A creative calling

Migrant creatives and the labour of love in Berlin

By Michelle O'Brien

Image: 25-metre high mural *Die Umarmung* (2009) painted by Madrid's Boa Mistura urban art collective on the side of the East Side Hotel, Friedrichshain.
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"In Berlin, it is a pleasure to be part of a community re-imagining presuppositions about the nature of work, the working life and a working community."

– Respondent 186

"Berlin opens itself up to creatives, but that doesn't mean it is a doorway for everyone. You have to work just as hard if not harder to succeed in what you do, and don't move here to make money. You can enjoy what you do and have a great quality of life, but no one is driving a Porsche. We're all happy, but poor."

– Respondent 33

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Abstract

A creative calling: Migrant creatives and the labour of love in Berlin is a study of foreign creative labourers living and working in Berlin, as indicative of labourers in creative cities around the world. The central research questions of this dissertation, "What is the meaning of Berlin to migrant creative labourers?" and "How does 'labour of love' influence workstyles in a global creative city?" are addressed through analysis of survey data from over 200 migrant creatives in Berlin. The dissertation uses the theoretical framework of social constructionism and a combined research approach of qualitative and quantitative data analysis to examine themes including the socio-spatial workstyles of migrant creatives, negotiations of mobility, relations to place, creative city as 'base' and how 'labour of love' influences their workstyles and lives.

Firstly representations of Berlin as a creative city are examined, drawing on Maile & Griffiths' psychosocial imaginary of Berlin (2012) and its representation as a global creative city. New mobility patterns are analysed as well as motivations for migration beyond traditional notions of nationhood (Saunders, 2010; Wang, 2004). Literature surrounding relations to place and creative locales is reviewed, including Castells' 'network society' (1996), Sassen's studies of creative subculture territorialisation (2004, 2001) and Lange's work on the socio-spatial strategies of culturepreneurs (2006a, 2006b). Evolving workstyles of creative labourers are analysed (Cohen, 2012), the 'labour of love' theory is discussed in relation to exploitative creative labour practices (Menger, 1999) and McRobbie's writings on creative labourer as personification of increasingly inescapable work structures (2010) are applied.

An analysis of survey data places Berlin's migrant creatives in the context of new forms of migration and mobility patterns across borders; history and representations of Berlin as a creative city; blurry lines between paid and unpaid labour; and negotiations of socio-spatial workstyles whilst pursuing a 'labour of love'. What emerges is a web of personalised and individualised navigations through working life at the forefront of new creative labour praxis. Findings reveal migrant creatives to be highly educated, multi-skilled and entrepreneurial, and drawn to creative cities like Berlin by existential motivations including the search for a more fulfilling, 'creative' life. However, romanticised representations of working as a creative labourer in Berlin often differ from the practical and financial realities of working life in the global creative city.

The creative 'labour of love' is revealed as a site of struggle, comprised of under-employment and under-payment, high levels of competition for poorly paid jobs, exploitative working conditions, inadequate support networks or financial safety nets and limited cultural integration. In negotiating such challenges, migrant creatives often using the creative city as 'base' or anchorage point while continuing to work internationally. While Berlin remains 'Mecca' for an international creative class, questions remain on how rewarding or sustainable the creative 'labour of love' is in the global creative city. Final discussion includes implications of the study in the wider field as well as ideas for further research.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research goals

A creative calling: Migrant creatives and the labour of love in Berlin is a study of creative labourers from around the world who are living and working in Berlin. The central research questions of this dissertation are, "What is the meaning of Berlin to migrant creative labourers?" and "How does 'labour of love' influence workstyles in a global creative city?". These questions are addressed through a literature review followed by the collection and analysis of research data on the workstyles of over 200 migrant creative labourers in Berlin. Data is gathered using survey methodology and analysed through both qualitative and quantitative methods. The discussion is centred on the core theoretical framework of social constructionism.

Topics analysed in relation to the central research questions include the socio-spatial workstyles of creative labour, negotiations of mobility, relations to place, the use of the global creative city as 'base' and how 'labour of love' impacts on the work of migrant creatives. This dissertation aims to shed light on representations of Berlin and the workstyles of those individuals at the forefront of new forms of creative industries migration and creative labour praxis. Based on a critical review of creative industries concepts, new forms and flows of migration, creative labour practices and relations to the creative city, this research focuses on the workstyles of migrant creative labourers in the city of Berlin, with findings then discussed in relation to the wider creative sector and other creative cities worldwide.

1.2 Defining the research questions

The central research questions of this dissertation are, "What is the meaning of Berlin to migrant creative labourers?" and "How does 'labour of love' influence workstyles in a global creative city?". The term 'migrant creative labourers' (also

used in the abbreviated form, 'migrant creatives') describes a demographic of artists, cultural workers and creative entrepreneurs from around the world who live in creative cities and work in the creative industries as their main profession. The term 'migrant creatives' has been reappropriated from Goldman's thesis *The Migrant Creative: US Media Freelancers at the Border of a Changing Work Culture* (2013), in which she uses the term to describe the phenomenon of creative labourers moving in and out of (or migrating through) different work cultures, organisations and environments with each new job, largely due to the project-based nature of their freelance workstyles. For the purpose of this dissertation, the term 'labour' was chosen over 'work' due to the blurred line between paid and unpaid labour that exists in the creative industries. Unlike traditional definitions of work, where labour is waged-based and a transaction for financial return, the time and effort of creative labour is not always remunerated (Lange 2006a; Cohen 2012).

In the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2014), 'migrant' is defined as either a person who goes from one place to another, most often to find work, or a creature which moves from one area to another at different times of year. Due to their high levels of mobility and the fact they use creative cities as semi-permanent bases rather than a static or traditional notion of home, a combination of both these definitions may be applied to describe the 'migrant creative'. The term 'migrant' was chosen over other terms (such as 'foreigner' or 'expatriate') in order to highlight the identity of an outsider to a certain locality, one forced to negotiate new and foreign structures – social, cultural, economic and psychosocial.

The term 'labour of love' refers to atypical and complex scenarios surrounding the question of what one 'does for a living' and the delineation between waged and unwaged labour. The term references the tensions between working for money within the labour market and working for pleasure or pastime outside of traditional labour structures (McGuigan, 2010). 'Labour of love' was traditionally used to describe voluntary labour, existing separately to paid labour and "without consideration of a specific benefit or reward", such as caring for a family member

or tending to a garden (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2014). However, the concept has now infiltrated the wider labour market and traditional work practices, in part due to the postmodern desire to gain self-realisation and self-expression through one's work and the pressure to find a job where 'you do what you love' (see Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Ellmeier, 2003).

The 'labour of love' phenomenon is especially prevalent in the creative industries, as in this sector the line between waged and non-waged creative work often becomes so blurred that there is no longer any distinction (McGuigan, 2010). The term also references the lack of standardisation or regulation for labour performed in the creative industries, with employers using the 'labour of love' of their workers to justify exploitative conditions and sub-standard wages. In this dissertation, the term 'labour of love' has been adapted from Menger's theory as to why labour conditions of risk and exploitation are continuously downplayed or even ignored by workers in artistic and creative fields (1999:554). The term is used to reference what is a driving force behind workstyles and labour practices of migrant creative labourers, explored in this dissertation through the study of 209 of migrant creatives working in Berlin.

The 'creative city' is defined as a place with a general creative dynamism, conditions for a flourishing creative workforce, relatively high concentrations of creative labour and where cultural activities play an integral part in society (Throsby, 2001 & Saunders, 2010, as cited in Hartley et al., 2013:45). Discussion of the 'creative city' in this dissertation refers to a city with a large proportion of residents working in the creative industries and producing cultural content or products. Finally, the term 'creative calling' in the dissertation title refers to both the physical movement of international creative labourers to the city of Berlin, as well as the constructionist psychological 'call' of creative labour as a professional, lifestyle and identity.

1.3 The research topic

Berlin was selected as a focus for this research due to the phenomenon of large numbers of international creative labourers choosing the city as their 'base', including the author of this dissertation who has lived in Berlin for nearly five years. Berlin is seen as 'Utopia' for many migrant creatives – including artists, arts managers, creative producers and new media workers – for a multitude of reasons. These include the thriving cultural and artistic scene, large community of international creative labourers, exciting nocturnal life and low-cost of living compared to other European hubs, and the city's left-wing culture of non-conformity, anti-capitalism and freedom of expression. But Berlin is much more than just a physical location for a global diaspora of creative labourers; it is many things and many places simultaneously. Due to the city's unique history and cultural standpoint, constructed metaphors and representations of Berlin encompass lifestyle, way of life, state of mind, counter-culture, philosophy, global creative city and much more. All of these constructs play at various degrees and times into the motivations for migration of the mobile creative labourer, and thus provide a mirror into the work- and lifestyles of creative labourers in creative cities globally.

Today, new workstyles and labour patterns are emerging across many industries, with socially constructed definitions of traditional employment and a 'real job' fading into project-based, mobile and highly-autonomous work structures (see Walters et al., 2006). As Beck argues in *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (1992), the life of a migrant creative labourer is far removed from the unions, contracts, sabbaticals, promotions, bonuses, long-service leave and gold watches that have typified employment structures since the industrial revolution. Labourers of today's creative industries often hold multiple part-time jobs that when combined make up a more than full-time workload. They work on short-term contract bases (often without the actual contracts) and in temporary and scattered labour patterns and locations. There is little to no job protection; employers do not often cover their health insurance and pension payments;

career prospects become increasingly uncertain; and earnings are unregulated and unpredictable. On top of this, creative labourers often take on large pro-bono 'passion projects' outside of their paid duties, making the lines between pleasure and obligation, work and recreation, networking and socialising increasingly blurred, at times disguising or downplaying severe under-employment and under-payment (Pink, 2001).

This research topic is tempo-spatially unique in the sense that it analyses a class of highly mobile creative labourers who base themselves in the dynamic global creative city of Berlin, in an era of new labour structures and work-life negotiations. This demographic is a class of highly individualised creative practitioners at the forefront of rapidly shifting labour practices and workstyles. With increasing numbers of international creatives choosing Berlin as the 'base' to pursue their creative work, this dissertation aims to push this demographic into the spotlight, examining their representations of Berlin as a global creative city and the influence of 'labour of love' on their workstyles and labour patterns. The intention is for this study to yield results relevant to wider academic inquiry.

The author was drawn to this topic based on personal experience working as a creative labourer in Berlin after moving from Sydney, Australia in 2009. The author has worked on a freelance basis for multiple arts organisations in Berlin, partly by choice and partly by necessity, for reasons including a German work visa stipulating freelance rather than full-time work. Working as a curator for a busy cultural organisation and creative co-working space in Berlin's Wedding district has enabled the author to develop a large network of migrant creative labourers across the city. However, the author has observed that many in this network suffer from distressing levels of financial precarity, including extreme under- or unemployment, social dislocation and isolation in their 'chosen' creative city. This study uses the author's positioning inside the focus group to offer insight into what drew these migrant creatives to Berlin; their representations of and identification with the city; socio-spatial workstyles and 'labour of love'; negotiations of mobility; and relations to place including use of Berlin as 'base'.

