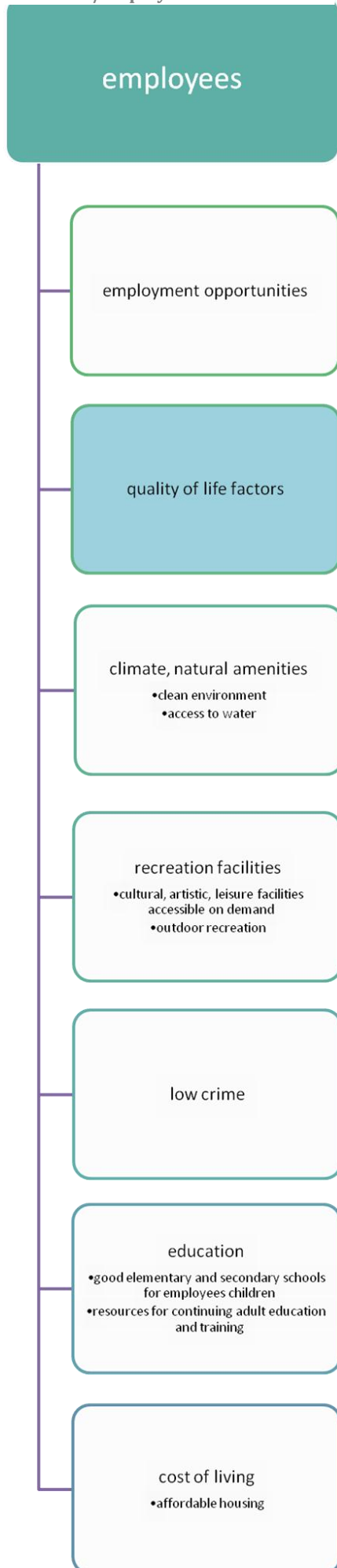
In this chapter a general approach from Location Theory is chosen in order to approach the topic of attractiveness. Location theorists argue that when trying to attract industries to settle in a certain place there are also various factors influencing them. The so called hard and soft location factors are, for example, used on the regional level when promoting business development.

At the beginning of this sub-chapter hard location factors are defined and presented. These factors, however, do not influence the location of individuals very much and therefore only play a minor role for this research. As mentioned in the introduction to the theoretical framework there is however a visible relationship between the location of industries and individuals, which depends on other factors; the so called soft location factors.

Hence, secondly, soft location factors are discussed. Here, one has to distinguish between two meanings of soft factors. On the one hand, there are researchers talking about soft factors which directly influence the location of industries, but have only an indirect influence on the individual's choice of location. On the other hand more current research focuses on soft factors, which directly influence the individual's choice of location. For this research the latter are more important and hence, form the greater part of this chapter.



3-5 Factors influencing the location of individuals/employees



3.2.1 HARD LOCATION FACTORS

In general, hard location factors are quantifiable data structure on a site and its surroundings, such as transport infrastructure, socio-demographic characteristics, political and administrative advantages and disadvantages of a situation or links to other towns. They have a strong influence on business activity. (Grabow 1995; Hahne 1995)

Hard location factors could be, for example, the accessibility of materials and work force or acceptable production costs, they can imply taxes, and the transfer costs such as transportation costs or costs for stocking. (Bürki 2006:1) Different hard location factors which influence the location of industries and which were detected in the literature, are presented in the figure to the left (see figure 3-5).

While these factors show some connection with individuals as in the quality and costs of labour force, among the hard location factors, there were none detected which also seem to be important for the settlement of individuals in a certain region. Therefore, there is no need for further discussion on the hard location factors and the focus in the following sections is on soft location factors.

3.2.2 SOFT LOCATION FACTORS

As argued before in research on location factors, there are two coexisting definitions of the term 'soft factor'. Those factors of a more qualitative kind, which influence the location of industries and do not have a direct impact on individuals are ones such as the qualification of the available personnel, cultural and institutional factors or the image of an area (Bürki 2006: 1). Furthermore, scientific infrastructure, existing clusters as well as established links to universities and government institutions can play a role here. (OECD 2011: 9) Other research also stresses the relationship between the location of industries and the attraction of highly skilled professionals.

Whereas hard location factors are of a greater importance for the location of industries, research on soft location factors focuses nowadays more on factors which influence the location of individuals. Florida et al (2001) even takes the thoughts on location factors a step further and claims:

"Firms have always located near their key factors of production. In the past, companies located near raw materials, good transportation, or low costs. So, it is not surprising that firms in today's knowledge-based economy are increasingly making location decisions based on where the talent pool is located."(Florida et al 2001: 2)

The 'talent pool' or 'high human capital individuals' as Florida also calls them, are hence the most important

location factor for knowledge-based economy. Subsequently the location of industries depends highly on factors which influence the location of labour. The mutual attraction between industries and workers, as the latter look for employment and the former for employees, also leads to the first important factor influencing the location of individuals: employment opportunities.

Furthermore, within the discussion of soft location factors, factors influencing the quality of life are deemed to be very important, as these were in the focus of most literature concerning the attraction of individuals. All other factors found in the literature can be or were embraced by this term.

QUALITY OF LIFE

As mentioned above, other research also focuses on the soft location factor or pull factor 'a better quality of life'. This factor is illustrated by component parts such as good climate and natural amenities. (Atkinson, Gottlieb 2001; Bradbury, Kodrzycki, Tannenwald 1997; De Vol 1999; Florida 2000; Goodstein 1999) While the latter can be influenced by local governments in their aim to achieve a clean environment and allowing access to water for citizens, for example, the climate as well as the existence of natural waters within a city is out of the local authority's reach. Hence some places might be more attractive than others, just because of their geographical location.

If a city can offer a wide range of natural amenities, it can also allow (outdoor) recreation facilities which, according to Florida (2000), are of particular importance to knowledge workers. Atkinson and Gottlieb also base their conclusions on this assumption and deduce that if regions want to grow economically *"they will need to ensure that people enjoy living and working there"* (2001). Recreation facilities in general, might they be of a cultural, artistic or sportive kind, attract workers and form part of the factors that account for life quality (Cohen 2000; Cortright 2001; Rondinelli 1998). Florida (2000) adds that highly skilled employees often face long hours and tight deadlines and therefore prefer places where the mentioned amenities can be accessed on demand. In the reviewed literature, two more factors were included which account for a better quality of life: Low crime rates or the feeling of personal security and the costs of living in general. The latter also includes affordable housing (for employees). (De Vol 1999; Cohen 2000)

Finally, the soft location factor of education does not only include a qualified labour force, as mentioned under the factors influencing industries, but also good elementary and secondary schools for employees' children and resources for continuing adult education and training (Atkinson, Gottlieb 2001; Cohen 2000; Glaeser, Shapiro 2001; Rondinelli 1998). Regions which focus on establishing a multifaceted and innovative educational landscape could therefore be more attractive to highly skilled professionals than other regions. This argumentation is strongly connected with the statement of Lee that a good education system is important for the attractiveness of a place, which was already stressed in the previous sub-chapter.

Conclusions

Concluding this last section, one can state firstly that the attraction of industries and the attraction of highly skilled workers is a bilateral process. While highly skilled graduates are attracted by job opportunities, industries are also attracted by the presence of a skilled labour force.

Following the argumentation of Florida (2000), one could even state that because highly skilled professionals *"have the ability to choose cities and regions that are attractive places to live as well as work"* in, for this group it is more likely that industries are going to follow to the location chosen by the individuals. The factors influencing the location of individuals can be embraced by the term creating a great 'quality of life'. This key term makes it clear that creating attractive places is a multi-faceted task, which needs interdisciplinary approaches in order to be

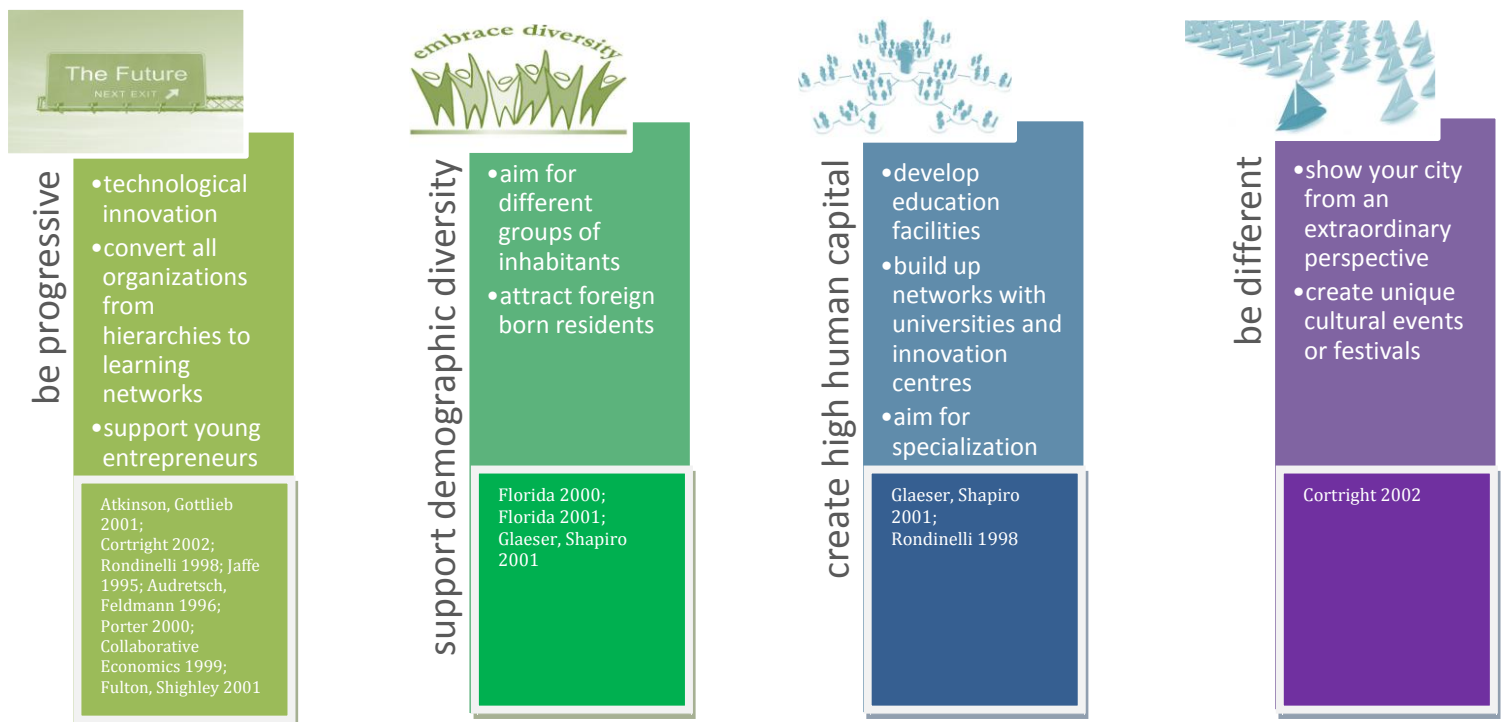
fulfilled. Local authorities should therefore aim to achieve the co-operation between different departments within or outside of the authority.

3.3 CONCLUSIONS ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides evidence, deriving from theories and research, showing that there are certain factors which attract people to or repel people from moving to locations. On the basis of the theories of Ravenstein, Lee and others, the view deriving from Migration Theory was discussed; details about push factors or soft location factors which influence individuals' choice of residence were elaborated in the second part of this chapter. Now, these discussions are brought together and lead to a conclusion. The outcome of this conclusion is working hypotheses, which are tested during the analysis of this research.

What is it hence that regions or local authorities should aim for strategically in order to attract the group of highly skilled professionals? Different approaches to the topic have been showed by reviewing and discussing theories and research from the fields of Migration and Location theory. The compilation of the answers derived from the literature review results in the following figure (see figure 3-6). The factors mentioned in this chart are explained again in the following sub-chapter.

3-6 Aspects of Attractiveness



However while trying to attract people to a certain area the authorities should not forget the danger lying within the overcrowding of a place as described by Goodstein. Looking at this theory in practice from a more critical point of view, Goodstein adds that cities like Los Angeles show amenity-based growth but at the same time show the self-limitation of this concept. He states that as people “flood into an area in search of amenities, it becomes congested, and without good planning, many of the amenities become degraded. Schools get overcrowded; crime, traffic congestion, and pollution all rise; once pristine natural environments become overcrowded.” (Goodstein 1999: 134) Local authorities need to be aware of the danger lying within the disproportional growth of areas.

How the conclusions of the theoretical framework can be connected to the research is shown in the following sub-chapter by setting up working hypotheses on how local authorities could raise the attractiveness of their city taking into account the identified factors.

3.3.1 WORKING HYPOTHESES

Working hypotheses are set up based on the findings of this chapter. These hypotheses reflect on the factors mentioned in literature and theory and connect them to the work of local authorities. The hypotheses are developed based on the four fields which have been identified: progressivity, diversity, high human capital and being different.