1.4 The research process

The research process for this dissertation begins with a literature review examining the history of Berlin as a creative city, drawing on the psychosocial imaginary of Berlin as a constructed place (Maile & Griffiths, 2012), writings on Germany's old and new creative industries (Henninger & Gottschall, 2007) and Berlin's positioning as a global creative city today (Hesse & Lange, 2013; Lange et al., 2008; Puchta et al., 2010). Migration of creative labourers in relation to old and new migration studies dichotomies are then examined. These include circular and impermanent movements beyond traditional notions of nationality or national territories (Wang, 2004; Recchi 2006), the role of imaginative roots, as well as personal self-realisation and biographical conjuncture in the individual narratives of migrant creatives (King 2002; Maile & Griffiths, 2012; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008). The topics of place, international networks and creative locales are also discussed, including Castells' 'network society' (1996) and 'space of flows' (2004), territorialisation of local subcultures in creative cities (Sassen, 2001), geographies and socio-spatial strategies of culturepreneurs (Lange, 2006a) and the role of the migrant creative as 'city ethnographer' (Lange, 2006b).

Other topics reviewed include creative labour as a complicated version of freedom (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), the 'labour of love' theory as justification for exploitative creative labour practices (Menger, 1999), the creative worker as personification of precarious and increasingly inescapable labour structures (McRobbie, 2010), concepts of the culturepreneur and culturepreneurialism (Davies & Ford, 1998, Friebe & Lobo, 2006 & Lange, 2006a & 2006b) and the shifting conditions and dynamics of a global creative class (Florida, 2002a; Marcuse, 2003 & Peck, 2005). Workstyles of creative labourers are analysed, including increasingly vulnerable and exploitative working conditions (Sennett, 1998; McRobbie, 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), recent surges in precarious freelance labour forms (Shevchuk & Strebkov, 2012), individualisation and autonomisation of cultural work (Jakob, 2010; Horowitz, 2011) and the concept of creative labour as site of struggle (Cohen, 2012).

A survey is utilised as a research method to gather data from the target demographic of Berlin's migrant creative class. In late 2013 and early 2014, 210 international creative labourers living and working in Berlin completed a 35-question online survey. This was followed by a critical analysis of the survey data, using social constructionism as the theoretical framework for data analysis. Data collected from Berlin's migrant creative class included information on representations of Berlin and the 'pull' of the global creative city, education, paid versus unpaid creative labour and on 'making ends meet' in Berlin's creative industries, mobility factors including relations to place and the use of Berlin as 'base' as well as integration levels of migrant creatives. Data was then analysed using a mixed method approach, focusing on answering the central research questions: the meaning of Berlin to migrant creative labourers, and how 'labour of love' influences their workstyles in the global creative city.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Social constructionism

This dissertation draws on a social constructionist theory to analyse representations of Berlin and how a 'labour of love' influences and defines the workstyles of migrant creatives. In *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1967), Berger & Luckmann define social constructionism as an empirically based framework for interpreting the ways by which value and meaning are located in a social context. Social constructionism supports the belief that humans create meaning and interpretations from their daily lives in relation to the conditions and people around them, and that our understanding of the world is developed not individually but in relation to each other (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009; Burr, 1995). As Goldman surmises, the world shapes humans and they in turn shape the reality they live in (2013:22). This dissertation uses a constructionist approach to study the ways in which representations of Berlin and the influence of a creative 'labour of love' ethos perpetuate the workstyles, working lives and labour conditions of migrant creatives.

In Gergen's writings on the major components of social constructionism, he argues that lived experience is bound to personal representations, and our lives are determined by our own reflexivity of such understandings (2001). A research goal for this dissertation, using the framework of social constructionism, is to identify to what extent the 'creative calling' defines the workstyles of migrant creatives, and conversely in what sense the working lives of these creative migrants perpetuate their labour conditions, i.e. how representations of realities in their working lives for this demographic in turn influence and define the wider labour conditions and workstyles across creative cities around the world.

Using a constructionist approach, the working lives of Berlin's migrant creatives are studied on both personal and professional fronts, taking into account that a

clear line between these two types of labour cannot be drawn. Whilst these individuals are active players in the construction of their own labour practices, in analysing these constructions one must also consider the interdependence of such workstyles and identities in relation a wider story and narrative of the migrant creative, both in Berlin and in other global creative cities.

Some critics of the constructionist approach argue that it assumes behavioural patterns caused by social conventions rather than by nature. In Boghossian's *Fear of Knowledge: Against Relativism and Constructivism* (2006), he argues that constructionist frameworks can overly objectify social conditions, making unfounded assumptions of subjective reality and placing unreasonable constraints on sociologists to *interpret* such phenomena (or in some cases *misinterpret*, as argued by Best, 1993). Such critics tend to lean more towards a positivist approach, preferring a theory committed to "measurement and objectivity rather than reconstruction and interpretation". Positivism tends to avoid speculative and subjective analysis and instead focus on studying observable facts or *positiva*" (Comte, as quoted by Flick, 2014:75).

In justifying the use of social constructionism as the theoretical framework for this research project, it must be stated that this theory makes no claims to objectivity, and instead of a 'single truth' offers 'multiple truths' (Gergen, 2001:9-12). Rather than mapping phenomena and distilling them into succinct and decisive conclusions, it allows examination of the space existing in communal interchange as a framework for discussion and interpretation (Gergen, 1985). As Berger & Luckmann synopsise, social constructionism as a theoretical framework should not be called on for singular truths, but for the identification of overarching trends in representations of reality (1967). Migrant creatives do not exhibit binary or clearly categorised motivations, behaviours, identities or workstyles in the global creative city but instead embody highly personalised and complex work-life scenarios. Social constructionist theory can therefore enable liberal understandings and discussion of their complex working lives.

In writing on the criticality of social constructionism, Hosking refers to the theory as offering nonhierarchical techniques to recognise and support different voices, creating "space for multiple local realities" (2008:683). Constructionism enables a specific focus on the subjects of study, as opposed to the interpretations of the researcher, thereby creating subtle power shifts that give prominence to individual stories and 'small voices' that might otherwise be lost (Hosking, 2008:683; Burr 1995:13-17). For these reasons, social constructionism has been chosen as a relevant approach for the analysis of the 'creative calling' of migrant creative – the call to creative labour, the call to Berlin and the call to a global creative city.

2.2 Berlin as global creative city: A constructionist approach

Official statistics and municipal campaigns sell Berlin as a global creative city of the 21st Century (Berlin.de, 2014) and 'Mecca' for creative labourers from around the world. Yet behind the shiny façade of the creative city PR pitch lie many paradoxes. According to Lange et al., the creative industries incorporate alternative logics and market rules rarely acknowledged by public authorities or official statistics. This means when "looking at creative industries in Berlin through an official eye, many potential paradoxes of creativity are not detectable" (2008:533). In a 2003 interview, when asked whether *"Macht Geld sexy?"* [Does money bring sexiness?], Berlin's Mayor Klaus Wowereit replied, *"Nein. Das sieht man an Berlin. Wir sind zwar arm, aber trotzdem sexy"* [No. Look at Berlin: we may be poor, but we're still sexy] (*Online Focus*, 2006). Wowereit's statement, shortened to *Arm, aber Sexy* [Poor but Sexy] and often used in English, has since become a pessimistic slogan and ironic catch-cry amongst Berlin's creative labourers for their struggles for fair working conditions and adequate pay in the city's creative industries.

Upon scratching the surface of representations of Berlin as a global creative city, many perplexities present themselves in theorists' and historians' answers to the question, "What is Berlin?". Maile & Griffiths, writing on the psychosocial

imaginary of Berlin as a constructed place, articulate a state of existential limbo "on the brink and full of a certain type of possibility" (2012:48), and Ward describes Berlin as a virtual, global city with a "seemingly infinite web of self-representation" (2004:246). In *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place,* Till ponders Berlin as "a place where past, present, and future collide in unexpected ways" (2005:1). Finally, in *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin,* Ritchie muses,

> *"Like Faust, Berlin can be said to have two spirits in the same breast; it is both a terrible and a wonderful city, a place which has created and destroyed and whose name is both acclaimed and blackened. It is not without reason that Berlin has been called everything from the 'symbol of German destiny' to the 'city of the twenty-first century'."* (1998:1964)

Yet from a constructionist standpoint, representations of Berlin as place, lifestyle, idea and philosophy must be discussed within the socio-temporal contexts unique to this city, because at the root of Berlin's international reputation as a creative city lies rich historical significance. Notions of Berlin as creative city date back to the 1920s where, due to wartime devastation and an abundance of vacant spaces, the 'void of Berlin' was, both metaphorically and literally, a conducive environment to cultural pursuits and urban entrepreneurialism (see Huyssen, 1997 & Lange, 2006a & 2006b). During the 20th century, Berlin experienced unprecedented social and political changes: Imperial Germany, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, socio-economic and physical devastation during World War II, and division by cold war before the city regained its status as capital of a united Germany in 1990 (Maile & Griffiths, 2012:37). From a constructionist perspective, the succession of such extreme events and "enthrallment to change" seen in its 20th Century history gave Berlin the reputation of a city fueled by tragedy and trauma, but also one of potential and opportunity (Ritchie 1998:xvii & Craig 1991, cited in Maile & Griffiths, 2012:37).

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a plethora of cultural initiatives emerged in the city's empty spaces due to cheap rents and limited regulations. The unique economic, social and political climate at the time created a uniquely alternative, experimental and non-commercial creative scene (Heebels & van Aalst, 2010;

Mundelius & Hertzsch, 2005; Ebert & Kunzmann 2007). Yet during the 1990s Berlin's population stagnated and unemployment rose to 20%. Writing on the history of 'governing creativity' in Berlin, Lange et al. note that in the 1990s, the only sector that continued to create jobs and revenue was the creative industries (2008), reinforcing representations of Berlin as creative city.

In 2005, Berlin was admitted into UNESCO's global *Creative Cities Network,* and in 2006 appointed UNESCO's *City of Design* (Berlin.de, 2006). Berlin Senate's 2008 campaign *Sei Berlin* [Being Berlin] positioned Berlin as 'city of change' and a constructionist 'mode of experience' (SeiBerlin.de, 2008). By 2009, the city was home to an officially documented creative industries labour force of over 150 000 people employed by over 20 000 companies (Maile & Griffiths, 2012; Lange et al, 2008). Berlin's creative industries now generate over 17.5 billion Euros in annual revenue, representing 22% of the city's gross domestic product (Senatsverwaltung, 2009). Statistics show that today more than 10% of Berlin employees work in the creative industries (Hesse & Lange, 2013:357; Jakob, 2010).

Since the 2008 recession, Berlin's creative industries shifted rapidly from a German-centric to an international phenomenon. Many young creative foreigners arrived in Berlin with hopes of a more fulfilling 'creative life', filling *WGs* [share-houses] in trendy districts and increasing competition for already scarce jobs in the creative sector (Wood, 2014). In the popular former-West Berlin district of Neukölln, rents increased 23% between 2007 and 2010 (Pfeil, 2012), a social phenomenon that has gained ongoing attention in Berlin's mainstream media, for example *Der Spiegel*'s "Neukölln Nasties: Foreigners Feel Accused in Berlin Gentrification Row" (Mendoza, 2011) and *Die Zeit's* "Monopoly Neukölln" (Pfeil, 2012). In a recent opinion piece, Slobodian & Sterling (2013) mock the rapid transformation of such districts, pointing the finger of blame at migrant creatives for rapid rental increases and subsequent gentrification:

> "*As rents peaked in Brooklyn, San Francisco, Vancouver, Melbourne, Copenhagen, and London, Berlin beckoned. Streams of young people with*

post-secondary degrees in literature, art, and theory arrived in the city seeking rooms in shared apartments. Craigslist became a clearinghouse for stolen cruiser bikes and homogeneous IKEA-furnished rooms where savvy landlords added one hundred Euros to their usual asking price and promised proximity to the 'current hipster district Berlin-Neukölln, with lots of bars, galleries and international artists'".

Lange et al. write that 'creative city' policies are adopted by city governments as a potential solution to economic stagnancy, urban shrinkage, social segregation and global competition (2008:531). Yet many Berlin locals see such policies, which beckon a steady influx of international creative labourers to a city without necessarily the resources or infrastructure to support them, as an "encroachment of globalised mass capitalism into Berlin's anarcho-bohemian bubble" (Rogers, 2014). Rather than point the finger solely at Berlin's international creative class however, Hesse & Lange view such changes in light of Berlin's "own political-economic restructuring and of being part of the global reorganisation of labour in symbolic economies" (2013:365). From a constructionist perspective, Berlin can be viewed as both a spatial embodiment of the rapidly shifting workstyles of highly mobile creative labourers who use the global creative city as 'base', and as a metaphor for the engine driving the increasingly globalised and capitalised creative industries.

A constructionist framework therefore shows us that representations of Berlin as a global creative city are shaped by historical and locational contexts including social, political and economic structures, as well as the relationships and culture of a city's creative industries. Such contexts are not formed by individuals, or even groups such as Berlin's migrant creative class, but are co-constructed and in constant evolution due to the interdependency of a multitude of individual narratives (Gergen, 2001). For this reason, incorporating a host of individual voices and stories was deemed crucial to this study in order to gain rich insights into the meanings of Berlin to migrant creative labourers, and how a 'labour of love' influences their workstyles in this global creative city.

3. Literature Review

3.1 New forms of migration and a global creative class

Traditional migration studies approach the concept of migration as unidirectional movements of workers from poor to prosperous countries, often due to adverse socio-economic or political conditions (King, 2002). However, as Lange & Schröder note, mobility patterns today display increasingly circular, impermanent movements of mid- or highly-skilled labourers to countries of varying prosperity (2011). These new migration patterns can be explained not solely by economic narratives, but by socio-cultural constructs amongst migrants and their embedded conditions (Bürkner 2000b; 2005b, as cited by Lange & Schröder, 2011:5). In Maile & Griffiths' article *Longings for Berlin: exploring the workings of the psycho-social imaginary,* they take a constructionist view of migration, discussing the role of "imaginative roots" and "biographical conjuncture" in the reasons for relocation to the global creative city (2012:34). In his writings on new patterns of European migration, Russell King postulates:

> "*In the new global and European map of migration, the old dichotomies of migration studies – internal versus international, forced versus voluntary, temporary versus permanent, legal versus illegal – blur as both the motivations and modalities of migration become much more diverse. These relatively new forms of migration derive from new motivations [such as] the retreat from labour-migrations linked to production, new space-time flexibilities, globalisation forces, and migrations of consumption and personal self-realisation.*" (2002:89)

The phenomenon of voluntary migration – an impermanent, transitory and movement-based process based on lifestyle, personal and/or professional reasons – is growing increasingly common due to reduced geographical constraints, as well as increased levels of privilege and reflexivity compared to previous generations. The search for a more fulfilling way of life is a common incentive in these new forms of migration and movement across borders, a pursuit available mostly to privileged individuals in the developed world (Findlay et al., 1996; Castles, 1986 as quoted in Maile & Griffiths, 2012:30, plus Benson & O'Reilly, 2009:608-620).

Creative labourers today are highly mobile and free agents, often with ties to multiple employers, professions and locations, traveling to and between 'creative hubs' at an increasing rate (Lange, 2006b; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008). In apexart's 2013 publication *Life between borders: The nomadic life of curators and artists*, Gielen describes these "hyper mobile" workers using the terms, "rhizomatic, global drift, dislocated, diaspora, unbelonging, connectivity, networks, deterritorialisation, exodus, cosmopolitan, and nomad" (2013:18). Recchi, writing on new forms of citizenship and mobility within the European Union, highlights the lack of statistical information on the new patterns of movement between borders we are now seeing from 'professional migrants':

> "*… the continued liberalisation of world trade, and the movement of goods, capital and services on which it is based, is also leading to a spectacular liberalisation of the free movement of persons … yet distinctions are rarely drawn between the processes, policies or politics shaping highly skilled or professional migration, as opposed to those behind unskilled migration.*" (2006:1)

In *Leaving America: the new expatriate generation* (2008), Wennersten identifies a research gap on the work and lifestyles of globalised, educated and skilled professionals who belong to trans-cultural communities and embody fluid, post-national identities (also see Recchi, 2006). The migration patterns and labour practices of working migrants in the global creative city remain under-documented. There is also a tendency to underestimate the size of a city's international creative labour force due members of this group not being picked up in official government statistics, as well as the murky line between professional, amateur and 'hobbyist' creative labour meaning the members of this group are not easily classifiable (Higgs et al., 2008, cited in Hartley et al., 2013:63).

The concept of a *creative class* existed as far back as 1776 with references to a 'new labour class', the concept then continuing through Marx and Engels' eras to incarnations such as "Weber's bureaucrats, Taylor's scientific managers, the Fordist worker, Schumpeter's entrepreneurs, [and] Wright Mills' power elite" (as cited in Hartley et al., 2013). The impact of 20th Century technology and the information economy on this creative labour force has led to references of

"knowledge workers" and "knowledge class", characteristics that still characterise the creative labourer of today (Drucker, 1959 and Bell, 1973 respectively, cited in Hartley et al., 2013:47). The term creative class can hold ambiguity about whether it accounts for creative producers or also consumers. For the purpose of this dissertation, discussions of the term are framed around those *producing* culture as a main work practice, and not those consuming it.

Discussions on what defines the creative class today often reference the work of Richard Florida. Florida popularised the term in 2002 with his book *The Rise of the Creative Class* in which he described a fast-growing and highly educated segment of the workforce comprised of 'thought leaders' and 'opinion-makers' (2002b). Florida's work greatly impacted cultural policy in the West, leading to many global cities including Berlin implementing 'creative cities' policies in the hope of attracting this highly desired 'creative human capital' (Hartley et al., 2013). The legacy from these policies still exists in many creative cities today and, it can be claimed, has laid the framework for the workstyles and labour patterns of the target demographic of this research.

According to the writings of Saskia Sassen (2001), a global creative city operates most effectively when circulation of both ideas and people is at its highest. In *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo,* she writes of the continued de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of local subcultures in such locations creating a dynamic state of flux and cross-pollination of ideas (2001:18-24). According to cultural theorist Bastion Lange, the modern creative labourer is increasingly required to "invent the ability to operate worldwide", while simultaneously cementing work and networks at a local level (2006a:265). On negotiating the challenge of building and maintaining professional networks on both local and international platforms concurrently, the foreign roots of the migrant creative labourer (due to fact they have international connections from their previous 'home' after relocation to their chosen creative city) may actually serve to their advantage over a 'native' (in this case Berliner) creative labourer in the global creative city.

In his writings on the geographies and socio-spatial strategies of creative labourers, Lange argues that the international creative, consciously or not, often perpetrates the role of 'city ethnographer' whereby one "re-define[s] and re-evaluate[s] the social relationship between insider and outsider, old and new, in and out" (2006a: 271). Unconsciously, these 'migrant ethnographers' (a term reappropriated from Lange) impact and transform the very fabric of the city they inhabit. As Joreige hints in *Life Between Borders,* there is the threat that such vast influxes of creatives encroaching on a city like Berlin could cause a "homogenisation of community" (2013:31), subsequently normalising the unique characteristics they came seeking in the first place.

At this point, Castells' writings on the 'network society' (1996) and 'space of flows' (2004) must be considered due to the intrinsic role that technology plays in the work and lives of mobile creatives in the creative city today. The 'digitally nomadic' work styles of a global creative class arguably exist within this 'space of flows'; despite using the global creative city as their base, these labourers can often found elsewhere, literally and metaphorically, working in complex digital networks that dissolve and reform with every (increasingly short-term) work contract (Goldman, 2013; Malone & Laubacher, 1998). Castells' 'network society' is also a relevant theme in regards to negotiations and blurring boundaries between professional networks (e.g. local versus international business; working with a team in a physical space versus by remote work through technology) and personal networks (e.g. online versus physical communities; face-to-face communications versus digital communications with friends and family) that exist in hyper-connected creative cities. Hartley et al. refer to a paradox that as more culture and communication move online, the importance of the creative city actually grows as "anchorage point[s] for an increasingly global and mobile culture with locative dynamics that secure culture's real-time, real-life embodiment" (2013:43). This indicates that despite hyper-mobility and globalisation of a networked creative class, place *still* matters.

3.2 Creative industries and the business of creativity

The 'creative industries' is a wide-ranging term, and has been defined as broadly as a "convergence of production and consumption, culture and economy, competition and cooperation, making media and using media" (Deuze, 2009:469), or "all the branches to which creativity is an important input factor" (as defined by Puchta et al. in *The Berlin Creative Industries - An Empirical Analysis of Future Key Industries*, 2010:19). The term itself originates from the 1970s when increasingly neoliberal government policies inspired different ways of thinking about knowledge, culture and economy (Hesmondhalgh, 2007); 'neoliberalism' being defined in this dissertation as "relating to or denoting a modified form of liberalism tending to favour free-market capitalism" (Oxford Dictionary, 2014).

It was not until the 1990s however, when the UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) released its Creative Industries Mapping Study, that the term creative industries entered the public lexicon. The DCMS initially included in its descriptor the sub-sectors of advertising, architecture, arts, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, leisure software, toys, TV and radio, and video games (1998) and described the sector as having "creativity, skill, talent, [with] a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation of exploitation of intellectual property" (2001:4). This marked the first time aesthetic and non-commercial sectors were linked with high-tech and commercial sectors, and cultural production was linked with cultural consumption. In doing so the DCMS officially recognised the economic impact of culture and of creativity as a valuable asset to the post-industrial economy (Hartley et al., 2013; 58-59). In developing the research survey for this dissertation, the original DCMS categories were used, combined with additional categories to cover new multi-disciplinary professions specific to Berlin's creative sector (see Q6, Appendix 8.2).

According to Hartley et al., the creative industries are an interdisciplinary field drawing from many discourses including cultural, economic, political, artistic,

scientific and technological (2013). However there has been much international debate about what constitutes the sector. According to Gollmitzer & Murray's 2008 policy framework report for the Canadian Conference of the Arts, this is because the term originated as a policy intervention rather than an academic theory and recognises the cross-disciplinary nature of modern creative practices.

There has also been much criticism of the term, with claims that it promotes false market economies, glorifies exploitative creative labour practices and undermines the need for public and government support for culture (Hartley et al., 2013:61). Flew & Cunningham argue that the creative industries have roots in neoliberal ideologies of furthering "the hegemony of multinational corporate capital over the cultural sphere" (2010:6). Unlike terms such as 'cultural industries' that risk downplaying the marketisation of creativity and variety of creative labour practices contributing to the modern economy (Hesmondhalgh, 2008:560), the term 'creative industries' frames analysis around the industrialisation of culture: of creativity as an industry in itself. The term is used in the context of this dissertation to emphasise the role of the labourer in the creative sector (rather than only the artist) and their role in both the creative economy and the increasingly commercialised 'business' of creativity.