The first field is being progressive. Supporting technological innovation and young entrepreneurs is part of the process of becoming a progressive city. Furthermore, capturing the spirit of time by e.g. converting organizations from hierarchies to learning networks, for example, supports a progressive environment. Business development plans of a city should include the necessary information – also for small businesses – in order to start up a company or settle down in the area. Also cities should provide easy access to the relevant data for these businesses and should offer consultation and help when needed.

1) Local authorities should aim at being progressive.

While this first factor is strongly connected to the industrial sector, supporting demographic diversity is strongly related to the population of a city. According to some research the presence of different demographic groups, especially those of foreign born and homosexuals, affects the attractiveness of a city positively (Florida 2000, 2001). Hence:

2) Local authorities should support demographic diversity.

Supporting demographic diversity does not only include the presence of different demographic groups, but also creating a climate in which all different people feel at ease and welcome. In some cities this might include a longer process of re-shaping the image of an area or carrying out campaigns in order to influence the citizens' minds about certain groups of the society.

The same positive influence acknowledged for demographic diversity applies for the creation of high human capital. While one can argue that developing education facilities produces highly skilled graduates, it also attracts this group. Building up networks with universities and innovation centres is also a factor most kinds of enterprises get attracted by. The existence of universities and innovation centres as well as a developed educational landscape also attract highly skilled workers as they expect a city to provide facilities to educate their families and to receive further education themselves. (Glaeser, Shapiro 2001; Rondinelli 1998)

3) Local authorities should form the basis for the creation of high human capital.

Hence, local authorities need to include the topic of shaping the educational landscape of their city in their agendas in different fields. They should allocate an appropriate amount of money in their financial plans for education. Furthermore, the local authorities should try to establish networks among the existing facilities and promote their cooperation. The fourth and last major factor establishing an 'attractive' city is being different. This rather diffuse term means to build on a region's distinctiveness (Cortright 2002), to develop a prominent image of a region that can attract the target group.

4) Local authorities should aim at building on the region's distinctiveness.

Thus the image shaping of a region, mentioned already in working hypothesis two, is of importance here again. Local authorities should therefore work together closely with the tourist office, for example, and develop an idea of the image they want to present themselves as a city.

3.3.2 SHORT SUMMARY

The working hypotheses developed in the preceding paragraph give an idea about how local authorities could approach the challenging task of providing an attractive environment for highly skilled people. The hypotheses developed here are not supposed to give a complete picture of all the factors affecting the attractiveness of a city; they reflect the findings from the reviewed literature and form recommendations for possible approaches to the development of an attractive city instead. When shaping the attractiveness of a city, one has to make strategic considerations as in which approach to follow, but one also has to take the different factors into account, which were mentioned throughout this theory chapter. The analysis of the case studies shall complete the picture drawn here.

4 EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides an insight into the empirical work conducted throughout this research. The chapter starts off with a presentation of the case studies, followed by the analysis of different documents and findings from interviews. Hence the different topics analysed here should all provide an insight into practice. Finally all findings within the analysis are brought together and form the conclusion in chapter five. The aim within the conclusion chapter is to provide an answer for the main research question ‘In which way can local authorities influence the attractiveness of their cities for highly skilled professionals?’.

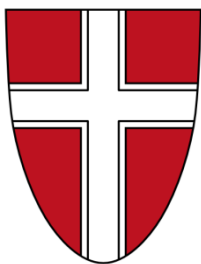
In the conclusion the research questions are answered, bringing together theory and findings from practice. Topics, which came up during this research, and which are connected to the topic, but were not directly connected to the problem formulation, are treated in the last chapter, the discussion.

4.1 PRESENTATION OF THE CASE STUDIES

This sub-chapter gives an overview of the two cities analysed within this chapter, Vienna and Hamburg. Both cities are briefly presented and some key data like population figures, gross domestic product, geographical situation and the migration rate is listed.

4.1.1 VIENNA

The city of Vienna is the capital and the largest city of Austria. At the same time Vienna is one of the nine states of Austria, the so called “Länder”. The city is located in the centre of Europe and the most Eastern part of Austria close to the borders of the neighbouring countries Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.



Facts Vienna

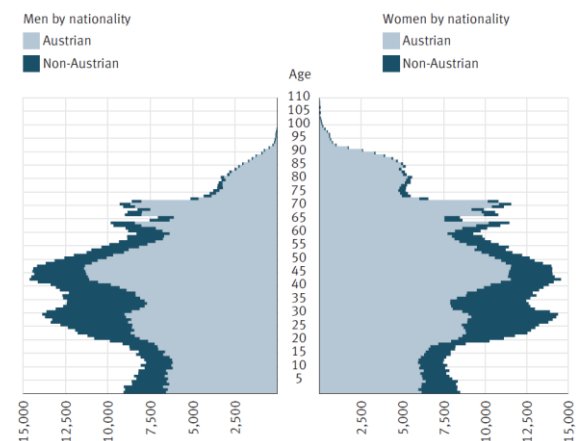
Area: 415 km²
Inhabitants: 1,71 mio.
Density: 4132 EW/km²
Unemployment rate: 8,8%
(August 2011)
GDP: 75.000 million €
Net migration: +13 951

The demographic pyramid of Vienna shows that non-Austrian citizens of Vienna are mostly between 20 and 55 years old and, hence, in a working age. As a shortfall of skilled labour is predicted, this working part of the population is of special importance for the development of the city.

Migration has a long history in Vienna. Due to its geographical location Vienna has always been a destination for migrants from their neighbouring countries. The political situation in Europe in the 1990s – the fall of the Iron Curtain (89/90), the war in Yugoslavia (91-99) and Austria's accedence to the EU in 1996 – led towards an increase in immigration towards Austria and Vienna and intensified the tense political situation present in Vienna at that time; a xenophobic touch was added to the topic of migration. (Personal communication Antalovsky 2011: 2)

In 1996, when Austria joined the European Union, the Europa Forum Wien, a centre for urban dialogue and European policy, was founded by the City as an institute “with the basic intention to give support to the Vienna city government and administration in all issues relating

4-1 Demoprahic pyramid Vienna



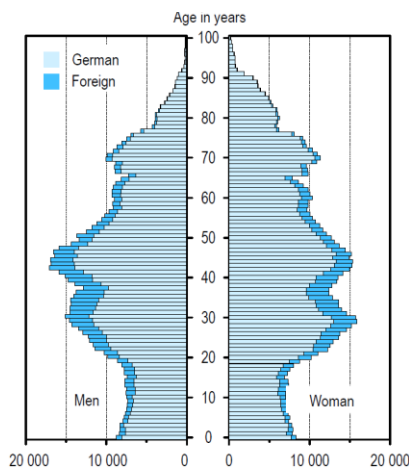
to the EU integration process and the competition between European business locations” (Europaforum 2011). The Forum worked on the topic of migration and suggested to bring the topic of integration into the local authority’s hands by constituting a department within the City Council which would only deal with questions of migration and integration. Hence the department of integration and diversity was founded. (Personal communication Antalovsky 2011: 2f)

In 2002/2003 a paradigm shift from integration policy towards an integrating diversity policy occurred and ways were looked for of how to approach the issue in Vienna. (Personal communication König 2011: 2) Together with a political shift a new basis was formed to deal with the subject. The main question at that time for the officials was how to shape the country’s migration model and immigration law. A non-party commission was desired to find new approaches. Looking at the example of Germany, which founded a similar commission to the one in Vienna in the year 2000, Vienna’s officials agreed on founding the Vienna WZK in 2009. (Ibid.) This commission is in charge of providing local politics and policy-makers with information and expertise on the topic of migration in a broad sense. Within their work, a special focus is also on mobility, diversity and integration, topics which are embraced by the term migration as they argue (Europaforum 2011).

4.1.2 HAMBURG

The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg is Germany’s second largest city following Berlin. It is, at the same time, one of the states of the Federal Republic of Germany, called “Länder”. The city is located in the Northern part of Germany, around 100 km away from the Northern Sea.

4-2 Demographic pyramid Hamburg



Facts Hamburg

Area: 755 km
Inhabitants: 1,79 mio
Density: 2369/km
Unemployment rate: 7,4% (oct. 2011)
Gdp: 88.300 million €
Net migration: +11 870



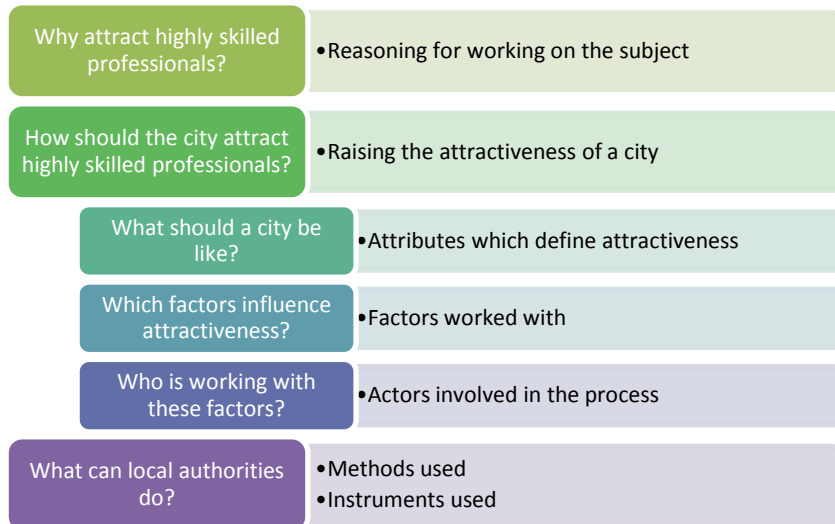
The demographic pyramid of Hamburg shows a similar picture as the one of the city of Vienna. Only due to different display formats, the pyramids seem to differ. Thus, also in the foreign population of Hamburg lies potential, as the migrant population is in the working age.

Also the city of Hamburg has a long history of migration. Compared to the information provided on Vienna, here there is only a short overview given, as the interview conducted in Hamburg did not provide any more information on the topic. People from all over the world came to work and live in Hamburg, mostly because of its port, overseas trade, and colonies. The Hanseatic city is known to be the ‘Door to the World’ (Hafengruppe Hamburg 2011). During the 16th century many people from England, the Netherlands and Portuguese Jews moved to Hamburg, whereas in the 18th century mostly French and in the 19th century Polish people came to live here. The Dutch, for example, brought new industries and high-quality working techniques, especially in the textile sector. But people were regarding immigrants with suspicion and that is why in 1792 a decree was adopted according to which people should be careful when accommodating immigrants, it was mandatory for immigrants to register and to keep the accounts. The population should observe foreigners and banks should not grant credits. (Museum der Arbeit 2011) During the 19th and 20th century millions of people from different countries and background came to Hamburg to leave for the New World. Some of them chose Hamburg as their new home and their manifold contacts contributed to the city’s wealth and diversity. (Hamburg Migration 2011)

4.2 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter the documents and interviews, which were treated within the case study, are analysed. The analysis is carried out following the five categories set up in the Methodology chapter. These five categories are connected to questions, which structure the analysis (see figure 4-3). When talking about the subject of attracting high skilled professionals, the first question which comes up is why cities should aim to achieve this. Within this analysis, answers from the reviewed cases are given, which explain the reasoning of the local authorities' reasons behind this focus.

4-3 Structure Analysis



Once the decision has been made to attract this group of people, it is discussed how to do so. Deriving from theory, the attractiveness of a city as a place to live and work is the major consideration when making the decision to migrate. Hence, it is analysed how cities can raise their attractiveness. Here, the question of which attributes really define attractiveness is raised. What a city should be like, from the point of view of local authorities and other actors within the city, is hence analysed.

Defining attributes which the city should present both internally and externally and hence forming the image of the place, are the one thing, but working on these attributes is something else. In order to work on the defined attributes, one has to identify those factors which have an influence on them. For example, if a city wants to be seen as 'a green city', the local authorities might find that public spaces, green spaces, forests and water play a part when developing this attribute.

After having identified the different factors, which are relevant to the development of an attractive city, local authorities should aim to inform themselves about the current state of development of each of these factors. Subsequently, the actors within the city's environment who work on those factors need to be identified. Accordingly, actors who work directly or indirectly on the field of attractiveness are identified and their work is, exemplarily, analysed. Within the analysis of the work of different actors, methods and instruments are spotlighted. This is not done in the form of a complete and evaluative comparison between the cases, moreover, in the form of certain key points, where good approaches or difficulties are detected, which are important experiences which need to be shared in order to facilitate the work of other authorities on the topic.

4.2.1 WHY ATTRACT HIGHLY SKILLED PROFESSIONALS?

In the two cases studied, the local authorities made the decision to focus on the group of highly skilled professionals. This is a decision based on the political will. During the conducted interviews, it turned out that focusing on the 'best minds and best hands', as the executive city councillor for integration of Vienna calls the high skilled workers, was a political decision, but it is also a decision made outside of Austria (see quote to the right).