It is argued that modern labour conditions in the creative industries encapsulate phenomena such as wealth inequality and worker exploitation whilst furthering the hegemony of multinational capitalism over the cultural sphere (Flew & Cunningham, 2010). Writing on Germany's old and new media industries, Henninger & Gottschall describe such workstyles as 'preying' on a youth demographic, drawing them in on the pretense of autonomous freelance work and a creative lifestyle, before trapping them into a cycle of subsistence. Ross reiterates this danger of financial precarity for labourers in the creative industries:

> "Once they are in this game, some of the players thrive, but most subsist, neither as employers or traditional employees, in a limbo of uncertainty, juggling their options, massaging their contacts, managing their overcommitted time, and developing coping strategies for handling the uncertainty of never knowing where their next project, or source of income,

is coming from." (2006:5)

Writing on personal consequences of work in the 'new capitalism', Sennett paints the morbid picture of modern creative labourers "on the edge of losing control over their lives" (1998:19), with 'normal' labour conditions now being that of the insecure worker carrying the unrelenting burden of finding, negotiating, securing and maintaining employment (Gorz, 1999; Deuze, 2007). Due to free competition in an increasingly neoliberal market economy, autonomous migrant workers in the creative industries are forced to undercut their own networks and communities, accepting poorer conditions, lower pay and longer hours in the pursuit of 'labour of love' at any cost (McRobbie, 2010:32; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010). In *The spark in the engine: creative workers in a global economy,* Huws compares this behaviour to prisoners constructing new bars for their own cages, and the cages of those who come after them (2006:10). This foreboding metaphor is especially relevant to a global creative city such as Berlin, where creative labourers are over-saturating the market, causing supply to outstrip demand and pushing working conditions and pay rates down across the sector (Slobodian & Sterling, 2013).

3.3 From labour of love to culturepreneurialism

Discussion of the creative industries cannot be separated from what Hartley et al. refer to as its 'human capital': the creative labourers (2013:62). In this dissertation the term *creative labour* is used – as opposed to terms such as *creative work* or *cultural work* – as a descriptor of both paid and unpaid work, referencing the fluid and non-traditional workstyles intrinsic to the 'labour of love' ethos by which many creative workers live their lives (Menger, 1999). There are paradoxes at the heart of creativity as a form of labour however, bound to the contradicting value systems between *art* and *work* (Scott; 2014). In the field of creative labour, values such as autonomy, expressivity and the balancing of monetary and non-monetary rewards exist in contrast to many industrial-era models of work, such as the nine-to-five job in a company office (Flew, 2012 as cited in Hartley et al., 2013:62). Trying to find a space for the fluidity of creative process and output within the

frameworks of more rigid labour markets and traditional economic structures might be conceptualised as putting a square peg into a round hole.

In *The Freelance Surge Is the Industrial Revolution of Our Time* (*The Atlantic*, 2011), such tensions between creativity and work are seen as symptomatic of a wider post-industrial labour shift, which Horowitz claims is the biggest and most significant change to notions of work since the transition from an agricultural to industrial economy:

> *"No longer do we work at the same company for 25 years, waiting for the gold watch, expecting the benefits and security that come with full-time employment. We're no longer simply lawyers, or photographers, or writers. Instead, we're part-time lawyers-cum-amateur photographers who write on the side. Today, careers consist of piecing together various types of work, juggling multiple clients, learning to be marketing and accounting experts, and creating offices in bedrooms/coffee shops/co-working spaces."*

Postmodern creative labour can be simultaneously viewed as both "labour at the margins" and as "the last space of resistance", terms used by Beck in *Cultural Work: Understanding the Cultural Industries* (2002:4). Beck's argument of cultural work as "labour at the margins" is based on the prominence of insecurity in the creative industries, the existence of informal and makeshift support structures in the absence of official safety nets and the fact the sector operates within a unique market environment outside (and often in contrast to) wider economic structures. The concept of creative labour as "last space of resistance" refers to the concept of work within creative industries as escape from traditional wage relations, as well as the prominence of innovation and creative exploration in creative labour. An example of this is the serendipitous process of creative collaboration and live performance, which exists in contrast to standardised 'cookie-cutter' job descriptions and KPIs of many occupations in a capitalist labour market and economy (2002:3-5).

At this point the differentiation between 'creative industries' and 'creative economy' must be noted, as the latter incorporates spillovers to the wider economy, as well focus of finance and the consumption of culture (Hartley et al.,

2013:55-56). Discussions of the term 'creative economy' in this dissertation revolve around the economic and market conditions that creative labourers work and live by, rather than the economic impact of their creative production for wider markets. Complementing Beck's work on 'resistance spaces' is McRobbie's argument on the need for creative economies to be redefined as 'radical social enterprises' due to the intrinsically (self-)exploitative conditions of creative labour. McRobbie stresses the deeply problematic nature of the creative labourer's workstyles and labour conditions in a modern creative economy and uses this as a call-to-action for creative labourers to revive political culture and fight for changes to their predicament, in which she describes as follows:

> *"[They're] increasing required to work upon themselves, to fashion a useful self and to project themselves through strenuous self-activity; to be, in effect, self-reliant whether self-employed or temporarily employed … the culture of the workplace [being] in bitter contradiction with the realities of everyday working life in an exceptionally insecure sector of the labour market. It seems glamorous but, in practice, is far from it."* – McRobbie, 2002, as paraphrased by McGuigan, 2010:333

According to Beck in *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (1992), the obligation of modern labourers to take control of and manage their increasingly decentralised working lives is becoming an imperative. In her doctoral thesis on migrant creatives at the border of a changing work culture, Goldman reiterates the concept of the "management of self" being forced upon creative labourers who often have no managerial structures, professional support networks or development opportunities:

> *"You are required to train yourself; keep up-to-date; find or create your own work; monitor your progress; compare yourself to others; anticipate what comes next; maintain your distinct reputation; meet deadlines whatever costs they exert on your body or relationships; prepare for contingencies such as illness, injury, or old age; make contacts; network; and socialise – and to do all of this is an atmosphere in which your success or failure is understood in entirely individualistic terms."*
> (2013:187)

Working conditions of creative labourers today often include low wages, radical job insecurity, intermittent work, limited access to union protection, long working hours, an absence of collective bargaining initiatives to improve conditions and a

lack of protective social systems such as health insurance and social security (Ross, 2006; Cohen, 2012; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008). Yet despite such difficult working conditions, highly educated and skilled individuals from around the world continue to be drawn to this precarious work- and lifestyle.

Pierre-Michel Menger, writing on artistic labour markets and creative careers, provides three arguments as to why such conditions of risk and exploitation are downplayed or even ignored by creative labourers: the 'labour of love' theory, the risk-taker (or naivety of risks) theory, and the non-monetary rewards theory (1999:554). The 'labour of love' theory is especially conducive to high levels of self-exploitation in the creative industries as the lines between work and hobby are at times so blurred in this sector that there is no longer any distinction. It can be argued that the 'labour of love' is extremely prevalent in the creative industries compared to other industry sectors due to the high level of personal attachment to and individual expression achieved through creative practice, process and output (see McGuigan, 2010).

McRobbie writes about the 'pleasure-pain axis' of labour, where the higher the levels of pleasure in work, the higher the acceptance of 'pain' – in this case the pain 'being' exploitative work conditions and unwaged creative labour:

> *"Professed 'pleasure in work', indeed passionate attachment to something called 'my own work', where there is the possibility of the maximisation of self expressiveness, provides a compelling status justification (and also a disciplinary mechanism) for tolerating not just uncertainty and self exploitation but also for staying (unprofitably) within the creative sector and not abandoning it altogether."* (1999, as cited in Power & Scott, 2004:132)

Today, creative labourers face the dilemma between maintaining autonomy in their work and living a self-determined life pursuing their personal 'labour of love', and making a living by turning their creative labour into 'business' in the increasingly competitive, commoditised and capitalised creative industries (Lange et al, 2008, Manske, 2008, Cunningham, 2002). Such neoliberal shifts in the market economy have led to autonomous working behaviours, where workstyles

extend beyond traditional freelance structures and into entrepreneurialism, labourers now forced to straddle the line between "competition and cooperation, exchange and isolation, private and public, work and leisure" (Hesse & Lange, 2013:366). This dichotomy has led to the concept of 'culturepreneurialism', a term first used in the late 1990s in Davies & Ford's article *Art Capital* (1998:13) to describe individual service providers in creative industries who, by choice or necessity, combine creativity or cultural work with a business-minded entrepreneurialism.

In Friebe & Lobo's 2006 book *Wir nennen es Arbeit* [We call it Work], they define the culturepreneur as someone rejecting traditional employment structures and investing in new representations and work identities in order to hold more autonomous power in the labour market. Yet while doing so, they are operating on less than optimal conditions in a highly competitive sector, comprised of:

> *"… subjective and volatile markets, where product value judgments are primarily aesthetic, where business goals are not singularly concerned with the pursuit of profits or shareholder return but with the need to remain cutting edge and creatively 'relevant'."* (Banks et al., 2000:456-7)

The creative industries today are an entrepreneurial sector comprised of a growing range of micro-businesses competing on innovation rather than scale and operating largely outside normal value and waged labour systems (Hartley et al., 2013:93). Creative culturepreneurs use broad skill sets to perform new hybrid creative roles that didn't exist a generation ago. These include curator, digital project manager and creative producer, or running creative micro-businesses acting as consultants or advisors, roles that Lange argues "clos[e] gaps in the urban landscape with new social, entrepreneurial and socio-spatial practices" (2006a:260, also Hesse & Lange, 2013). Discussion of the culturepreneur in this dissertation focuses on the idea of the globally operating cultural entrepreneur, practicing autonomous workstyles without employer support systems or traditional job security; the personification of highly-mobile and trans-national creative labourers, living out their autonomous 'labour of love' in the last spaces of resistance of a neoliberal economy (Beck, 2002:4).

4. Methodology

4.1 Survey development

A targeted survey was the primary method of obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data from migrant labourers working in Berlin's creative industries. The survey was developed according to literature on survey design (Leung, 2001; Andres, 2012), constructing questionnaires (Foddy, 1994), identifying survey question errors (Groves et al., 2001) and evaluating survey results (Byrne, 2001; Groves et al., 2009; Graeff, 2005). An online survey was chosen over hard-copy, recognising that laptops and hi-speed broadband are the tools of trade for creative labourers and thereby ensuring the best access to the target demographic.

After researching several digital survey platforms including Google Forms, LimeSurvey and KwikSurveys, the professional version of SurveyMonkey (2013) was deemed to be best suited to the research requirements. It allowed for dichotomous and ordinal-polytomous responses, multiple answer and open-ended questions, compulsory and non-compulsory questions, text boxes to explain selected answers and drop-down multiple choice answer options. This platform also provided a user-friendly backend to track incoming data, sort responses by various criteria as well as an IP tracker to limit the same respondent completing the survey multiple times.

The survey included both quantitative (multiple choice) and qualitative (open-ended, text based) questions, designed to capture data on various aspects of the working lives of migrant creatives in Berlin. Multiple choice options used academic-standard ranges wherever possible (see Creswell, 2003). The final survey contained 35 questions covering a range of topics including motivations for migration to Berlin, socio-spatial workstyles of migrant creative, ways in which migrant creatives negotiate mobility and use of the global creative city as 'base' and how 'labour of love' influences their workstyles and working lives.