Why is it that this choice is also made in other cities within Europe? The political leaders of Hamburg state that "the ongoing demographic development, the qualitative requirements of the labour market and the growth of certain employment branches altogether lead to a significant labour demand" (translated from Hamburg 2005: 1). This demand, which has also been explained in the introduction, would not only apply to the city of Hamburg, but also to many other places worldwide. To ensure the economic prosperity of a city, qualified labour is needed. (Hamburg 2005: 1)

"Yes, it is a political decision, and as I said, one that is taken in the pan-European context as well." (translated from Personal communication König 2011: 3)

Hence, the main reason for attracting highly skilled professionals is to ensure that the engine of the city, the economic sector, keeps on running. A lack of labour would lead to a shortfall of production or would hinder businesses from working in a profit-oriented manner. This is also stated by an interviewee in Hamburg, saying that especially highly skilled professionals are more likely to occupy key functions within an enterprise and therefore special attention must be paid to their attraction to keep business prosperous. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 4)

In their work the WZK argues that the mobility among highly skilled professionals is increasing and goes along with "a general shift in migration patterns since the beginning of this century; away from traditional, work migration of lower-skilled people towards forms of transnational, often also temporary mobility, which takes place across all levels of qualification and increasingly within the enlarged and enlarging European Union" (translated from WZK 2010a: 3; WZK 2010c: 4). A raise in mobility equates to a higher probability of highly skilled workers to migrate to other places to find work. This again fosters competition between cities in order to attract the target group. "The international competition for highly skilled workers is heating up", according to the authorities in Hamburg (translated from Hamburg 2004: 23).

To compete well in this 'war for talents', a term originally deriving from the field of economics where Ed Michael – director of the consulting firm McKinsey - introduced this expression in 1998, and to keep up with other cities, local authorities thought about how to attract a greater number of highly skilled labourers to their cities.

The agreement of both cities' political leaders on the reasons for focusing on the attraction of high skilled labour really seems to emerge from a general movement. Policy-makers worldwide agree on the existence of a decline of population in certain countries and an increase of the knowledge-based industrial sector. This leads to a lack of high skilled labour, especially in those countries with a declining population. Hence, cities worldwide try to attract those people, who have an excellent education and are highly skilled. The political leaders of Hamburg infer from this competitive situation that the city of Hamburg needs to qualify the local labour as well as attract qualified migrants from near and far. (Hamburg 2005: 1)

As a result of the local authorities' considerations on attracting highly qualified labour, they decided to raise the attractiveness of their cities, especially for the target group (see quote to the left). But what does increasing the attractiveness of a city mean? One of the local authorities' viewpoints is, as quoted here, that in order to compete well in attracting the target

“Hamburg’s function as a metropolis has to be fostered, in order to court qualified professionals from Germany, Europe and the world and to attract new businesses to Hamburg. In order to be in the lead in the international competition for the “best minds”, we will promote a labour-market-orientated migration and the integration of those migrants already living in Hamburg.” (Hamburg 2004: 20)

group, migration and integration policies have to be adapted. The introduction of a labour-market-orientated migration system is one of the instruments developed and adjusted by the local authorities in order to do so. Later in this chapter, this instrument is analysed with regard to the city of Vienna. Apart from regulations and employment opportunities, which play a part in the attractiveness of a city too, other criteria which influence the attractiveness need to be defined.

4.2.2 WHAT SHOULD A CITY BE LIKE?

The question of how to define the attractiveness of a city is one to which one can respond in manifold ways. Some people might say a city has to be safe, others argue the availability of green space is the most important and for others again, the night-life of a city might be of particular importance, as discussed in the theory chapter. The discussion among local authorities, planners from different fields, economists and others embraces also various areas. However, all the different actors share the opinion that the attractiveness of a city does not depend on one factor alone, but also on the interplay of a variety of criteria.

In their image brochure, the city of Hamburg includes several attributes which they consider as being representative of an attractive city (Hamburg Marketing 2007: 1ff). Also in the city of Vienna, attributes are phrased (WZK 2011a: 15, 41). According to the statements of the three sources mentioned above, a city should be

- green,
- safe,
- diverse,
- and dynamic,
- globally connected,
- economically attractive, solid and a creative business location,
- a living space with a high quality of life,
- and should exude an international, cosmopolitan, open-minded, liberal and welcoming flair.

Special stress is also put on the latter attribute of the city exhaling open-mindedness and a welcoming flair by the Vienna Immigration Commission. As written in the presentation of the case, the stance taken up on the topic of migration by the Viennese population is rather negative; hence this topic has more importance. The initiator of the commission for immigration argues for an “open and respectful climate” (WZK 2011b: 3) and reasons that “[...] one thing is certain: the ‘best minds and hands’ will only choose those cities and countries, where they feel welcome and accepted” (Ibid.).

Those attributes, which were present in the cases, are rather broad terms which need further definition by looking at their use in the case studies. Each of the terms embraces a number of factors which influence it. Hence, there are also numerous actors who are preoccupied with the topic of attractiveness, as they deal with these factors in their daily work. The attributes mentioned by the local authorities coincide with different fields of work within a city. Among these factors which shape the attractiveness of the city, the marketing agency in

Hamburg identified the fields of townscape, gastronomy and culture as well as housing and infrastructure (Hamburg Marketing 2009: 4).

One could take, as a general example, how 'green' is a city seen being. This attribute could be connected with the townscape as well as the environs and could also relate to the presence of water, forests, parks and other open spaces. Furthermore, as an attribute defining attractiveness for individuals, the accessibility of these spaces could play an important role. In another sense of the word 'green', as in eco-friendly, the infrastructure could also play a role as some kinds of infrastructure, such as the existence of bike-paths and public transport, might be seen as more ecological than others.

Throughout this analysis the focus lies on three of the attributes mentioned above: cities being open, being dynamic and cities offering a good quality of life. These three attributes are defined by a high number of different factors and various actors are involved in their development. These attributes are chosen, because there are concrete examples and evidence from practice, which also offer a good insight into the work of the local authorities in these cases. Hence, a focus on these attributes should allow the greatest part of the topics the local authorities focused on to be covered.

4.2.3 WHICH FACTORS INFLUENCE ATTRACTIVENESS?

In a presentation by the Hamburg Marketing agency (2009: 4), the relationship between the general term of attractiveness and the factors influencing it are allegorised as a cause and effect relationship, where the effect is the perception of an individual of finding a place attractive, and the causes are composed of the interplay of various factors.

According to the political leaders of Hamburg, the most important factors leading to a growing and attractive city are, among a strong economy, the population and the quality of life. (Hamburg 2004: 3) These three key words are related to the attributes chosen for the analysis. A city with a strong economy, and which aims to promote the prosperous economic development of the city, supports the provision of new jobs, as flourishing businesses might expand.

As economics are subject to fluctuations, a strong economy is identified by its ability to adapt to these dynamics. Dynamic industries imply changes over time, which "are reflected in the behaviour of markets, businesses, and the general economy" (Business dictionary 2011). Being dynamic as a business or as a city, hence, implies the ability to adapt to new developments. Especially local authorities are often seen as rather fixed administrative machineries, which cannot easily implement changes.

For a city, the dynamics which need to be reflected differ from the ones industries focus on. General developments like the demographic change of the population or the growth of the knowledge-based business sector are, hence, the kind of dynamics local authorities need to focus on. In addition, the general movement of cities wanting to attract highly skilled professionals is a dynamic taking place. The decision to deal with these topics shows the will to be dynamic. This does not always imply reacting to a movement in the same way other cities have reacted, but also means reflecting on the situation in one's own city and balancing and handling the way in which implementations can take place as is necessary. The term dynamic also has connotations with being modern or setting trends. This, again, would imply adapting to changes, but, in addition, going one step further and being the city or the individual who starts the change.

In the case studies the necessity of being dynamic and implementing innovative approaches as well as fostering innovation in the city was stated. From the actor's point of view who were analysed within the case studies though, this factor was not explicitly mentioned. One adaption to a current development could, however, be seen in both cases: The local authorities decided to take part in the competition of attracting highly skilled professionals to their cities. The approaches chosen in order to do so are different, but both cities need to adapt to the changes.

The population, as the second factor leading to a growing and attractive city, is a quite a complex factor. It implies population characteristics of different kinds. The attribute chosen for the analysis, which is related to this factor, is being open. What is an open city?

The term open can be interpreted in various ways. It could mean open for migration as from a legal point of view; the right for highly skilled professionals to migrate to a city. Or open as in the open-mindedness of the population in their acceptance of migration as well as in their behaviour towards migrants. Hence, being open could be defined as being tolerant towards other groups amongst the population, showing tolerance for their traditions, and their lifestyle. The executive director of the Hamburg Welcome Center also argues for open and tolerant cities (see quote to the right), migration towards a city she argues, is a sign for a city being successful.

The cities that are nowadays internationally successful and popular and which are booming are always open cities. These are always cities that, so to speak, deal well with immigration and somehow get it channeled. So there is no example of a functioning, thriving city that has no immigration. I would set up as a hypothesis. (Translated from Personal Communication Steller 2011: 9)

In the city of Vienna, there is a special focus on the topic of openness of the population. As described in the presentation of the case, despite the long history of migration to the city, parts of the population still see migration as being something negative, have a negative attitude towards opening the city for migration or for living among migrants. The fact that the population's attitude is still problematic becomes obvious when looking at an example within the city. In Vienna, local experts on the topics of migration and integration did not agree with the politicians and local authorities who wanted to focus on the attraction of highly skilled professionals. They argued that "this [the attraction of the best minds] is what everyone wants in Europe, every city wants it and that is okay [...] but the question is 'How do I keep the [working] cycle and the entire factory of a city running?' and there, where there are not only top positions" (translated from Personal communication Antalovsky 2011: 3).

Hence, the interviewed experts reckon, the city should not only be open for those migrants working in top positions, but for all different kinds of people and qualifications. This is the message they forwarded to the politicians. Apparently the politicians in Vienna, however, did not want to spread a message among the population, that all kinds of migrants are welcome to the city. The imbalance within the city's society, which can result from just focusing on high skilled labour, was "what they concealed then" (translated from Personal communication Antalovsky 2011: 3). It might well be that the politicians' aim was not to lose or rather to canvass voters; especially in a city like Vienna, where the image of the migrant population is rather negative as some long-time residents still do not see migration as part of the history of the city and even less as a necessity for the prosperous development of the city.

Being an open city can also imply the factor of diversity: diversity among the population, cultural diversity or implying the diversity principle in business. Diversity in general stands for dissimilarity and variance between things or people. Among a city's population this can mean differences in gender or ethnicity, religion or other aspects. Open cities would tolerate and accept different groups among the population.

The local authorities in both Vienna and Hamburg agree that migration in general has to be seen as a chance. "We strongly believe that the attractiveness of a city is founded on diversity as well. And this diversity never arises from a self, diversity always arises from a mixture" (translated from Personal Communication Penz 2011: 5), is what a representative of the Tourism Agency in Vienna claims. For the local authorities, diversity is like a pool of potential and local authorities have to make a start and switch from a problem-orientated approach of focusing on the difficulties which could come up when migration to a city takes place, to a more

potential-orientated one, where the potential of the migrant population is the focal point (Personal communication Steller 2011: 9).

Putting the idea of diversity into practice, one of the interviewees stated that the diversity principle which has already been applied in economics for a long time should also be applied in the local authorities themselves (Personal Communication Antalovsky 2011: 4). The diversity policies of the city of Vienna aim at making public institutions become a reflection of the composition of society, hence people with a migration background should be employed in the public sector (Personal Communication König 2011: 8). The idea of workplace diversity derives from economics, but some local authorities have already applied the idea in their offices. The quote to the right defines work place diversity. One can see that here the definition of diversity is understood in a broader sense.

Definition:

Diversity in this context covers gender, age, language, ethnicity, cultural background, sexual orientation, religious belief and family responsibilities. Diversity also refers to the other ways in which people are different, such as educational level, life experience, work experience, socio-economic background, personality and marital status. Workplace diversity involves recognising the value of individual differences and managing them in the workplace. (Australian Public Service Commission 2011: 7)

Furthermore, this understanding of diversity takes into account the ‘value of individual differences’, an advantage which is also the basic idea behind diversity in Vienna: “We have a treasure. The diversity of people, languages and their experiences, this is simply a treasure which should be raised. This is also a target of our actions and our policies” (translated from Personal Communication König 2011: 6). The local authorities in Vienna, thus, seem to attempt to reframe diversity in a more positive manner; this might be due to their wish of changing the population’s perception on migration and the migrant population.

In the attraction of highly- skilled professionals, this factor becomes important when new migrants arrive in a city. Implementing workplace diversity in the local authorities can also lead to a better understanding of the customers’ needs and to improved services (APSC 2011: 8). If newly-arriving migrants see that people with a migratory background are both a part of the normal picture as well as being represented in local authorities, they could feel more at ease. Furthermore, people who have themselves once migrated to a place, have a deeper understanding of the questions and needs of newly-arriving migrants.

Making newly-arriving migrants feel at ease is yet another factor, which plays an important role in the attractiveness of a city for this group and reflects the openness of a city as well. The main strategy here is to create a welcoming feeling, for example, in the institutions where the migrants are obliged to go in order to register. In order to achieve this goal, the local authorities in Hamburg developed a general principle for the city: ‘Welcome to Hamburg’. The aim of this project is to improve the general conditions in the city in order to develop an immigration-friendly environment and, hence, to raise the attractiveness of the city for the target group. (Hamburg 2004: 4) The methods and instruments used here and also by the local authorities in Vienna in order to achieve this goal are analysed in a later section of this chapter.

The factor of forming a welcoming society for new arrivals is also regarded as being important by other experts. During a three-day conference with attendees from all over the world which took place in Hamburg in November 2011, the experts in all the three different panels came to the conclusion that it is very important that the arriving migrants feel welcomed and at ease. This would include the opportunity of finding a good job for the partner as well (dual-career), for example. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 6)

Moreover the members of the staff at the Hamburg Welcome Center, an institution in charge of dealing with immigrants, are convinced that new citizens who feel welcomed in a place are the best marketing potential a city could have as they would be personally and authentically promoting the city by talking to their friends and families about their experiences. (Personal communication Steller 2011: 6)

The idea of presenting a welcoming atmosphere depends on the approach chosen by the local authorities and every employee himself. For one of the interviewees in Vienna attractiveness, in the sense of welcoming new migrants, depends on “whether I offer someone a potpourri, a bouquet of flowers, so to speak, where I say: Hey, this you can use this [...]. Or if I say, well, you are arriving here so let me see how often you stumble” (translated from Personal Communication Antalovsky 2011: 6). The image of a bouquet of flowers used here stands for the various services a local authority could offer. The service orientation towards migrants is, hence,

“Vienna is certainly one of the world’s cities with the highest quality of life. With very, very diverse cultural offerings, with, from the environmental point of view, many green areas and a very great public transportation system, with many international institutions, and of course education. And [Vienna is] also a very safe city, you have to say. This is certainly something which scores highly for many.” (translated from Personal Communication König 2011: 3)

important to their feelings on arrival. In both Vienna and Hamburg, there are approaches on providing special services to arriving migrants in general and especially for highly skilled professionals.

To provide this welcoming feeling for new arrivals, local authorities in different cities came to very similar conclusions: introducing websites as well as service facilities in place, which should provide the immigrant with the necessary information about the city and its facilities and should also support the people when

it comes to the required paper work. The institutions introduced in the cases in order to facilitate the arrival of migrants are presented and analysed in the section about instruments in this chapter.

Apart from formal ways local authorities use to try to create a welcoming atmosphere, the same feeling can also be created by informal social networks on arrival. This could be any network, organisation or club which members were also new to the city once and hence can provide some information for a good start. A representative of the authority for integration in Vienna states, that with these informal social networks, newly-arriving migrants already have a point from where they can start. The knowledge which these networks can provide facilitates the arrival a lot. (Personal Communication König 2011: 4)

The third attribute, on which this analysis focuses, is the attribute of cities providing a good quality of life. Aiming for a high quality of life means embracing multiple other factors. Consequently, the city’s understanding of what defines a high quality of life is crucial for the development of this factor. The reviewed documents as well as the interviews gave some insight into the definition of quality of life in the opinion of the local authorities.

In the city of Vienna a high quality of life is defined as being a product resulting from high security, environmental and social standards combined with relatively moderate living costs. The high security is defined here, just as explained in the theory before, by a low crime rate and the personal feeling of safety. These factors, according to WZK, should be accompanied by other attributes such as an international character and vitality of the city. Furthermore, in Vienna, the city is promoted as being a robust and multifarious business location as well as a university city, which is also a centre of research and innovation. This definition is rounded up by adding the image of Vienna as an international cultural metropolis to it. (WZK 2011a: 15, 41)

The main factors mentioned here are, hence, a high level of security within the city, high environmental and social standards and moderate living costs. Some of these aspects are also

phrased in the interviews, when reflecting on factors which influence the attractiveness of the city (see quote above). Other factors, such as the high environmental standard are defined in more detail by mentioning the availability of green areas and public transportation systems as criteria which are included in this factor.

In the city of Hamburg the political leaders see the availability of green, open spaces as well as the accessibility of water as two very important criteria. Providing natural amenities is, according to them, a key factor for the quality of life of a city. (Hamburg 2004: 4) In addition to these criteria, they define “attractive and manifold offers in [the fields of] culture, sports and entertainment” (Hamburg 2004: 4) as shaping the quality of life of a city.

When looking at the group of highly-skilled professionals one can most likely find statements saying that this group normally is confronted with long working hours and is usually quite engrossed with their occupation. Hence, the factors defining a good quality of life are of special importance for this group as they are looking for a good work-life-balance as well. Thus, one could say that a city with a good quality of life should also be rich in amenities for leisure activities, which come along with the access to water and green areas as well as a rich cultural scene.

The high social standards mentioned as another factor of a high quality of life, include the definition of social standards in terms of fair social and labour law conditions, which need to be complied with in practice as well. Migrants, especially those who come from less developed countries, might have a different image of what working conditions can be like and expect, when coming to countries like Germany and Austria, to find more decent working conditions. Social standards can also include working on the provision of social services in a city in general as well as, for example, the further development of the education system of a city further. A good education system is also an important criterion for highly skilled professionals, as they are likely to aim at procuring a good education for their families as well (Personal Communication Antalovsky 2011: 5).

The cost of living in a city is defined as the amount of money which is needed to pay for accommodation, shopping for essential goods, culture and education, leisure, entertainment, holidays and other expenses. They mostly depend on the economics of a city. Local authorities can try to influence these costs by, for example, the subvention of certain fields. The social standards as well as the costs of living in a city are considered as relevant within the case studies. It has, however, not been analysed in how far the local authorities regulate other factors influencing on these as, for example, local authorities regulating the housing market in order to keep affordable housing available.

One can already see from these examples from the case studies that a high quality of life is a term with a multifaceted definition. Dealing with the improvement of the quality of life in a city therefore means keeping various factors in view at the same time. Here it could be of special importance to bundle up the different activities in the connected fields, in order to have an overview of all the ongoing developments and to be able to make use of synergies.

4.2.4 WHAT CAN LOCAL AUTHORITIES DO?

In order to work with the different factors, one has to identify the actors who work in the according fields. Methods and instruments used by local authorities to approach the topic of developing an attractive environment in general and specifically for the target group of highly skilled professionals are presented and analysed in this chapter. During the analysis of the cases five main actors were identified: the department for migration and integration and the Vienna Immigration Commission, the Alien's Authority in Hamburg (respectively the Hamburg Welcome Center) and the marketing agencies of both cities. Examples of their work, which are connected to attributes or factors set up before, are analysed in the following sections.

Examples from practice

While the department for migration and integration follows an interesting approach in monitoring diversity and integration, the Vienna Immigration Commission worked further on the national plan of introducing a criteria-led immigration system to the country. In the meantime in the city of Hamburg, the migration of highly skilled professionals to the city has been fostered by converting one of the Alien's authorities of the city into the 'Hamburg Welcome Center'. In both Hamburg and Vienna, the topic of marketing and branding is omnipresent in the publications. Hence, the focus is on the influence of marketing strategies and on the image-shaping of a city.

Criteria-led immigration policies

In order to attract highly skilled professionals, one has to take the legal framework into account, which could preclude certain groups from coming to the city. In Austria, as already mentioned briefly, the decision was made on a national level to establish the so called 'red-white-red-card', a concept similar to the American 'green card' concept, which should allow criteria-led labour migration to Austria with a special focus on highly skilled professionals. The Vienna Immigration Commission (WZK) continued its work on the national plan to introduce a regulated immigration law to the country. The commission then gave the local government detailed advice on how to define the different criteria.

The WZK was originally initiated in Vienna in order to provide the local decision-makers with information and expertise in connection with the general field of immigration and the political aims connected with this field. During their work on the topic, the experts decided to rephrase their task and to frame it with the terms 'mobility, diversity and integration' instead. The work of the commission is quite dynamic and responds to developments in the country as well as in the European context. When the national plan to introduce a criteria-led immigration policy was announced, the commission responded as a consequence to this idea in their publications.

The criteria-led immigration policy in the form of the red-white-red card is based on three different pillars, which allow the migration of highly qualified professionals to Austria. The first pillar is for very highly skilled migrants, the second pillar for highly qualified workers in occupations in which a future shortfall is predicted, and the third pillar is for medium and highly skilled key workers in all industries that are in demand in the labour market and for which no domestic labour force is available. (WZK 2011a: 10)

Migrants belonging to the first group could, according to this model, immigrate even if there is no job-offer available for them at the moment. For migrants belonging to the second and third groups, a specific demand on the Austrian labour market has to be expressed by employers. (Ibid.) In addition to the grouping of migrants, a point system is introduced which rates the personal criteria of the migrants. This system is more complex for migrants in group one. (WZK 2011a: 11)

The members of the Vienna Immigration Commission criticise the fact that the presented model "falls short when it comes to fulfilling the overall aim of converting Austria into an attractive destination for internationally mobile people, who are needed because of their skills" (WZK 2011a: 11). The reason for this criticism can be found in the "restrictive, detailed regulations" (Ibid: 12), which do not allow "broad possibilities for migration in the highly skilled sector" (Ibid.).

In an interview with a member of the commission it was stated that the concept of the red-white-red card was seen critically by the members. "When the [introduction of the] red-white-red card was discussed in Austria, we were thinking, well, one can either welcome someone or one does the so-called not-inviting invitation" (translated from Personal Communication Antalovsky 2011: 5). The new system was apparently not seen as being inviting

people to come to Austria. Instead of really fostering migration, the regulations set up by the national level were regarded as being too restrictive and exclusive.

In general, the commission sets up three conditions for the success of a criteria-led immigration system. Firstly, the immigration policy needs to be welcoming and to actively promote migration. Secondly, the host society needs to accept the migrants and, thirdly, the tool of a criteria-led immigration system should be used actively as an economic and locational policy tool. (WZK 2011a: 18ff) Actively promoting migration to Austria does include setting up a strategy to raise the degree of popularity of Austria as a possible destination. Furthermore, the attractiveness of Austria for the group of highly skilled professionals has to be increased. The main factor here is to communicate the advantages of living and working in Austria to the target group. (WZK 2011a: 18f) As the city of Vienna is the number one destination for migration within Austria, the efforts on the national level affect directly the city itself.

Furthermore, acceptance in the host society is a factor which has been already discussed in this report. Concerning this point, the WZK states that leadership is needed in order to change the population's opinion about migration. This political leadership shall convey the message to the population that international mobility is a normal part of society and that migration is needed for the development and enrichment of the city. (WZK 2011a: 19) The use of a criteria-led immigration system as a policy tool has not been discussed yet in this paper. The most important statement from the WZK concerning this point is that well-defined aims for the economic and overall development of the city as a business location can be applied to the immigration system. In this way, the local authorities can foster the development of a certain industrial branch or technology. In order to align the criteria used for the immigration system with the aims for the economic development, a coordinating unit at the interface of migration and economic policies is needed. (WZK 2011a: 19f)

All in all, one can conclude that well-defined criteria for a criteria-led immigration policy which are in alignment with the economic aims of the city can, together with the promotion of the location as a destination for highly skilled professionals, lead to demand-oriented immigration. The national immigration system has, furthermore, direct influence on the flow of migration not only towards the country, but also towards the city of Vienna, as the capital is the most popular destination for migration. Therefore, the local authorities in Vienna have a great interest in shaping this immigration system in a most favourable way for them. By communicating the city's needs and demands to the national level, the system might be adapted in favour of, for example, the needs of Vienna's labour market.

Diversity and Integration Monitoring

In order to work on factors influencing the attractiveness of a city, one needs to get to know the status quo for each of these factors. Only when the strengths and weaknesses are known will it be possible to set up a strategy which can be followed. Besides the official statistics which provide, for example, demographic data, the city of Vienna introduced the tool of diversity and integration monitoring. This tool provides detailed data on demographics, immigration and different aspects of the integration process of migrants. It was set up in order to measure the success of the introduction of the concept of workplace diversity and, furthermore, in order to provide the local authority with relevant data about the integration of the migrant population.

The tool consists of two parts: the integration monitor and the diversity monitor. While the integration monitor provides information about the status quo and the development in society, the diversity monitor focuses on measures and activities of the City Administration. (Vienna 2010: 4) According to the city of Vienna, "the term 'integration' stands for equal participation of all population groups in the central areas of social life" (Vienna 2010: 5). The integration monitor is supposed to cover various areas connected with the topic of integration; this includes information concerning the legal status of the population, the education level or the social and political participation of the Viennese population. (Ibid.)

As diversity is one criterion which plays a role in determining the openness of a city, this second part of the integration and diversity monitor of the City of Vienna is explained a little more in this analysis. The diversity monitor is the result of a survey in several departments and organisations within the Vienna City Administration. Thirty departments and organisations were included in the survey, which mainly consisted of qualitative interviews with senior officials. (Vienna 2010: 6) The diversity monitor “displays the activities of the City of Vienna in its own sphere of competence, thus presenting a comprehensive overview of the development of integration-oriented diversity policies” (Vienna 2010: 6). As a result of the survey, the diversity monitor shows that even in 2009, five years after the paradigm shift from integration policies towards diversity policies, there are still clear differences in the implementation of diversity management among the departments and organisations. The bodies of the local authority which were studied can be assigned to three different groups, depending on the state of implementation of diversity policies in their organisation or department. (Vienna 2010: 12f)

First of all, there is the group of experienced departments and organisations, which account for one fifth of all analysed administrative bodies. Departments and organisations aligned to this group already have experience in managing diversity and are evaluating and developing their concepts. (Vienna 2010: 14) The second group consists of departments and organisations which implemented first measures or initiated pilot projects in the areas of intercultural services, customer relations and human resource development (Ibid.). The third and last group, then, are those departments and organisations which “are in still in an initial orientation phase” (Ibid.) and have therefore not yet implemented any measures within their organisations.