The first section of the survey included demographic questions such as gender, age, amount of time lived in Berlin, nationality and city of residence before Berlin. Respondents were asked to categorise their work in the creative industries and give their employment and education status. Then followed questions on work patterns, paid versus unpaid creative labour, earning money outside Berlin and travelling outside the city for work, internships (including duration, pay and whether they led to a job) and locations of work.

The second half of the survey aimed to tap into respondents representations of Berlin and their creative 'labour of love' through questions about motivations for coming to work in Berlin, whether expectations were met, and what they found to be the most positive and negative aspects of working as a creative labourer in Berlin. Questions about integration were also included, in relation to German language proficiency as well as personal and professional networks. In order to encourage reflexive and expanded answers, the survey concluded with a series of qualitative questions on hypothetical advice for a creative labourer planning to relocate to Berlin. Open ended questions such as "What advice would you give…" and "What are the keys to success…" encouraged respondents' insider knowledge of the topic, prompting insightful narrations on personal representations of Berlin, mobility, relations to place and workstyles in the global creative city (Foddy, 1994). For the full research survey see Appendix 8.1.

4.2 Data collection

A pilot questionnaire was sent to 10 migrant labourers from the author's personal and professional network. They responded to the questionnaire and provided feedback, leading to the revision of several questions. Many pilot study respondents commented that the topic was relevant and expressed interest in reading the results. This gave the author encouragement to persevere with both the research topic and method. Results from the pilot study were not used in the final research analysis but pilot study participants were encouraged to also complete the final survey.

The research goal was to collect 200 completed surveys over an eight-week period. Despite the fact there was no direct incentive for survey completion, it was hoped that the relevance of the topic would attract sufficient interest from the target demographic. A strategic online promotional campaign was launched to promote the survey, targeting Berlin-focused art blogs and creative resource databases with an international audience. These included ÜBerlin (http://uberlin.co.uk), Exberliner (http://exberliner.com), Expath Berlin (http://expath.de), Art Parasites Berlin (http://www.artparasites.com), reSource for transmedial culture network (http://transmediale.de/resource), ArtConnectBerlin (http://artconnectberlin.com), Creative City Berlin (http://creativecityberlin.de) and Slow Travel Berlin (http://slowtravelberlin.com). Berlin co-working spaces catering for an international crowd were also targeted, including Wostel (http://wostel.de), betahaus (http://betahaus.de) and SUPERMARKT creative resource centre (http://supermarkt-berlin.net). Cafés were approached, including Sankt Oberholz (http://sanktoberholz.de) and Melbourne Canteen (http://melbournecanteen.com), plus a selection of art galleries and bars with a known international clientele. The response rate declined substantially after five weeks, implying that the network reached through the online promotional campaign had been saturated. The online survey was then closed after seven weeks as the target number of respondents has been reached.

Respondents were given the option to submit their survey anonymously in order to encourage honest and unchecked responses. Privacy disclaimers reiterated that the survey was for academic, non-commercial purposes and that neither responses nor email addresses would be passed onto third parties. This privacy disclaimer served the dual purpose of fulfilling research ethics requirements and further encouraging respondents to answer openly. The author's personal email address was provided on the survey and a couple of respondents emailed to check that the research was indeed for legitimate academic reasons. It can be argued that the privacy disclaimer was effective, as many respondents offered extensive and candid responses, some even giving controversial statements and

using colourful language. The survey was configured so that it could not be submitted unless all questions had been answered, so there was no issue with incomplete surveys. Only one of the 210 respondents gave inappropriate answers, the remaining 209 judged to be authentic and at a high enough quality to use for data analysis.

German nationals were not actively targeted in this campaign given that the survey was promoted through international-focused avenues, as well as the topic of the survey being clearly designed for migrant creatives working in Berlin. Consequently the majority of respondents came from the target demographic. However there was also a number of responses from German nationals who identified as a migrant for various reasons including dual citizenship, having lived many years outside of Germany, or identifying as an 'outsider' in the city after relocating from elsewhere in Germany. It was decided to include these respondents in the final data set and this research outcome is discussed in more detail in the analysis section.

4.3 Data analysis: Qualitative and quantitative approaches

A large amount of qualitative data was received from the survey responses including almost 28 000 words from the seven qualitative (free text) questions alone. Over half of respondents gave optional final statements, providing more extensive commentary on their previous answers and offering further insights into the topic. Overall there was a high level of engagement from respondents and it can be argued that the survey effectively prompted participants to reflect on and offer their personal stories as migrant creatives working in Berlin.

After conducting research on various data analysis techniques (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Franklin, 2012; Silverman, 2011; Creswell, 2003), it was determined that a mixed research design would be the best approach for the survey data analysis. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were combined in order to cross-validate the findings of both approaches, discussing statistical findings

alongside and in relation to more fluid and personalised narrations (see Flick; 2014:33). Bryman (1992) identifies the benefits of integrating qualitative and quantitative research in mixed research designs and hybrid, quasi-experimental designs where the different methods operate side by side, providing a richer picture of the issue than might be possible with a single research method (59-61, as cited by Flick, 2014:35).

The data analysis of the survey responses was a multi-tiered process. Firstly, the quantitative data collected in the survey was analysed for more demographical and categorical information on the target group. Secondly, data from each qualitative question was coded, calculated and ranked in order of most commonly discussed topics, from which broader trends emerged (see Flick on the benefits of such a process, 2014:32). Finally, research findings were analysed in a broader context towards the global creative city and creative 'labour of love', with quotations used from qualitative responses to exemplify reoccurring themes found in the data. This process highlighted wider trends found in the research, and raised questions and ideas for further study.

5. Analysis

5.1 Berlin's global creative class

Berlin's migrant creative class is a multicultural one, with the 209 survey respondents listing 33 nationalities between them. The most common nationalities are Australian (18.5%), American (17.7%), British (15.2%), German (9.1%), French (5.4%), Spanish (4.5%), Italian (3.7%), Canadian and Irish (both 2.9%), Dutch (2.5%), Austrian and New Zealand (both 2.1%), Danish and Luxembourger (both 1.7%) and Brazilian (1.2%).

> *"[In Berlin] you definitely get a greater mix of Europeans (East and West), plus I've never met so many Americans in my life."* – Respondent 71

Interestingly citizens from Australia and the United States, the two most common nationalities, must apply for official visas to live and work in Germany (unlike those with European passports) and have traveled significant distances at relatively high cost to relocate to Berlin. It would appear therefore that convenience or proximity are not major contributing factors when determining motivations for migration to a global creative city.

An unexpected finding was that 22 German nationals (9.1% of respondents) responded to the survey, which was clearly designed for *migrant* creatives living and working in Berlin. Their reasons for self-identifying in this way included dual citizenship, having spent some time away from Germany and/or originating from another German city. That these German creative labourers self-identify as 'migrants' and 'outsiders' to Berlin raises interesting questions about representations of the global creative city beyond standard definitions of geography and location. This finding supports the notion of the creative city as a construct of relationships and networks, not necessarily defined by traditional identifiers such as nationality or citizenship (see Wennersten, 2008), and highlights the difficulties in setting clear parameters to define and identify the migrant creative labourer. It also reveals the complex mobility patterns of creative labourers where migration across borders is not unidirectional, but in free-flowing

movements where identity and place are fluid and evolving concepts (Lange & Schröder, 2011):

> *"As a German passport holder my creative options are far better here than in Canada … My TV and film scoring work in Canada I can still do from Berlin."* – Respondent 71

The most commonly listed cities where respondents lived before Berlin were Sydney (10.5%), London (8.1%), New York (7.2%), Melbourne (6.2%), Paris (3.8%), San Francisco (2.9%), Amsterdam (2.4%), Dublin (1.9%) and Barcelona, Cologne, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Madrid, Munich and Rotterdam (each 1.4%). 21 of the 30 most listed cities were European and can be classified as global creative cities in their own right (Sassen, 2001; Florida, 2004). Mobile creative labourers are moving to and from these global creative cities at an increasing rate, often using a centrally located creative city as an anchorage point for even more intensified mobility patterns (e.g. Recchi, 2006; Florida, 2002a):

> *"It was a lot of work setting up my studio in Berlin. But as soon as I arrived I had DJ bookings around Europe every weekend and much more free time than ever in NYC."* – Respondent 70

This statement exemplifies how migrant creatives conceptualise the creative city as 'base' as opposed to a more traditional notion of 'home' (Maile & Griffiths, 2012). In this context the creative city takes on the role of a metaphorical 'space between' while creatives continue to live out hyper-mobile working lives across global networks (Hartley et al. 2013:43).

Data analysis shows that the average migrant creative in Berlin has both personal and professional networks comprised of a large percentage of other migrants working in the creative industries. This finding indicates that the demographic is close-knit and possibly insular, socialising with other highly mobile migrants more frequently than the locals of their chosen city. It is interesting to reflect on how such professional and personal 'bubbles' might affect cultural, social and professional integration into wider society, as well as the creative industries of their host city. Indeed, Berlin's segregated migrant creative community was

commonly referred to in survey responses:

> *"Keeping within the expat community is not ideal … learn German and integrate as much as possible!"* – Respondent 151

The link between *en masse* migration of creative labourers to host cities and a lack of integration from this community is raised in Ahlfeldt & Scholz's 2012 book *Berlin: Stadt in Planung und im Wandel* [Berlin: City in planning and change]. From the author's observations, graffiti around Berlin's popular creative districts of Neukölln and Kreuzberg attests such frustrations, with statements scrawled across residential buildings including "Touristen ficken" [F**k tourists] and "Kreuzkotze!" [Kreuzberg-vomit]. In these districts increasing numbers of cafés and bars opened by expatriate entrepreneurs and aimed at an international clientele have fueled prickly press articles such as Heymann's "Englischsprachige Gastronomie: Sorry, kein Deutsch" [English-speaking Gastronomy: Sorry, no German, *Der Tagesspiegel, 2011*] and Colthorpe's "RANT! Sorry, no German!" (*Exberliner*, 2013). Articles like these hint at more widespread anxiety about Berlin's rapid transformation into a global rather than German creative city, as well as tensions caused by the expansion of neoliberal creative industries in a city with a strong history of anti-consumerist and anti-capitalist culture (Galloway, 2014).

Benson & O'Reilly ominously warn that in the process of seeking out a better way of life, a migrant creative class may effectively destroy the very essence of what they are seeking from the global creative city (2009:62). Nonetheless while creative migrants play a significant role in transforming the social fabric of their chosen creative city, so do native creative labourers, in this case Germans who have grown up or spent considerable time in Berlin. While writing on new forms of lifestyle migration, Lange & Schröder postulate that transnational social spaces such as Berlin no longer exist as a location belonging to 'host' societies but in a new space between and above them (2011:5). In this sense no one group has ownership of the global creative city or is responsible (or culpable) for its evolution, but instead the city is constantly remodeled by the inhabitants,

migrants and labourers continuously building, defining and redefining it. As one respondent stated,

> *"Berlin is for everyone … you can mould it into what works for you."* – Respondent 66

5.2 A creative calling

Mobile creative labourers choose to relocate to a creative city for a multitude of reasons including lifestyle, social life, networking, proximity to cultural production and consumption and low entry barriers where newcomers are accepted and can integrate relatively quickly (Markusen 2006; Florida, 2002a). A constructionist perspective however prompts the consideration of more quixotic reasons such as the search for a 'creative lifestyle' and the pursuit of a 'labour of love' (Montgomery 2003, cited by Heebels & van Aalst 2010). Survey results show that in the case study of Berlin, the main motivations behind the migration of creative labourers include cultural infrastructure, a support network of a large community of creative labourers, opportunities in the creative industries and cultural work, the need for a life change, the multicultural nature of the city, affordability of material infrastructure, and relatedly, high standard of living and lifestyle. The most common qualitative responses in order of popularity were:

- **Creative and cultural scene**: Berlin's thriving cultural scene; a large talent pool of creative collaborators.
- **Opportunities**: The chance to take risks or change career paths; more time for artistic practice and passion projects; more options in creative sector; the chance to start one's own business.
- **Life change**: Escaping from previous city for financial or cultural reasons; a personal change; the chance to try something new.
- **Berlin itself**: Love of the city; appreciation of space; proximity to nature; low density population and city size; the rich cultural history; urban feel but with less traffic or pollution; the bike culture.
- **The people and community**: International, multicultural community; a melting pot of like-minded people; a large network of creative people; community spirit.