The city of Vienna draws the conclusion, based on these results, that there are four key challenges for the future integration-oriented diversity policies. They see these challenges in the fields of human resource development, communication, networking and impact analysis. According to the city of Vienna “the employee structure of the City Administration is not yet an accurate reflection of the Viennese population” (Vienna 2010: 15) and there should therefore be a focus on hiring and supporting public employees with a migration background. In the field of communication, the city comes to the conclusion that the existence of a diverse society also needs to be communicated per means of pictures, communication channels, and the choice of language and the contents of publications. (Ibid.) While the field of communication aims at an external audience, the topic of networking is primarily thought to be for the exchange of knowledge among the local authority’s departments and organisations in order to foster the implementation of diversity management (Ibid.).

Lastly, the impact analysis, is mentioned as a key challenge, because the city would like the different departments and organisations not only to implement measures, but also to analyse the effects of these measures. Only by analysing the impact of the measures, the city of Vienna argues, could the measures be improved and adjusted. (Vienna 2010: 15)

When working on the attribute of developing an open city, diversity is a factor defining this attribute. In order to work on this factor, the status quo needs to be surveyed. The integration and diversity monitor of the city of Vienna is a tool which can be used to measure this status quo and to go beyond the pure measurement of the current status. The tool allows the illustration of the success of a city in implementing diversity management as well as in working on the integration of migrants in the city. As the tool has just recently been implemented, its success cannot be discussed yet. For the city officials in Vienna, however, the introduction of the tool helped to draw attention to the necessity of implementing the concept of workplace diversity also among the departments of the local authority in order for the local authorities themselves to live up to their aim of ‘embracing diversity’.

The Hamburg Welcome Center

Another factor defining the openness of a city is whether or not the city provides a welcoming atmosphere for newly-arriving migrants. In the city of Hamburg the local politicians initiated the programme 'Welcome to Hamburg', designed to shape the attractiveness of the city for the migration of "highly skilled professionals, their families, of investors, creative people and talents" (Hamburg 2004: 4). This programme is basically based on three pillars: the improvement of the legal framework for migration, the opening of the Hamburg Welcome Center and the amelioration of integration measures for migrants already living in Hamburg.

In this analysis, the idea behind and the work of the Hamburg Welcome Center (HWC) is analysed. The HWC is legally considered to be a standard Alien's Authority, which offers services to potential new inhabitants in general and focuses especially on services for highly skilled professionals. It is also a service point for businesses and investors. (Hamburg 2004: 23)

"That takes a lot of the time budget. That is why we said, we should rather do it only bilingual. More languages we just could not manage. We have, as I said, almost no capacities for that. But then we thought, well, what we can offer is at least updated and also of a compact size. And then you just link a lot." (translated from Personal Communication Steller 2011: 10)

The welcome centre consists of an information centre and a website, both offering information about life and work in the city of Hamburg (Hamburg 2006: 1). In the welcome centre, as it is legally an Alien's Authority, newly-arriving migrants can also take care of all the necessary paperwork for registration and work permits. The welcome centre offers a service which is described as following the 'one-stop-shop' principle. It facilitates the migration process for the arriving migrants as they do not have to go to all kinds of different authorities in order to get a legal permit to live and work in the city. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 1f) With its location just next to the city hall and the main square in Hamburg, the welcome centre is also easily accessible by any kind of transport.

Furthermore, all the facilities of the welcome centre are bilingually available in German and English. This service also aims to facilitate the migration process for the target group. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 1f) In Vienna, where an information centre slightly different to the one in Hamburg was also founded, the first consultations take place in the mother tongue of the arriving migrant. This is done "with the aim of saving the people's precious time, facilitating their start [in Vienna] and helping [them] getting access to the important information and further contact points" (translated from Personal Communication König 2011: 5). Prior to the foundation of the Hamburg Welcome Centre, this was also the case in Hamburg. In the beginning of the 2000s, the officials decided to only offer the services in German and English; a decision made in order not to overload the welcome centre with work. According to the executive director of the centre, this also allows the staff of the centre to keep the information up-to-date and to link the available information on the website with other pages (see quote to the right).

Clearly the one and the other approach have their assets and drawbacks. On the one hand, offering primary information services in the mother tongue increases the probability of migrants coming to the office, as the obstacle of not being able to communicate in the language is not applicable anymore. On the other hand, offering services in many different languages does also mean a greater workload and additional costs for the centre and information is less likely to be updated in all the different languages at the same time. Just offering a bilingual service, then again, could also lead to the exclusion of some people who cannot communicate in either of the two languages offered and who are therefore not likely to come to the centre. On the one hand, overcoming the obstacle is here a lot harder here; on the other hand information might be kept up-to-date more easily. Furthermore, working in the native language of the country and offering

English additionally, as a standard business language, should include the majority of the interested migrants, especially when they are part of the target group.

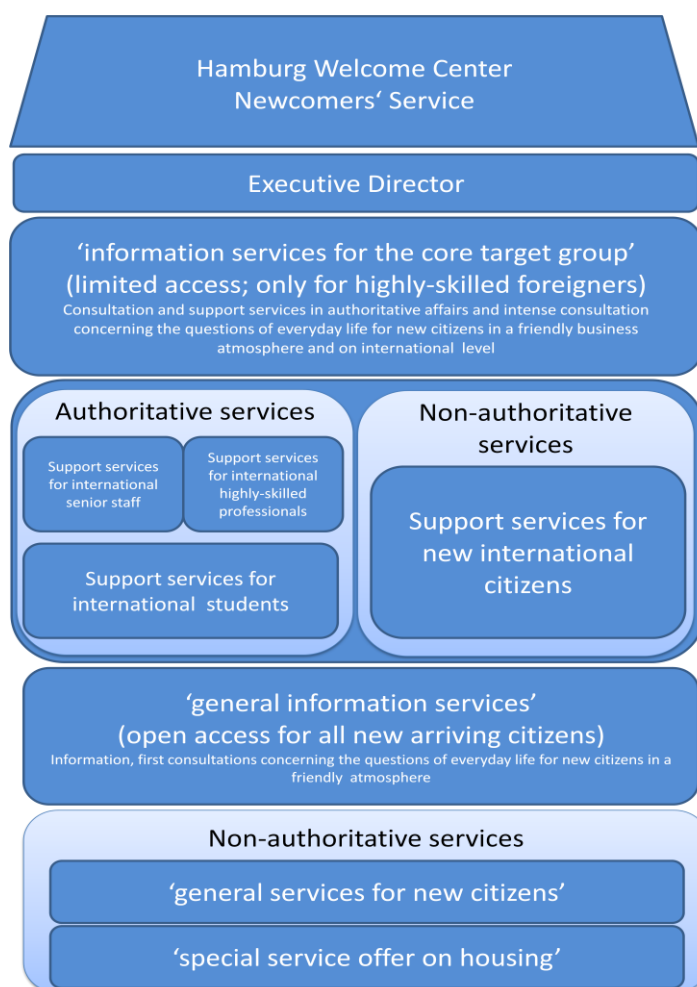
In Hamburg, the offered service depends on the kind of client coming to the welcome centre. According to a paper published by the senate in Hamburg on the details of the organisation of the Hamburg Welcome Center, the overall information services shall be available for everyone interested. The group of international migrants, then again, has access to ulterior information and services of a non-authoritative kind. Finally, international senior staff, international scientists and highly skilled professionals as well as international students can benefit from the full service of the centre. This full service includes going through the authoritative procedures as described in the last paragraph. (Hamburg 2005:2ff) The following figure shows an overview of the organisation of the welcome centre as well of the services on offer.

As highly skilled professionals are a special target group for the welcome centre, the centre offers more services and individual appointments for this group (Hamburg 2006: 2). The offer of individual appointments forms the outward impression that the work of the welcome centre is very customer-focused; in an interview with the director of the Hamburg Welcome Center, however, it turned out that fixing a date allows the staff in the centre to work more efficiently. When the client gets in contact with the centre in order to fix a date, a first contact is established, which allows the staff in the centre to pass on some initial information about the necessary papers and forms which need to be brought to the appointment, for example, in order to achieve the most fluent and unproblematic workflow possible. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 5)

This method of offering to offering an appointment for highly skilled professionals is an approach which “is more enjoyable, because the clients are very satisfied and hence, the staff is satisfied too, because they have the feeling that they are really offering good services” (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 5). One can see that the executive director of the welcome centre is very satisfied with the work of the centre and the approach they are following.

Apart from the services offered within the welcome centre, the centre is also obliged to arrange some other activities. First of all, there is another group of clients they have to serve, the indirect clients like relocation agencies or real-estate agents. (Hamburg 2006: 4) The decision to pay special attention to this group was made because - as these agents also get in touch with newly-arriving migrants – they can work as multipliers for the information offered by the Hamburg Welcome Centre. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 2)

4-4 Structure of the HWC



Lastly, the welcome centre also offers public events, such as the monthly meeting of the Welcome Club. The meetings of this club are of an informal kind and include such activities as canoeing or visiting museums. (Personal Communication Steller 2011: 2) These activities serve the communication concept set up by the political leaders for the centre and which is carried out by the Hamburg Marketing agency in cooperation with the Hamburg Welcome Centre and the Authority for work and business. The concept aims at raising the degree of popularity of the city as being immigration-friendly and shall, furthermore, lead to a positioning of the city as an attractive place to live, study and work. In addition “the growing importance of immigration for a growing city shall be communicated to the population by these means” (Hamburg 2006: 7).

One can conclude that the introduction of a welcome centre is a good way of facilitating the start in a city for newly-arriving migrants. As the centre is based on a ‘one-stop-shop’ principle, arriving migrants do not have to face the bureaucratic maze anymore, but can deal with all the necessary paperwork on one spot instead. Furthermore, the experience gained from practice shows that the approach of fixing dates with the clients helps to increase the satisfaction felt regarding the service offered as well as enabling the staff to work more efficiently. Transforming an Alien’s Authority, which often has rather negative connotations, into a welcome centre, where the name already sounds more inviting, is certainly a good idea for any local authority. The customer orientation and the provision of all relevant information and services in just one place will probably exceed the expectations a newly-arriving person would have when dealing with a local authority. Providing such a welcoming atmosphere at arrival might help in attracting people to move to a place, it does, however, not ensure the attractiveness of a city once the person decided to stay. Apart from those measures which are taken to place the city in a favourable light at arrival, measures which influence the attractiveness of the city for the day-to-day life are not ought to be forgotten.

Marketing

In both cases, Vienna and Hamburg, the city marketing also plays an important role in the creation of an attractive environment. Also in the working hypotheses set up in the theory chapter the image of a city was mentioned several times as it is the way the local authorities try to sell their city, how people from outside the place perceive the place.

In Vienna as well as in Hamburg marketing agencies are set up. In Vienna the marketing agency ‘Stadt Wien Marketing GmbH’ was founded in order to raise the attractiveness of the city for the Viennese population as well as for national and international guests. The focus of this agency is however very narrow; the agency aims at raising the attractiveness just by letting events take place in the city. (Vienna Marketing 2011a) The tourism agency on the other hand, has a lot broader approach to the topic.

The Vienna Tourist Board is the official destination marketing agency for the tourism sector of the city. They do not only provide detailed data about, for example, the overnight stays in the city or other relevant information for the tourism sector, but they also set up strategic papers like an annual marketing plan and the overall tourism plan. (Vienna Tourism 2011a) Within their work, the Vienna Tourist Board also developed the ‘brand Vienna’ for their work. In order to do so, brand building blocks as well as a strategy of persuasion and a corporate design were set up. (Ibid.)

The ‘brand building blocks’ are five central Vienna images, “which the Vienna Tourist Board now knows are important reasons for the success of tourism in recent years and which will be used to impress international visitors in the future: ‘Imperial Heritage’, ‘Music and Culture’, ‘Culture of Pleasure’, ‘Functioning City’ and ‘Balance between City/Green Space’” (Vienna Tourism 2011b). The first three of these blocks are closely related to activities which tourists coming to Vienna could enjoy; sightseeing, visiting the opera house, eating Viennese delicacies. The aspects of a ‘functioning city’ and a good ‘balance between city and green space’ on the other hand, are more general criteria concerning the city itself and its built environment.

The factor of a 'functioning city' is not explained any further by the agency; however they state that this aspect is developed by working on all the other factors mentioned. The necessity of a good 'balance between city and green space' is a rather new finding of the agency's work, as stated in an interview: "We know by now that also city tourists are looking for spaces to relax [within the city] and try to lobby in that direction" (translated from Personal Communication Penz 2011: 4).