- **Affordability**: Low rents and cost of living; higher standard of living despite lower incomes; low cost of food and entertainment.
- **Culture**: Openness; liberalism; diversity; acceptance; freedom; less focus on money, consumerism or capitalism.
- **Personal connections:** A partner, family members or friends in Berlin.
- **Lifestyle**: Better work/life balance; higher quality of life; a rich cultural life; relaxed working culture; less 9-5 rat race; less stress; the ability to survive by working part time providing time for creative pursuits and creative passion projects.
- **Music industry**: Electronic and live music scenes; the nightclubs and DJ culture; the plethora of record labels, recording studios, booking agents, music and music technology companies.
- **Atmosphere**: The energy or 'Zeitgeist' of Berlin; the non-stop nightlife; hedonism and fun.
- **Location**: Centralised European location for business, networking and travel.

These reasons fit with constructionist ideas of migrating to the creative city in search of a more fulfilling work life and better standard of living (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006). While career and work have always been an important factor in migration, there are also many non-economic, highly personalised and existential motivations at play in new forms of migration to the global creative city. These include the search for the 'greater good' and a 'creative life' (Castles 1986, as quoted in Maile & Griffiths, 2012:30), and as described by this respondent:

> *"Berlin is a set of 'ideas' as much as a destination. I believe that these ideas are ones that are internationally valuable and exportable … Berlin offers a sense of dignity to arts workers, and encourages tenacity and collaboration rather than competition and exclusivity. I feel that the necessity to produce high quality work under more pressing financial restrictions continues to foster a culture of barter, swap and creative solutions to certain limited resources. Berlin's proximity to other easily accessible European nations fosters a great sense of inspiration and cross-cultural dialogue. The arts industries here feel like a social and spiritual lifeline for so many individuals. In Berlin, it is a pleasure to be part of a community re-imagining presuppositions about the nature of work, the working life and a working community… [Berlin] offers me a sense of dignity and encouragement. I feel much less marginalised or tokenised in this environment."* – Respondent 186

The concept of Berlin being a set of ideas as much as a destination, and ideas which are "internationally valuable and exportable" no less, reiterates representations of the global creative city as location-independent; a mentality or philosophy, rather than just a place. This response also conjures notions of an environment and culture where creative labourers can 'be themselves'. Many respondents commented on how moving to Berlin allowed them to *be* who or what they wanted to be, playing into constructionist notions of a global creative city providing a cohesive creative 'identity' due to the surroundings, culture, community, work- and lifestyles, or even somehow by osmosis:

> *"[I moved to Berlin] to be more creative."* – Respondent 15

> *"It was a charming opportunity to become an artist."* – Respondent 127

Many respondents commented on the phenomenon of migrant creatives naïvely assuming that by moving to Berlin, a successful career in the creative industries would somehow *happen* to them. In reality, competition for work in the creative industries can be even tougher in a global creative city than elsewhere (Lange et al., 2008). Many respondents listed hard work and discipline as essential components for 'making it' in Berlin and were judgmental of those who did not exhibit such behaviours:

> *"There are too many wannabe artists, who are actually a bunch of lazy losers. Talent is 10%, the rest of 90% comes from hard hard work to make it happen, harder than in other cities."* – Respondent 176

Others listed their love for Berlin as a major reason for their migration, hinting at a complex web of constructed representations of Berlin based on its rich history, cultural significance and culture of left-wing politics and freedom of expression (Ward, 2004; Till, 2005):

> *"Best city in the world on terms of vibe, prices, rent and most of all people that are not too poisoned by capitalistic greed (in comparison with other metropolitan cities)."* – Respondent 31

For many respondents, the combination of a large creative community and the low costs of living that facilitates non-conventional lifestyles were also strong

motivations for their migration, as well as constructed notions of leading a more 'creative life', surrounded by like-minded people in an inspiring cultural scene:

> *"The desire to work within a context of a long-established arts community; one which paid particular support and credence to artists who generally fall within minorities in other national contexts ... Berlin also affords collective (physical) spaces that more expensive cities cannot facilitate. Berlin's creative industries are less dominated by concerns of profit or publishing in traditional media-channels, and have always been marked by industrious and innovative attitudes. Arts/creative work in Berlin feels seen less as a* fringe *or* youth *pursuit, and more as a vital part of a wider cultural conversation."* – Respondent 186

Ritchie describes Berlin in *Faust's Metropolis* as a "metropolis of culture" (1998:1974), a global magnet for creatives and aspiring creatives. Survey data analysis also supports literature on Berlin evoking feelings of discovery and possibility, being perceived as a 'new frontier' after escape from the constraints of prior conditions (Lange et al., 2008; Hartley et al., 2013). Without prompting many respondents wrote of their experiences in Berlin in relation to their previous place of residence:

> *"Life in Berlin is in general much more easy-going, spontaneous and inspiring than in Finland."* – Respondent 11

> *"I was keen to escape from the anti-intellectual climate that exists in Australia."* – Respondent 7

> *"I moved to Berlin to not be in America."* – Respondent 4

> *"It's great to experience a world that isn't UK-centric."* – Respondent 6

Such responses exemplify parallel motivations for migration to Berlin as global creative city. On the one hand the migrant creative is drawn to the global creative city due to an affinity with its diversity and creative community, in pursuit of a specific culture, community and creative workforce not bound to traditional notions of work or national identity. On the other hand the migrant creative yearns for escape from cultural constraints and mentalities that don't fit with or live up to their ideals or worldview, for example conservative mindsets or the lack of an open-minded community that fosters and supports non-conventional work- and lifestyles.

These findings match the diversity of motivations and modalities of new forms of migration incorporating the role of personal self-realisation, and representations of Berlin as a place where one has the freedom to lead a 'creative life' (King 2002; Maile & Griffiths, 2012; Wang, 2004). From a constructionist viewpoint, the act of placing the chosen creative city in a positive light while casting previous locations in a negative one are as much to do with self-constructed notions of 'starting afresh' and 'leaving a past life behind' as with actual characteristics of the destination city. This reflects the tendency for humans to create narratives about their lives (Burr, 1995), justifying choices with constructed stories that may evolve over time and with experience.

5.3 The educated and the restless

Survey results indicate that Berlin's migrant creatives are a highly educated group. Over 82% of survey respondents hold a university-level qualification: 78% a Bachelors degrees or higher, 33% a Masters degree or higher and 2% a PhD or Post-Doctorate degree. These findings support research that creative industry workers are a class of upwardly mobile and highly qualified labourers, and that it is highly educated individuals of the developed world who are more likely to have the resources and opportunity to migrate to global creative cities such as Berlin (Hartley et al., 2013; Wennersten, 2008; Lange, 2006a & 2006b). Boltanski & Chiapello even refer to these new global mobility patterns, such as the phenomenon of highly educated labourers relocating to global creative cities, as an emerging discriminating factor of modern class segregation (see Gielen, 2013:21).

The European Commission's Economy of Culture in Europe Report (KEA, 2006) shows that almost double the number of creative labourers in Europe hold post-secondary education qualifications compared to the entire workforce (cited in Gollmitzer & Murray 2008:28). It also reveals that despite higher levels of education and mobility, creative labourers earn substantially less than those in other professions who hold university degrees (as cited in Gollmitzer & Murray

2008:28). This salary sacrifice by an international, educated elite highlights the psychological pull of representations of the creative industries as a self-fulfilling 'creative life' beyond specificities of jobs, professional titles or remuneration (Lange 2006a). For many migrant creatives, the dream of self-fulfillment and self-actualisation achieved through working a 'labour of love' (Menger, 1999) in their chosen creative career outweighs the drawbacks of substantially lower salaries, less secure work and more precarious labour conditions.

However, survey findings indicate that such sacrifices may have limitations. Of the 209 survey respondents, the most common age demographic is 29–33 years (32%), followed by 34–38 years (30%) and 25–28 years (20%). There is a significant drop in the number of respondents above the age of 38. One interpretation is that creative labourers move to Berlin in their twenties to work in the city's creative industries, then leave in their thirties. This is a phenomenon that creates transience within Berlin's creative community and a 'turnstile' effect in the city's creative sector:

> *"There is a large transient creative community in Berlin which is interesting and fun for the people involved but probably quite detrimental in the longer term ... There is a lack of certain types of community and social cohesion brought about by this transience."* – Respondent 82

> *"Thousands of people live in the city for a short while and then leave again, only to leave the city drained for yet another [sic] cultural talent."* – Respondent 2

Many of Berlin's migrant creatives are relatively recent arrivals: the most common amount of time respondents have lived in Berlin is 5–10 years (26.8%) followed by 1–2 years (18.7%) and 3–5 years (17.7%), with 63.1% of total respondents having been based in Berlin for less than five years. Results showed a significant decline in respondents who have lived in Berlin for more than 10 years, indicating that Berlin's migrant creatives are either a transient group, a recently formed one, or a combination of the two. Another interpretation is that as Berlin's migrant creatives grow older, the labour conditions and workstyles offered by the city's creative industries become less appealing or sustainable (Manske & Merkel,

2008) notably the lack of job security and dubious levels of industry and financial sustainability:

> "*Berlin's creative industries are a great playground, but no place for grown-ups.*" – Respondent 181

> "*I've seen too many people … waking up at age 40 realising they wasted away their life. Rule of thumb: If you're not doing great things in Berlin get out and go do great things somewhere else.*" – Respondent 86

Results indicate that migrant creatives also struggle with the temptation of the city's hedonistic nightlife, especially if they work in an area of the creative industries associated with this scene, for example the electronic music industry. Such findings relate not only to the temptations of Berlin's party scene but also to how creative labourers negotiate the juggle of work, hobby and recreation. This theme also exemplifies the fluid work styles of migrant creatives that exist in a space well beyond a traditional nine-to-five working culture, and the increasingly blurred line between paid and unpaid labour:

> "*It's fine to party - in my line of work its part of the work - but you have to get your arse out of bed on a Monday morning.*" – Respondent 142

> "*Have discipline. A lot of that networking and German speaking will be done at bars, parties, and clubs that never close, but it is important to keep a work schedule. Don't become a party disaster or a sad Berlinquent.*" – Respondent 146

> "*Most job I have gotten in Berlin I've gotten [sic] at 07 in the morning in some backstage. Network network network, but also set goals.*" – Respondent 110

From a constructionist perspective, these findings show that the creative city as 'place of possibility' and 'creative playground' (Maile & Griffiths, 2012:48) can be seen as more enticing to a youth demographic, with a self-fulfilling and at times hedonistic 'creative life' losing its attractiveness over time and with age. Transience and hedonism were listed by many survey respondents as being detrimental to Berlin's creative industries and cultural community. The hyper-mobility and 'youth' skew of Berlin's international creative class also raises questions surrounding sustained growth and long-term innovation in the city's

creative industries.