Also in the city of Hamburg, Hamburg was developed as a brand. In the case of Hamburg, the Hamburg Marketing GmbH (HMG) was founded in order to "coordinate, support and complement the activities of the city companies involved in Hamburg Marketing" (Hamburg Marketing 2011a). Along with HMG, seven other companies belonging to the city of Hamburg are involved in marketing in Hamburg (see figure 4-5). HMG's mission is to develop and communicate the overall strategy of Hamburg as a brand. Therefore the company dovetails the activities of the other actors. (Hamburg Marketing 2011a)



The work of HMG was initiated by the political leaders in Hamburg, which argued for the international orientation and strengthening of the location-marketing in the city. "The HMG is going to develop 'Hamburg' as a unique brand, will initiate an international marketing strategy, is going to coordinate the marketing activities within the city, and will develop a method in order to acquire major sporting and cultural events" (Hamburg 2004: 23).

HMG, in cooperation with another marketing consultancy, hence developed the brand 'Hamburg' based on ten different fields (see figure 4-6). The reason to focus on these fields is the result of a brand survey carried out by the marketing consultancy, which aimed at surveying

4-6 Hamburg as a brand

which factors people and businesses directly and indirectly relate to the city of Hamburg. The figure below shows all ten different fields as presented on the website. The red dots in front of a module indicate that this factor relates to private people, a blue dot indicates the relation to business. (Hamburg Marketing 2011b)

In both cases, Hamburg and Vienna, one can see clearly the relations between the factors they identified as important for raising the attractiveness of the city and the fields which are set up within the branding concepts. Also



the topic of branding became more and more popular within the cities during the last years, “the brand has become the leading marketing tool” as a representative from the Vienna Tourism Board stated in the interview (translated from Personal Communication Penz: 3).

Generally spoken, one can say that the marketing, image shaping or branding of a city is a powerful tool to change the perception of a place for people in- and outside the city. Local authorities should hence aim at a corporate strategy in order to reach their aim of shaping an attractive city. The representative of the Vienna tourism agency also stated in an interview that the work of the tourism agency is strongly connected to the topic of raising the attractiveness of the city in general (Personal Communication Penz: 3); thus also the actors see the interrelations between their work and the work of others, which stresses the fact even more that the different approaches should be coordinated. In the city of Hamburg one example of how to do so is practised by the Hamburg Marketing GmbH.

Nevertheless just shaping an image of a city, or putting a brand on it, does not necessarily lead to a higher attractiveness of the city. The executive director of the Hamburg Welcome Center brings the topic of openness and marketing together and states: “A city, which is not open for it [migration] can do the best marketing, but if this advertisement does not deliver what it promises, it is pointless. A city has to be really open, a city has to offer opportunities for very different ethnics” (Translated from Personal Communication Steller 2011: 8). Hence, when promoting a city, local authorities should also aim at advertising what is really true and existing and not what is generally seen as a good attribute to sell a city as a destination.

5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The conclusion brings together the theoretical framework with the evidence from practice in order to answer the research questions set up within this study. While in the analysis the local authority's view on the topic is analysed, in this chapter an answer to the overall research question is formed. Secondly interesting topics connected to the development of attractive cities, which came up during the research, but are not directly connected to the problem formulation, are treated in the last chapter, the discussion.

5.1 CONCLUSION

The conclusion provides an answer to the overall research question: In which way can local authorities influence the attractiveness of their cities for high skilled professionals?

When answering this question, local authorities would ask themselves first why they should aim at attracting this special group to their city. The answer to this question which grows out of the analysis is the following. The decision to try and attract highly qualified workforce is a worldwide movement. The current demographic situation in many countries which comes along with a growing number of knowledge-based industries creates a lack of qualified labour in many places around the world. Hence, local authorities respectively a city's politicians decide to try and attract the needed workers from all over the world to work and live in their city. As these specialised people are needed in various locations, from the city's point of view there is a competition ongoing on who could attract the needed labour.

To do well in competing for this target group, local authorities try to make their city the most attractive destination, so that the highly skilled professionals would decide to move there. In order to develop this attractive environment, they set up attributes of how their city already is or should become like. Afterwards they study factors which are connected to these attributes and help attracting the target group to the city. In a last step they develop concepts on how to improve on these factors and implement them in practice.

5.1.1 ACTORS

From the analysis of the cases, one can conclude, that the topic of attractiveness is present in the daily work of both cities. Politics, the administrative body as well as diverse other governance actors within the cities are dealing with it. Within the theoretical framework one could already see, that the topic of attractiveness of cities touches different fields. The most prominent among these are Migration and Location Theory. While the former has a focus on people and their needs, the latter, as explained earlier, focused mainly on factors which are important to industries. Nowadays this focus changed and more soft factors are taken into account as well and with the growth of the knowledge-based sector, factors which are highly related to the attraction of workers to a place are considered relevant too.

Theoretical publications on the topic of attractiveness derive from economists, as well as migration theorists, and planners. As widespread as in theory are the actors involved in the topic of attractiveness within the city. Some focus on economic development and the attraction of businesses, others look at the field of migration and the developments which come along with it. All of these actors are concerned with the topic of attractiveness, albeit from different viewpoints and under different conditions. While departments like the department of migration and integration deal with the consequences of an attractive city (migration towards the city), the economic as well as the tourism sector are focused on development which aims at enhancing the attractiveness of the city and consequently the flow of migration/tourism towards the destination. As mentioned before, planners can be involved in each of these fields of work; they might be dealing with the consequences of migration as well as its sources and can also be in charge of dealing with the topic of attractiveness within their city.

Another group of actors, which was not mentioned within the theoretical framework, is working on the topic of attractiveness as well; the tourism agencies, but this group also obviously works for a different target group, tourists. Still the work of the tourism agencies, raising the attractiveness of a city as a holiday destination, is also sometimes leading to a growing attractiveness of the city as a destination for migration. Furthermore the ideas on how to sell the city as a destination to travel to, can also be used by another actor, marketing agencies. These also form a part in the discussion about attractiveness within the case study, as the creation and shaping of a city's image is recognised as a very important factor forming or communicating the attractiveness of a place.

All in all, one can say, that within the development of a city many different actors play a part and should play a part. Furthermore, even if the term 'attractiveness' might not be used directly, most of the actual work within the city leads to a growing attractiveness of the city. This does not mean that the authorities act unconsciously in the field of attractiveness, but instead that the growing attractiveness of the city seems to be an overall aim, which a lot of different actors and activities contribute to. Local authorities should identify these actors and set up an overall strategy implying the ideas of everyone.

5.1.2 FACTORS

The two cities studied in the case are of course focusing on the attraction of highly qualified labour, which was one of the reasons they were chosen for the case study. Another common ground among the cities of Vienna and Hamburg is the focus on mainly the same factors within the development of an attractive city. The reasons for this can be manifold and are debated in the discussion chapter. On which factors the authorities in the cases of Hamburg and Vienna mainly focus and how these are related to the theory is analysed here.

In the theory chapter it is argued that there are different factors, which can repel or attract people to a certain place. Hence, these factors should be taken into account by local authorities who try to raise the attractiveness of their city. Three different fields are identified here, which derive from the theories of Ravenstein and Lee: Hindrances, general factors and personal factors. Compared to the theoretical framework, one can say that the three categories of factors influencing migration according to Lee are also taken into account from the cities' officials in the case study when trying to attract highly skilled labour to their place, though not in their entirety.

The 'hindrances', which are of relevance to the authorities in the cases, are mostly the legislation on immigration. The law on immigration concerns the national level as being the legislative body. The national level can only be influenced indirectly by the local authorities, e.g. when giving recommendations as seen in the case of Vienna where the WZK also made recommendations concerning the newly introduced immigration law. In this case the commission, founded to provide the local decision makers with information and expertise on certain topics, elaborated further on the national plan to introduce a regulated immigration law to the country. The national level decided here to establish the so called 'red-white-red-card', a concept similar to the american 'green card' concept, which should allow criteria-led labour migration towards Austria with a special focus on highly skilled professionals. The commission then gave detailed recommendations about how to define the different criteria. The legal framework is a very important tool to control migration flows, which regulations also influence the migration in the cities. In the case of Vienna the local authorities have an interest in shaping this tool, as Vienna is the city where around 40% of the total migration to Austria comes to (Statistik Austria 2011: 16). The immigration law is a very powerful tool influencing the flow of migration to a country, but in the cases this also only applies to non-EU citizens, as those are free to choose where to work and live within the EU member states. For those people, within the target group of highly skilled professionals, which are EU citizens there are hence other factors influencing the decision to migrate.

While one could say the main factor attracting this group is the employment situation, the security level, service provision, diversity as well as the quality of life within a city are also relevant to this group. As Florida (2000) argues, highly skilled professionals “have the ability to choose cities and regions that are attractive places to live as well as work”. The most important point he raises is that the highly skilled workers can choose from a range of job opportunities and because of that other factors are important to them. Those more ‘general’ factors, as they are called in the theory by Lee, can be influenced by the local authorities directly as they concern the specific situation within the city.

Within the case studies the Vienna Immigration Commission and the Hamburg Marketing agency set up attributes, which should define their city. These attributes also reflect some of the factors the cities work on in practice as well as the ‘general factors’ listed above. Hence there is accordance among the cities as well as with the theory, that a city should offer a good employment situation, should be safe and diverse and should moreover offer a high quality of life. In the city of Vienna quality of life is defined as a product resulting from high security, environmental and social standards combined with relatively moderate living costs. In Hamburg providing natural amenities is seen as a key factor for the quality of life of a city. Both cities furthermore advertise the cultural scene they can offer.

These factors accord with the theoretical framework. Lee for example argues for employment opportunities for people as a pull-factor as well as for a high quality of life. Also other studies from Florida (2000) or Atkinson and Gottlieb (2001) stress these factors and add the importance of recreational facilities such as cultural activities to the list of important factors raising the attractiveness of a city. One can see that, as already argued in the theory chapter, the term ‘quality of life’ is very broad and can include various other factors. As a great quality of life is resulting out of the interplay of all the other different factors mentioned, local authorities who want to work on the quality of life in their city cannot only develop their cultural landscape or the education facilities, but need to see this task as overarching different criteria and hence including different actors in this task.

But local authorities in the cases of Hamburg and Vienna see the advantages of their city not only in soft location factors, but also in e.g. the geographical location and political situation of their city. These other common factors, which are mentioned in both theory and practice, like the climate, are also recognised as important, but are out of the authorities’ reach and one can hence only conclude, that certain cities would be advantaged compared to others just because of their geographical location.

Apart from the already mentioned factors, a booming economy is seen as an important factor for an attractive city as well. The scientific environment and a prosperous economy are factors originally deriving from the industrial sector, but also important to the individual, as the plenitude of e.g. research units comes along with employment opportunities in the sector of research and development. As there is mutual attraction between work opportunities and the labour taking these jobs, there is a discussion on this topic whether it is the people that are attracting industries or the industries attracting people. Regardless which theory is right, one can conclude that a city has to offer job opportunities as well for their population, and that industries need qualified labour on their site as well.

'Personal' factors, as the third category mentioned by Lee, are really depending on the individual. Local authorities can only try here to meet the expectations of the people in order to make them feel at ease. In the analysis of the cases the local authorities put a special stress on this aspect. They strongly agree that a welcoming atmosphere is essential for the attractiveness of a place for the individual. In the city of Hamburg the executive director of the renamed Alien's Authority, the Hamburg Welcome Center, also sees a connection between the well-welcomed and satisfied newly-arriving migrants and the image of the city (see quote to the right). Creating a welcoming atmosphere can also be created by already existing social networks in a city; a factor which is also mentioned in the theory from Lee. As argued in the analysis these social networks facilitate the situation at arrival as their knowledge about the structures within the city helps the newly-arriving migrants to find their way and have first social contacts as well.

"We certainly have the impression that such a good service contributes significantly to the attractiveness of a city. But this is very difficult to measure. Furthermore we are convinced that well-welcomed new citizens are an incredibly huge marketing potential for a city. For if they report in person to the people in their countries and to their contacts how great and nice Hamburg is, this has a very large and persuasive advertising effect for Hamburg. – And not in the way that everyone moves here now, but also just as tourists." (Translated from Personal Communication Steller 2011: 6)

These social networks for migrants arriving in a city can only exist if the city's population is diverse. Diversity is an attribute describing the multitude of different ethnic, religious or other groups among the population of a city. It also includes the variety in age. Local authorities can work on this topic by fostering the settlement of different groups in the city and by providing an interesting scene, also for different kinds of people like artists. In the case study of Vienna, the local authorities decided to promote a diverse population within their city, but also aimed at integrating these people more actively in the society and the administrative body. In order to monitor their approach and the difficulties and progresses while implementing their diversity and integration strategy, the local authorities set up a method called the integration and diversity monitor. This tool is one possibility of how to measure diversity within the city and hence try and improve on this factor.

5.1.3 TOOLS AND WORKING HYPOTHESES

In the theoretical framework four working hypotheses were set up, which include possible approaches for local authorities on how to tackle the challenge of raising the attractiveness within their city for the target group. After having identified the factors, which are taken into account in the cases of Hamburg and Vienna, and having analysed some of the methods and instruments these cities use in order to raise the attractiveness of their city, the working hypotheses can be proved or disproved. These working hypotheses open up the possibility of including some more small points from the case study, which were not analysed in depth and hence not mentioned in the analysis.

BE PROGRESSIVE

The first hypothesis is suggesting that local authorities should promote the location of small enterprises and young entrepreneurs. Furthermore local authorities should aim at capturing the spirit of time and follow up on ongoing developments and changes. This latter factor is strongly connected to what is called being 'dynamic' within the case studies and the analysis: Cities reacting to ongoing developments and implementing changes within their scope of duties. The topic of progressivity or economic development was not as present in the reviewed literature and conducted interviews as other factors. This is probably mainly due to the fact that no representative of the economic sector was available for an interview. The economic sector was however mentioned as a partner from, for example, the marketing agencies. Furthermore the

Hamburg Welcome Center is, for example, an institution which is part of the Department of Economics.

SUPPORT DEMOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY

The topic of diversity was already raised in the analysis, as being diverse is nowadays one of the main attributes a city likes to be connected with. Hence, cities are aiming at diversity and migration leads towards it. Therefore, the legislature on immigration plays an important role in fostering diversity among the population. The criteria-led immigration system which was introduced in Austria did not go into effect yet, hence the effects on migration cannot be evaluated. Anyways the main idea behind this system, of letting highly skilled migrants come to Austria even if there are no vacant job offers, seems to serve the goal of attracting the target group. Furthermore the integration and diversity monitor of the city of Vienna seems to be a step into the right direction; instead of just presenting the city in a certain manner and labelling it, the efforts of the local authority itself on really implying change are measured.

The tool of the criteria-led immigration system is, however, only connected to migrants from outside the European Union. Within the EU there is free flow of labour and hence, people from whichever EU member state can come to Austria, or Germany, without legal restrictions. For those highly skilled professionals from inside the EU, hence, other factors play an important role, as argued before. Hence, the attractiveness of the city is more important. As one major factor influencing the attractiveness and making people feel at ease at arrival, the creation of a welcoming atmosphere has to be mentioned. In order to reach this goal, different measures can be taken. One of the measures taken in the city of Vienna is an image campaign in order to influence the citizens' opinion on migration.

CREATE HIGH HUMAN CAPITAL

The factors mentioned below this hypothesis, are mainly aiming at developing the educational and economic landscape of a city in order to create opportunities for people to get the skills that are needed and to provide jobs for these people. Creating high human capital has to be seen critically as it can include cities spending lots of money on education and ending up without the skilled workforce, because other cities attract the group more. So with the development of the educational landscape other amenities need to be developed as well. Just like in the theory also in practice the existence of a good education system is seen as a necessary point when trying to attract highly skilled professionals and their families.

BE DIFFERENT

Image shaping is a very important topic for both cities and also in the scientific world. The cities have their own marketing offices, often connected to the tourism office. Marketing and image shaping are followed by different actors within the city: There are tourism offices as well as the economic sector and the local authority itself involved. Within the local authority the work is spread as well. While in some cities this task belongs to the sector of planning and development, in others it is completely covered by the economic council. As wide spread as the actors dealing with the topic, are also the theoretical approaches to the topic. Whether a region tries to build up on its distinctiveness or rather points out factors you could find in other cities as well in order to attract people and industries, depends on the person in charge as well as on the political situation in the area. But in the interview with the executive director of the Hamburg Welcome Center, the topic of pointing out the distinctiveness of a city was not encountered within the analysis of the cases.

From the analysis of the cases one can say that the statements in the working hypotheses are more general approaches, which a city could follow. They do not show a complete picture of all different aims a local authority could have for their city's development. Within the case studies particularly the fostering of demographic diversity within the city is an approach which is

followed in the cities of Hamburg and Vienna. Deriving from the strategies chosen in these two cities, one could add on to the working hypotheses that

- Cities should work out an overall strategic approach to raise the attractiveness

As many different actors are involved in the topic of attractiveness, the local authorities should find a way to bring these actors and their approaches together and to develop an overall strategy, which the other departments and agencies can follow. Like this the message which the city officials want to spread is reinforced.

- Cities should provide a welcoming atmosphere for newly-arriving migrants

As argued throughout the analysis and the conclusion, the local authorities in the cases of Hamburg and Vienna paid special attention to the atmosphere, which newly-arriving migrants meet when arriving at a city. They claim that if someone wants to get information about a city and meets helpful and friendly staff, the probability of this person to move to the city which offered him the help and information needed is higher. Furthermore the arrival of migrants should be facilitated by simplifying the immigration law or introducing information centres, which follow the one-stop-shop principle.

- Cities should aim at diversity among the population

The topic of diversity has various aspects, which make it important for the local authorities in the cases of Hamburg and Vienna. Diversity is meant to raise the creativity and innovation in enterprises, it has a key function in developing an international environment and, once diversity is already present, it is important that the diversity among the population is also reflected in the staffs of all kinds of businesses and the administrative body.

As mentioned above also these statements are rather general approaches on what to aim for in the development of an attractive city, especially for the target group. These statements do not really include methods or tools on how to work actively on the attractiveness. The working hypotheses derived from the theory and those aims presented from the local authorities' approaches in the case studies might differ, but do reflect at the same time the complexity of the topic again. Developing an attractive city is thus not an aim one could achieve by following one single approach, but requires the interplay of different strategies, aims and actors.

In the different points presented here, which were mentioned by the local authorities in the cases one thought is missing: The day-to-day life of the arriving migrants after their arrival. The City Officials should also aim at keeping the city as an attractive place after they have convinced people to move to their city. In general, a lot of factors are seen as relevant in shaping an attractive living environment, the work which could be analysed, however, did not cover these aspects.

5.1.4 SUMMARY

All in all one can conclude that local authorities of a city, who want to raise the attractiveness of their town for highly-skilled professionals have to take various different factors into account. The review of theories as well as the analysis of the case studies had as a result that raising the attractiveness of a place is a multifaceted matter. Factors concerning the economy of a city as well as the city's policies and laws shape its attractiveness. Furthermore the internal and external image of a place can lead towards a higher or lower rate of migration. Cities which are well known for a positive attitude of the population and the local authorities towards newly-arriving migrants might appear more attracting than others. The same applies to the services local authorities offer. The case studies showed that the easier newcomer services are accessible, the more likely it is that they are used and that they would influence the decision to migrate to a city positively.

The analysis of the cases also showed that the topic of attractiveness is almost omnipresent in the cities and that apart from the departments within the local authorities also other agencies and enterprises are interested in the topic. These actors should be brought together with the aim to work efficiently and to create a common understanding of the local authorities' aims and strategies. Furthermore synergies could be used more easily. To coordinate the work done by different actors, a facilitator would be needed. It probably depends on the size of the city whether a facilitator from inside the local authority or someone from an independent company should be brought into the process.

In order to coordinate and bundle the efforts of the actors, the local authorities need to set up an overall strategy for every other actor to follow. Setting up overall goals for the city's development would help to do so and also to communicate the ideas internally and externally. In the case study, the city of Hamburg for example used the city's marketing agency to set up this overall strategy. As the marketing of a city does not imply the city's further development, another actor should be found which could 'translate' the aims and strategies from marketing into measures which need to be implemented in practice. This is when the planning authority of a city could come into play. As the strategic development of the city is one of the tasks planners usually deal with, it is logical to involve them. Furthermore most planners are used to facilitate processes, where a lot of different actors are involved; hence the coordination of the different approaches could be dealt with here as well.

Within the case studies however, even though the interviewees agreed that urban planning plays an important role in shaping an attractive city, this actor was not present neither in the case of Vienna nor Hamburg when it came to the topic of attractiveness. It seemed that in the studied cases planners were just involved when changes to the built environment needed to be done. Other actors like the department for integration, the Alien's Authority, the economic sector or the tourism agencies on the other hand were intensively integrated in the development towards an attractive city. Involving the planning authority in an earlier stage of the process might be beneficial for all the contributing parties, as the reasoning which leads to changes in the built environment should become comprehensible for the executing planner and the planner him/herself could also contribute his/her ideas to the project and integrate the ideas of other actors into already existing plans for the city. The planning authority could hence bring together ideas of different actors and put these ideas into action so that the development of a city towards an attractive place does not stay at a theoretical level but changes really take place.

5.2 DISCUSSION

In this last chapter the subject and the findings of this research are discussed on a more general scale. This opens the topic up to a new perspective and allows a more critical reflection of the basic ideas. Thus it is discussed which consequences the idea of attracting highly skilled professionals to a city can have for the individual itself and the economic situation of a city. Moreover, it is argued which role the local planning authority can have within the topic of raising the attractiveness of the city.

As argued earlier in this thesis, the decision to try and attract highly qualified workforce to a city is a worldwide movement. This approach, which first started within the economic sector where the benefits of diversity among the employees as well as the importance of especially skilled experts were recognised, was adopted within the last years by city officials as well. The strongest tool, on the local level, in order to attract this target group was identified as raising the general attractiveness of the city.

In an earlier chapter, the different factors treated in order to raise the attractiveness in the two cases, Hamburg and Vienna, were presented. It was noted that the mutual agreement on which factors need to be developed to raise the attractiveness could be explained in manifold ways. One of the reasons local authorities might agree on the factors that shape attractiveness and a good quality of life is the existence of studies, which measure and compare the cities' performance in these fields. One example of such a study is the Mercer study for 'quality of living' (Mercer 2011).

Within the Mercer study different cities worldwide were examined whether or not they meet the criteria set up by the human resource and related financial services consulting firm. To assess the quality of life for each city, 39 criteria were used and evaluated from the perspective of employees who have been sent abroad (expatriates). These criteria are shown in the figure

5-1 Criteria Mercer Study Quality of Living

Mercer's Quality of Living Survey Criteria			
Political and Social Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationship with other Countries Internal Stability Crime Law Enforcement Ease of Entry and Exit 	Medical and Health Considerations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hospital Services Medical Supplies Infectious Diseases Water Potability Sewage Waste removal Air Pollution Troublesome and Destructive Animals and Insects 	Public Services and Transport <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Electricity Water Availability Telephone Mail Public Transport Traffic Congestion Airport 	Consumer Goods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meat and Fish Fruits and Vegetables Daily Consumption Items Alcoholic Beverages Automobiles
Economic Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Currency Exchange Regulations Banking Services 	Schools and Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools 	Recreation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Variety of Restaurants Theatrical and Musical Performances Cinemas Sport and Leisure Activities 	Housing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Housing Household Appliances and Furniture Household Maintenance and Repair
Socio-Cultural Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limitation on Personal Freedom Media and Censorship 	Natural Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Climate Record of Natural Disasters 		

below; they split into ten different fields, which define quality of living for the consultancy firm. (Mercer 2011) In this list one can find all of the factors considered as relevant in the case studies as well. As Vienna was ranked first during the last three years in the Mercer study, it might be that the criteria considered as relevant within the Mercer study have a special status when it comes to the development of a city. Probably due to this good position in the study, the local authorities publish the results of the study

on their homepage and link to the study itself as well. In the case of Hamburg on the other hand, the results of the Mercer study are not present on the official website, maybe because Hamburg was ranked 16th in 2011. Still, the study is well known among local authorities and the criteria chosen by the consultancy firm might influence the work in Hamburg as well as in Vienna.

Another reason why the cities' approaches resemble might be because of the ever-increasing exchange among local authorities worldwide. Networks like the European Union's 'urbact' programme aim at enabling cities "to work together to develop solutions to major urban challenges, reaffirming the key role they play in facing increasingly complex societal changes [and] to share good practices and lessons learned with all professionals involved in urban policy throughout Europe" (Urbact 2011). The exchange among cities can lead to more innovation

when it comes to handle upcoming problems or challenging situations. Furthermore cities might benefit from good practice examples from other cities within the network. The exchange however can also lead to more resemblance in the cities' approaches and is therefore another possible reason for why in the two case studies similar approaches were chosen to raise attractiveness.

In the interviews conducted in both, Vienna and Hamburg, one of the Urbact projects was mentioned as a good example for cities' cooperation: The OpenCities network. As the name implies, the OpenCities network was originally founded to identify what makes a city open and attractive for international migrants. By now, as the project is founded by the EU, the project includes partner cities across Europe, like the city of Vienna, and aims "to explore how cities can attract and retain migrant populations and what initiatives cities can employ to make themselves a popular choice with international workers" (OpenCities 2011). The interviewee in the city of Hamburg especially pointed out the usefulness of the measuring criteria set up by the network in order to find out how 'open' a city is. Also the possibility of comparison with other cities is seen as an interesting point. This network and its' approach might have an influence on local authorities, which aim at making their city more open, hence the OpenCities network is a project showing the possible influence on the development of the attribute 'being open', which was analysed in this study as well.