5.4 Creative city as base and virtual office

Migrant creative labourers are a highly mobile demographic. Not only have survey respondents all migrated to Berlin from other cities, but 78% continue to travel outside of Berlin for work at frequencies ranging from seldom (20%) to every 1-3 months (17%). 81% of migrant creatives state that after their relocation to Berlin they continue to earn at least some money from outside the city, and many respondents list the ability to earn money elsewhere as an important component of 'making it' as a creative labourer in Berlin. Such findings mirror research that while modern creatives tend to maintain high levels of mobility in their work, rather than being completely nomadic and unattached, they still choose centrally-located creative cities as their 'base' whilst working both locally and internationally (Angerer, 1999 as quoted in Ellmeier, 2003:4; Sassen, 2004):

> *"Diversify your sources of income or source work outside Berlin …*
> *I must work outside Berlin to work to break even."* – Respondent 177

> *"Wherever possible, draw financial support from outside Berlin, in other*
> *words, earn your money elsewhere."* – Respondent 187

Migrant creatives also have mobile work patterns even within the creative city. Home is their most common place of work (42%) followed by external company office (26%), home studio and external studio (both 22%), home office and co-working office (both 16%), café (11%) and external independent office (6%). Many respondents nominated multiple locations, in some cases up to five, signifying that work locations are mixed and spontaneous and work practices highly portable. In Berlin such mobility between places of work is accentuated due to the fact many creative labourers work as freelancers (discussed in more detail below) and because co-working and rented office space is considerably cheaper in Berlin compared to other global creative cities (see Laurier, 2004).

Such highly mobile work structures reflect Castells' writings on the 'network

society' (1996) and 'space of flows' (2004) in which work patterns of creative labourers are increasingly digitally based. Such labour practices enable migrant creatives to cement work and networks at a local level in Berlin, for example in their local café or co-working space, while simultaneously establishing international networks and operating 'worldwide' through their laptop (Lange, 2006a; Gergen, 2002). In *Life Between Borders*, Rand & Felty capture this concept:

> *"Our life is in a box. When we relocate we bring our virtual home with us … We live in a kind of travel trailer existence with our tech-based life"* (2013:11).

In *Becoming A Successful Digital Nomad* (2014), Mohn reports that a key to success for highly mobile creative labourers is being location-independent, while maintaining a local base in order to stay 'grounded'. Several respondents referred to the complex desire and pressure to work in an international network, whilst actively pursuing local ties in the creative city:

> *"Diversify. Develop markets where there is $$ (e.g. Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands). Don't overpay for rents!! Don't play for peanuts!! Become involved in your Kiez!! I think these last 3 are ESSENTIAL."* – Respondent 156

In unpacking this statement, we see references to the locality of Berlin in the reference to neighbourhood and local rental markets; being informed on wider creative industries pay standards so as not to accept sub-standard pay for creative labour; and working internationally to develop markets beyond Germany.

The challenge of negotiating both 'the local' and 'the international' simultaneously is increasing required by the labourers of the global creative city (see Sassen, 2001). Increasing competition for freelance project work forces creative labourers to exhibit hyper-mobility and portability in terms of work places and practices, whilst juggling multiple work contracts and creative projects. In many cases this is conducted on a local and international level simultaneously, all while fostering and maintaining professional and personal networks in their 'base' creative city. Such levels of adaptability and relentless multi-tasking required of creative labour

practices today are argued to be representative of wider labour shifts beyond the creative sector, towards increasingly mobile, autonomous and precarious work practices in the wider economy and workforces across other industries (Hartley et al., 2013).

5.5 Negotiating workstyles in Berlin's creative industries

Survey data analysis supports literature findings on the interdisciplinary nature of creative labour and uniqueness of many work patterns in the creative industries. The most common areas of work expertise listed by survey respondents are art, design, event management, music production and writing, yet most respondents list multiple areas of expertise, supporting studies that creative labourers often develop and continually expanding their skillset across multiple areas of the industry (Ellmeier, 2003:10; de Peuter, 2011; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008).

Over half of survey respondents report that they categorised their work in the creative industries in the same way before working in Berlin, indicating that the majority of migrant creatives moved to Berlin to continue, develop or diversify their work in the creative industries, rather than to start a career in the creative sector. This supports the portrayal of Berlin as constructed 'Mecca' for creative labourers and an attractive draw card to an international creative class, rather than a creative city that focuses on capacity-building a 'native' creative class from within its borders (Slobodian & Sterling, 2013; Connolly, 2010).

Results indicate that less than a quarter of Berlin's migrant creatives work in 'traditional employment' structures, defined for this dissertation as earning a regular monthly salary with a single employer. This is indicative of both the non-conventional workstyles of migrant creatives, but also the legal restrictions on their types of labour in Berlin predefined by work visa restrictions. Many non-Europeans living in Berlin are given German work visas restricted to freelancing which do not allow full time work for a single employer (*Ausländerbehörde Berlin*, 2014). Results indicated that 21% of survey respondents are limited to

freelancing due to their visa status: 12% with a specified type of profession and 9% without. Many other migrant creatives who are not restricted to freelancing still work in this capacity, either by choice or due to the fact that freelance work is all they can find in Berlin's creative industries. These findings reflect broader official statistics that 35% of people working in the creative industries in Germany are autonomous creative labourers running their own micro-businesses (German Creative Industries Initiative, 2009).

In an industry where managers are stereotypically 'the enemies' (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006:234), Berlin's creative sector boasts increasingly independent and autonomous structures for cultural management. Many of the migrant creatives surveyed brought skills, networks and clients with them to Berlin, and operate in autonomous or semi-autonomous workstyles, both locally and internationally (see Goldman, 2013; Castells, 1996). Many survey respondents reiterate that in order to make money working in Berlin's creative industries one must develop one's own expertise and an industry niche:

> *"This is a city with high unemployment and fewer advertised, paid jobs than other capitals, but there are opportunities here for people willing to look for, create and adapt to them. If the opportunity you are looking for is not happening, make it for yourself instead."* – Respondent 35

> *"If you want to make a living here you need to be flexible with what you do and offer, and look for opportunities to monetize it. Have a good idea, pinpoint a gap in the market and work to make it a reality."* – Respondent 55

Such statements promote 'culturepreneurial' ideals (see Lange, 2006a & 2006b), whereby creative labourers are required to be increasingly entrepreneurial in their activities, "bridging the gap between artistic work and the economic need for self-management" (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006:234) and "mediat[ing] between and interpret[ing] the areas of culture and services provision" (Hesse & Lange, 2013:358). This is especially true in the creative city of Berlin where the high unemployment rate means that creative labourers must 'think outside the box' to create their own professional opportunities rather than relying on the local job market (*Die Welt*, 2010).

5.6 Capitalising on labour of love

When migrating to a global creative city, one of the biggest draw cards for creative labourers is affordability. Yet it is more than a 'cheap life' that they seek: this low cost of living allows for a framework, mentality shift and lifestyle that offers the time, space, energy and inspiration to focus and fully engage with their creative endeavours, regardless of whether such labour is paid or unpaid (Menger, 1999; Flew, 2012 as cited in Hartley et al., 2013:62). These findings reflect lifestyle migration motivations surrounding the search for a better and more fulfilling way of life (1986, as quoted in Maile & Griffiths, 2012:30):

> *"Living in Berlin has been utterly transformative for our practice, as we realised that because we could live cheaply (sometimes being half an artist collective means having to eat half a meal and sleep in half a bed, but in Berlin we can afford so much more for so much less) and so this meant we had the time and space to work our arses off on our art.*" – Respondent 52

> *"Here there is the opportunity to be free of the financial weight of other expensive cities, so as to be able to pursue one's creative impulses without their [sic] being predicated purely on financial gain as the end result."* – Respondent 78

> *"This is where you buy time to explore your hobbies and can afford to follow your dreams."* – Respondent 10

Data analysis shows that migrant creatives in Berlin spend more time working on *unpaid* creative projects and less time on *paid* creative labour than before moving to Berlin. It can be inferred from these findings that migrant creatives have, regardless of whether it is intentional or not, more time away from waged labour to spend on personal creative practice and pursuits than before they lived in Berlin. In theory, without financial constraints infinite possibilities for the 'management of self' are presented in such individualised and self-reflexive lifestyles as those sought by migrants to the creative city (Gill, 2010; Giddens, 1991; Henninger & Gottschall, 2007). Beck calls this a 'multi-activity society' where new forms of self-organised and self-employed labourers have the 'free agency' to choose what they do for a living, and how to do it (2000:36-127).

However, statistics reveal that high amounts of unpaid labour in Berlin's creative industries also represent a degree of underemployment. These statistics are partly caused by a widespread culture of internships and unpaid labour, where employers in Berlin's creative industries systematically replace paid positions with unpaid internships, offering experience, exposure and training instead of remuneration (see Lange 2006a; Perlin, 2011; Cohen 2012). In their 2008 analysis of policy frameworks for creative labour, Gollmitzer & Murray point out that the increasing use of volunteers and interns in the creative industries in what were previously paid jobs, is contributing to instability in the creative city by decreasing employment opportunities for cultural labourers, undervaluing skills and lowering standards of industry work and professionalism across the sector (2008).

Unpaid labour is a pertinent issue for many of Berlin's migrant creatives, with survey results showing that over 30% of respondents have completed a *Praktikum* (internship) in Berlin's creative industries since their migration to the city. The most common length of their internship was 3-5 months, followed by 6-8 months. Almost half of these internships were unpaid and in only 35% of cases did the internship lead to a paid job.

> "*It is very easy to meet the people in Berlin who work in creative industries but it is hard to get them to give you paid work, a lot of people I know have interned for long periods of time with no pay.*" – Respondent 143

> "*There is an over reliance on a sharing economy which, while great, seems at odds with the trajectory of the creative industry at large and can create a Berlin ghetto. While moving here is easy, saving enough money to leave or move to another city can be difficult. You can live a very comfortable life here without earning a lot of money, but I think that creative work is generally under valued here. Exposure is nice, but shouldn't be considered a default form of payment. There is also the insanity of never-ending internships ... The design offices I have worked at generally have around 10% of their workforce made up of interns, so this isn't a small matter.*"- Respondent 145

> "*[There are] too many unpaid positions here, pushing the value of everyone's experience down.*" – Respondent 93

Such responses demonstrate that migrant creatives are often frustrated with the widespread 'work for free' culture in Berlin's creative industries, as well as the lack of regulation on internships. This frustration is exacerbated by the fact that many migrant creatives are ineligible for unemployment benefits or rental assistance in Germany, meaning they have less possibility of covering their rent payments and living expenses while completing unpaid or poorly paid internships over long durations.