Apart from the approach city officials have taken in order to attract highly skilled professionals to their city and make their city more attractive for this group, one also has to reflect on the decision to focus on this target group. In the cases of Hamburg and Vienna it was a political decision that led to that focus. Interviewed experts from the fields of planning and integration in Vienna do not agree with this approach. They see the city as a complex compounded machinery, where one has to take care that the whole system is working well and not just small parts of it. Thus, they agree that for a well functioning city not only people in high positions with extraordinary skills are needed, but that there are jobs in other sectors as well. The greater part of the society does not belong to the group of highly skilled professionals, but should also find a place in local authorities' considerations. An exclusive focus on the target group could hence lead to an imbalance in the city and thus to its malfunctioning. In the case of Vienna, however, as analysed before, the marketing of the political strategy to aim at attracting highly skilled migrants seemed to be more acceptable by the public and hence to inform the public, change their acceptance for the topic and fight xenophobia in the city seemed to play a secondary part.

In general, the decision to attract highly-skilled professionals entails consequences for the individual itself as well as for the city. Industries are most likely to see the benefits of migration of the target group as their business plans promote diversity among the employees and foster the exchange of knowledge. In recent years companies also started to rotate labour. Instead of following the discussion about 'brain drain or brain gain' the enterprises fostered 'brain circulation' so that different countries could benefit from the expertise of workers.

Within the European context, however, the pan-European migration of skilled workers also leads to problematic situations within the city. Following the European law, inhabitants of any EU member state are free to move to whichever country within the union they want to. As there are no immigration restrictions for this group, it is more difficult for the local authorities to get hold of this group of migrants. In the field of integration this leads to challenging situations. Migrants from outside the EU have to do compulsory language classes for example, while EU citizens do not need to do so. The cities thus lie under the necessity to adapt their integrating offers in order to make migrants from inside the EU voluntarily follow these measures and hence lower the chances for their complete integration in the society. A customer-focused approach and attractive offers are hence absolutely essential. Part of the adaptations local authorities could do would be working together with non-official networks, which form the welcoming society for arriving migrants. These networks could help the local authorities in spreading information and might make it easier again to get in contact with arriving migrants.

For the city and its development, the attraction of highly-skilled professionals might imply changes and challenges as well. Depending on whether the local authorities aim at attracting people for short- or long-term stays or even citizenship the situation changes. While attracting new citizens to the city might imply a stronger focus on the topic of integration, for migrants coming to a city for just a limited period of time - might it be due to their work contracts or other circumstances – integration offers might be less interesting. Especially because of the limited time they are staying at one place, for example learning the native's language might not be their first priority. Still this group of temporary citizens has needs which might challenge the city. These needs might concern the fields of housing as well as social, cultural, and other leisure activities.

The housing market could be influenced by a higher rate of migration. With a higher rate of fluctuation of inhabitants also more fluctuation on the housing market comes along. Especially in the group of highly-skilled professionals one could expect a rather high income and hence there could be a higher demand for high standard accommodation. This demand might only apply for temporary accommodation and thus the availability of these temporary offers should be secured. Furthermore highly-skilled professionals coming from far might want to bring their families with them when migrating. Hence, the city would need to offer attractive living space at reasonable prices that also suits the needs of a family.

Apart from changes to the housing market, the migration of highly-skilled professionals to a city could also bring along a higher demand for cultural offers along. Providing a wide range of different cultural and leisure activities within a city could thus become more important. Temporary migration might change the lifestyle of people, as they might not feel the need to settle anymore. Social networks might become more important here as well. It might be, that temporary migration leads to a focus on social interaction with people in the same situation and maybe especially from the same cultural background or speaking the same language. As temporary migration as part of an employment contract might sometimes make people move several times, the necessity for the moving person to try and make friends in the new city or integrate him-/herself in the new culture and society might decrease. Online facilities which allow the migrating population to keep in touch with their friends and family back home might support this 'non-integrating' behaviour. Local authorities who provide attractive service offers might still get a change in getting in contact with the group of highly-skilled professionals.

All the different measures, which need to be taken in order to raise the attractiveness of a city, raise the quality of living or making a city become more open, need to be coordinated and bundled up. Only a well-managed development can lead efficiently to the fulfilment of aims and goals set up by the local authorities. When it comes to a sustainable development of the city, the role of urban planning becomes more important within this topic. As argued in the summary of the conclusion planners might be able to facilitate the process of developing an attractive city as they are used to bring together different actors and are also in charge of the city's strategic development. In most cities though, the role of the planning department is to foster a sustainable development of the city. This implies not only taking care of the economic development of a city, but requires a more holistic approach also taking into account social and ecological aspects. While the attraction of highly-skilled professionals to a city is mostly promoted out of economic considerations, its effects also influence the society and in some cases even the environment. Planners being involved in the project of attracting the target group would hence try and advocate for those who are not heard in practice, the environmental and social concerns, and weigh these up with the maybe more present economical concerns.

Shaping the attractiveness of a city, however, is a term of wide comprehension and needs approaches which are just as comprehensive and are embracing all the different relevant actors and factors in order to ensure a prosperous development of the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APSC 2011: Australian Public Service Commission; *Guidelines on Workplace Diversity*; Australian Public Service Commission; 2011

Atkinson, Gottlieb 2001: Atkinson, Robert D and Paul D.Gottlieb; *The Metropolitan New Economy Index: Benchmarking Economic Transformation in the Nations Metropolitan Areas*; Progressive Policy Institute and the Centre for Regional Economic Issues. Case Western Reserve University; 2001

Bradbury, Kodrzycki, Tannenwald 1997: Bradbury K.L., Kodrzycki Y.K., Tannenwald R.; *The Effects of State and Local Public Policies On Economic Development; An Overview*; New England Economic Review (March/April): 1-12; 1997

Bryman 2008: Bryman, Alan; *Social Research Methods*; Oxford University Press, United Kingdom; 2008

Bürki 2006: Bürki, Rolf; *Prinzipien des Standorts*; Ostschweizerische Geographische Gesellschaft; 2006

Cohen 2000: Cohen, Natalie; *Business Location Decision –Making and the Cities: Bringing Companies Back*; Washington D.C.; The Brookings Institution; 2000

Cortright 2001: Cortright, Joseph; *New Growth Theory; Some Thoughts and Implications for Econmic Development*; Impresa. Inc.; 2001

DeVol 1999: DeVol. Ross C.; *Americas High Tech Economy: Growth Development, and Risks for Metropolitan Areas*; Santa Monica; Milken Institute; July 13 1999

EU SEC 2011: European Commission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, and Eurostat, the Statistical Office of the European Union; *Demography report 2010 - Older, more numerous and diverse Europeans*; European Union, Luxemburg; 2011

Florida 2000: Florida, Richard; *Competing in the Age of Talent: Environment, Amenities and the New Economy*; Prepared for the R.K. Mellon Foundation, Heinz Endowments and Sustainable Pittsburgh; 2000

Florida 2000: Florida, Richard; *Technololgy and Tolerance: The Importance of Diversity to High Technology Growth*; Washington D.C.; The Brookings Institute; 2001

Glaeser, Shapiro 2001: Glaeser, E and J.M. Shapiro; *City Growth and the 2000 Census: Which Places Grew and Why*; Brookings Institution; 2001

Goodstein 1999: Goodstein, Eban; *The Trade Off Myth: Fact and Fiction About Jobs and the Environment*; Washington D.C.; Island Press; 1999

Grabow 1995: Grabow, B., Henckel, D., Hollbach-Grömig, B.; *Weiche Standortfaktoren*; Verlag W. Kohlhammer; 1995

Hahne (1995): Hahne, U.; *Neuere Entwicklungen in der Regionalförderung. In: Ridinger, R. et al.; Regionale Wirtschaftsförderung in der Praxis*; 1995; p. 8-30.

Hamburg 2004: Government of the City of Hamburg 2004; *Hamburg Im Aufwind –die Zukunft der Wachsenden Stadt gestalten*; Hamburg; 2004

Hamburg 2006: Senate of the City of Hamburg; *Leitprojekt "Welcome to Hamburg" Einrichtung eines "Hamburg Welcome Centre"/"Hamburg Welcome Portal"*; City of Hamburg; 2006

Hamburg Marketing 2007: Hamburg Welcome Centre; *Willkommen in Hamburg: Welcome to Hamburg*; The City of Hamburg; 2007

Hamburg Marketing 2009 : Brandmeyer, Markenberatung; *“Was Macht Hamburg Attraktiv?” Analyse des Erfolgsmusters der Marke Hamburg*; The City of Hamburg; 2009

Kröhnert 2007: Kröhnert, Steffan; *Migrationstheorien*; Berlin Institut: für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung; 2007

Lowry 1966: Lowry, Ira S.; *Migration and Metropolitan Growth: Two Analytical Models*; Chandler Pub. Co.; 1966

Lee 1966: Lee, E.S.; *A Theory of Migration*. In: *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1. (1966), pp. 47-57; Population Association of America; 1966

OECD 2011: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development: *Attractiveness for Innovation –Location Factors for International Investment*; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development; 2011

Ravenstein 1885: Ravenstein, E.G.; *On the Laws of Migration*; Journal of the Statistical Society of London; 1885

Rondinelli 1998: Rondinelli, Denis A.; *The Changing Forces of Urban Economic Development: Globalisation and City Competitiveness in the 21st Century*; Cityscape 3 (3); 1998

Thalberg 2003: Thalberg, S.; *Demographic Patterns in Europe. A review of Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*; Institute for Futures Studies; 2003

WZK 2010a: Wiener Zuwanderungskommission; *Medienunterlage 29-01-2010 Bericht Wiener Zuwanderungskommission*; Vienna; 2010

WZK 2010b: Wiener Zuwanderungskommission; *Information Zum Mediengespräch der Wiener Zuwanderungskommission 29-01-2010*, Vienna; 2010

WZK 2010c: Wiener Zuwanderungskommission; *Migration, Diversität, Vielfalt, Bericht Wiener Zuwanderungskommission 29-01-2010*; Vienna; 2010

WZK 2011a: Wiener Zuwanderungskommission; *Positionen und Empfehlungen Wiener Zuwanderungskommission 2010*; Vienna; 2011

WZK. 2011b: Wiener Zuwanderungskommission; *Information Zum Mediengespräch der Wiener Zuwanderungskommission Wiener Offensive für die Besten Hände & Köpfe*; Vienna; 2011

Online sources

Business dictionary 2011: Web Finance; *Economic Dynamics*; <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/economic-dynamics.html>; date accessed 28.12.2011

Europaforum 2011: *The Vienna Immigration Commission*; http://www.europaforum.or.at/project.php?PROJECT_ID=162; date accessed 24.09.2011

Hafengruppe Hamburg 2011: *Hamburg postkolonial*; <http://www.ewnw.de/sites/default/files/hafen-stadttouren2011.pdf>; date accessed 20.12.2011

Hamburg Migration 2011: *Stadt Hamburg Migration*; <http://www.hamburg.de/migration/>; date accessed 20.12.2011

HMG 2011a: Hamburg Marketing GMBH; *Municipal partners in Hamburg Marketing*; <http://marketing.hamburg.de/Staedtische-Marketing-Gesellsc.97.0.html?L=1>; date accessed 28.11.2011

HMG 2011b: Hamburg Marketing GMBH; *Hamburg schärft sein Profil*; <http://marketing.hamburg.de/Erfolgsbausteine-2009.717.0.html>; date accessed 28.11.2011

Mercer 2011: Mercer; *Mercer's 2011 Quality of Living ranking highlights - Global*; <http://www.mercer.com/qualityofliving>; date accessed 30.10.2011

Museum der Arbeit 2011: Museum der Arbeit Iderhoff; *Geschichte der Einwanderung in Hamburg*; <http://www.museum-der-arbeit.de/Sonder/GeteilteWelten/geschichte-l.pdf>; date accessed 20.12.2011

OpenCities 2011: URBACT; *Our Project*; <http://urbact.eu/en/projects/human-capital-entrepreneurship/open-cities/our-project/>; date accessed 15.11.2011

Stadt Wien Marketing GMBH 2011: Stadt Wien Marketing GMBH; *Unternehmen*; <http://www.wien-event.at/unternehmen/>; date accessed 07.12.2011

URBACT 2011: URBACT; *URBACT In Words*; <http://urbact.eu/en/header-main/about-urbact/urbact-at-a-glance/urbact-in-words/>; date accessed 27.12.2011

Vienna Marketing 2011a: Wien Tourismus; *The Vienna Tourist Board; About Us*; <http://b2b.wien.info/en/viennatourism/aboutus/about-us>; date accessed 07.12.2011

Vienna Marketing 2011b: Wien Tourismus; *Brand Building Blocks*; <http://b2b.wien.info/en/brand/components>; date accessed 07.12.2011

Personal Communication

Interview with Dr.Karin König; working for the department for integration and diversity (MA17) in Vienna. Interview conducted in Vienna the 31.10.2011.

Interview with Eugen Antalovsky; executive director of the Europaforum Wien, member of the WZK. Interview conducted in Vienna the 28.10.2011.

Interview with Markus Penz; Team manager for strategic destination development Vienna at the B2B Tourism Agency. Interview conducted on the phone, the 05.12.2011.

Interview with Birte Steller; executive director of the Hamburg Welcome Center. Interview conducted on the phone, the 21.11.2011.