Data on the number of paid and unpaid hours of work per week of Berlin's migrant creatives was difficult to obtain due to differing interpretations from respondents of the term 'work', and the fact that creative practice often cannot be measured in concrete hours per week. One respondent declined to respond to survey questions on number of paid versus unpaid working hours per week, offering the following explanation:

> "When I am making music, it may look like I'm not doing anything for stretches, but I am percolating on ideas, and that can't be accurately measured according to how much time is spent working. Those kinds of definers apply to nine-to-five jobs, not the artistic process." – Respondent 79

Goldman writes that although creative labourers are often forced into *doing* due to the need to make a living, their real intention and motivation lies in *being*: being themselves, being creative and "liv[ing] a creative life regardless of circumstances" (2013:210). From a constructionist view, creative labour is a mode of self-fulfillment with the goals of self-actualisation and integration of "work and life into 'life as a work of art' itself" (Eikhof & Haunschild 2006:236). Creative labourers often possess the self-motivation to "set themselves to work" regardless of the levels of remuneration (Ross, 2006:18, also Deuze, 2007). McRobbie attributes this to a seduction of 'pleasure in work' and 'escape from waged labour' ideologies,

> "…appeal[ing] to all of our own narcissistic and private desires, that somehow under the right conditions we will plug into a core of talent that will relieve us of the burden of wage labour, a tedious job or unrewarding work" (2010:32).

Statistics on specific income figures for migrant creative in Berlin are difficult to ascertain as many creative labourers have sporadic streams of income from multiple employers and sources that cannot be easily reported as a regular monthly salary. Instead survey questions focused on whether participants could support themselves financially through their creative work and how this compared to their pre-Berlin working lives. Results indicate that migrant creatives have a roughly equal chance of supporting themselves financially through their creative work in Berlin compared to their previous city. Taking into account the much cheaper living cost of Berlin compared to many other global creative cities, this finding indicates that living costs but also wages are significantly lower for migrant creatives compared to their pre-Berlin lives.

> *"The low cost of living is used as an excuse by employers to justify lower rates of pay."* – Respondent 97

> *"The cost of living compared to other cities is relatively low, but the wages here are terrible!"* – Respondent 199

The theme of Berlin's low cost of living being negated by extremely low wages was mentioned by many respondents, implying that they initially enjoyed the low costs of living in Berlin only to realise that low wages in the city soon neutralised this benefit. Manske & Merkel's 2008 article *Kreative in Berlin* [Creatives in Berlin] refers to labourers of the global creative city today as working 'hand to mouth', painting a dire picture of their livelihoods and socio-economic status,

> *"In the shadow of the euphoria about creative economic growth, a host of highly-qualified, low-earning creative workers are emerging, often living from hand to mouth like day labourers. Approximately every second curator, web designer, illustrator, culture project manager, radio drama producer or journalist in Berlin is a one-person entrepreneur with an annual income that is often less than 10,000 Euro"* (as cited by Goethe-Institut e.V., 2008).

Germany has a social security system for creative labourers in the form of its *Künstlersozialkasse* [Artist Pension Fund], offers partly subsidised statutory insurance and pension for both native and foreign artists living in Germany. However the fund is only available to practicing artists, musicians and publishers, and not the wider labour force of Berlin's creative industries whose job

descriptions cannot be so clearly defined (*Künstlersozialkasse,* 2014). Only 40% of survey respondents pay any type of pension contribution and of these, only half have an employer that pays contributions into their scheme, the rest making payments from their own wages. This finding can be attributed in part to the fact that German employers are only legally obliged to make contributions into the pension schemes of full-time employees, not freelance employees (*Künstlersozialkasse,* 2014). Unfortunately, this perpetuates the cycle of creative labourers only being offered freelance rather than full-time contracts, as well as the burden of social security falling from the shoulders of the employer to the employee. With around 60% of Berlin's migrant creatives not currently contributing to any pension fund, combined with underemployment and unpaid labour being common conditions experienced by this demographic, the financial sustainability of Berlin's migrant creative class in the long term must be questioned as must the social and economic impact on host societies when these labourers reach retirement age.

5.7 Berlin as site of struggle

Based on constructionist theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1967), narratives on new forms of migration and pursuing the 'creative life' can lead to unrealistic expectations about the levels of self-fulfillment to be gained through relocation to a global creative city. This can result in a type of displacement or transcendental post-migration homelessness (see Wood, 2014; Hartmann, 2009). Almost 40% of questionnaire respondents stated that their migration to Berlin, as a global creative city, had not met their expectations. So what accounts for the gap between the expectation and reality of a 'creative calling' to Berlin? According to survey results these reasons are, in order of most frequently listed theme:

- **Underpayment and undervaluing of creative work**: Oversaturation of creative labour; no minimal wage; industry complacency to exploitation; being forced into financially insecure freelance work due to companies refusing full-time contracts.

- **Working for free and internship culture**: Exploitative culture of advertising jobs that turn out to be unpaid; being offered exposure and experience instead of fair remuneration; exploitative internship and volunteer culture; constantly being asked to work for free on creative projects, even by peers.

- **Slow pace of work and apathy**: A laissez-faire attitude towards standards of creative work; a lack of ambition compared to other global creative cities.

- **Insular and exclusive scene**: Foreigners are treated differently; jobs are only available through private networks; it's harder than expected to connect with the 'native' creative community; there are exclusive cliques within the creative industries that are hard for outsiders to tap into; established arts institutions are difficult to infiltrate.

- **Competitive job market**: Finding paid work is extremely difficult; the job market is very competitive; many unpaid internships are required before paid work is an option; many creative labourers are forced into a financially insecure freelance work status due to companies refusing full-time contracts.

- **'Hipster' culture and gentrification**: Mainstream culture and gentrification are encroaching on the city; there is a take-over of those who claim to be artists but are just hedonists that come to the city to party.

- **Lack of professionalism**: Lack of infrastructure and professional development opportunities; exploitative working conditions; lack of industry professionalism.

- **German bureaucracy**: Bureaucrats are unhelpful to foreigners, bureaucracy slows down/over-complicates the process of setting up life and work in Berlin.

Underpaying and undervaluing of creative labour in Berlin is the most common grievance identified by survey respondents. This phenomenon reflects Wayne's argument that creative labourers display contradictory class dynamics: despite their cultural privileges of mobility and relative independence, they suffer equal levels of labour exploitation to lower socio-economic groups (2003, cited in Cohen, 2012:144). For individuals in the creative industries of a global creative city, working conditions take the idea of "suffering for one's art" to extreme levels (Cohen, 2012). Such conditions include poverty level pay, high competition for jobs, juggling multiple part-time jobs, below-standard work conditions, increasingly heavy workloads, no days off per week, insufficient training or

professional development initiatives, high levels of dispensability, and low standards of industry professionalism (de Peuter, 2011:418 and The Economy of Culture in Europe Report, KEA, 2006). These challenges are exacerbated for migrant creatives due to added challenges of their status as a foreigner, meaning they also need to overcome issues of cultural integration, language and bureaucracy.

> *"All the hobbyists who come for a week and will perform for five Euro and a few beers give café, club and bar owners an unrealistic indication of what my work is worth."* – Respondent 156

> *"Because you are seen as a 'tourist' you are treated as expendable and you are offered less security and less money. The Berlin workforce is constantly on rotation and you aren't seen as at all unique – 'plenty more where that came from!' – which makes the collective bargaining system here quite difficult to negotiate when signing new freelance contracts."* – Respondent 99

> *"Although I knew it would be tough to break into the city, (as it is pretty much anywhere) I didn't realise how little people were prepared to pay for creative work."* – Respondent 46

These comments above highlight the discrimination some migrant creatives experience, for example being treated by locals as dispensable and easily replaceable transients. Such excerpts also highlight how the influx of migrant creatives willing to accept token payments for their labour decreases the value of creative work for their peers. This is especially so in a global creative city like Berlin that attracts a disproportionate number of migrant creatives, arguably beyond the city's infrastructure or employment capabilities (Hesse & Lange, 2013):

> *"I knew it will be hard, but did not think it will be that hard, almost impossible. I was not realising [sic] there are thousands of other creatives from around the world who are looking for similar jobs in this same city."* – Respondent 178

> *"I naïvely believed that my experience and my CV would speak for me. So I was irritated when I first arrived by the prevalence of internships – and the lack of belief in CVs that cited work in Fashion, Music or the Arts in other cities outside of Germany. It was hard work to be heard – and I also moved a year before the recession hit, and everyone was on Mini-Jobs*

[Part-time, freelance contracts], *and basically just struggling...."* – Respondent 56

"My broad professional experience from years of work in the cultural field back home was suddenly worth nothing." – Respondent 1

While statements like this evoke sympathy, it is surprising that so many creative labourers arriving in Berlin are oblivious to the employment challenges that await them, particularly given that Berlin's high levels of unemployment are well documented (*Die Welt*, 2010). Here lies a worrisome contradiction: with one in five Berlin residents currently living under the poverty line, the city that is sold internationally as 'Mecca' for the global creative class is simultaneously referred to locally as "Deutschlands Hauptstadt der Armut" [Germany's Capital of Poverty] (*Die Welt*, 2010). Migrant creatives appear blinded by constructed representations of Berlin and the seductive call of the global creative city, arriving under-researched, ill-prepared or even delusional – blindfolded by the seductive 'creative call' of Berlin – about the challenges of finding paid work in a city with so few jobs.

Data analysis shows that some migrant creatives become disheartened and cynical after long term exposure to the city's dearth of economic opportunities:

"People have the idea that Berlin is a Mecca for artists. It's not. It perpetuates this myth, but the standard of art here varies a lot. I'm sick of the "Poor but Sexy" slogan. It keeps everyone f**king poor. There is a huge divide between people getting paid decently and the rest of us who are struggling and accept any kind of job. Obviously there is also a big problem because there is no minimum wage in Germany and the whole economic structure is pretty messed up. Why would someone work when they get paid a little more on HartzIV? [German unemployment payments]. *It's hard not to get dispirited sometimes…"* – Respondent 199

Such comments highlight the precarious situation many creatives find themselves in once living and working in Berlin. Forced to take poorly paid jobs under exploitative conditions, feeling helpless and victimised by lack of choice or employment regulations, without minimum wages or unions and often without personal support networks around them, they risk becoming increasingly isolated and powerless. Ironically, the mobility that brought them to Berlin in the first place

can evaporate in such conditions, causing them to become trapped in a cycle of subsistence without the financial options to relocate elsewhere.

The bureaucracy associated with being a foreigner in Germany creates additional hurdles for migrant creatives, including the negotiation of work visas, juggling multiple income tax declarations (if they still hold professional ties in their home country or elsewhere), German municipal registration papers and health insurance. Requirements relating to the maintenance and renewal of work visas, as well as the associated costs and labour, in most cases fall to the individual creative worker rather than their employer. Bureaucratic stresses and feelings of discrimination from German bureaucracy and law are also themes reiterated by many respondents:

> *"I resent the fact that I pay for private health insurance and cannot use social services, yet I pay a crazy amount of taxes."* – Respondent 69

> *"As a non-EU citizen, I'm not eligible for Wohngeld [rent assistance] or other social assistance that EU citizens use to subsidise their meagre internship incomes."* – Respondent 145

> *"As a foreigner I have always been treated as expendable and I have had few rights/recourse compared to EU passport holders … German bureaucracy has always worked against me, rarely with me (never for me). But you know, it is my choice to stay here, so..."* – Respondent 100

Comments like these show feelings of resentment over the difficulties, sacrifices and challenges required to work and survive as a migrant creative labourer in the German capital. Such experiences raise questions over the emotional wellbeing of this demographic. When asked what advice they would give to a creative labourer planning on moving to Berlin, some were scathing in their responses:

> *"Don't do it. It's really hard to survive … the market is saturated - of that there is no doubt."* – Respondent 71

> *"It is saturated here ... Try Brussels or Ljubljana instead. Or maybe try to start something in an interesting 2nd tier place - like Marseilles or Belfast – [be] one of the only fish in the pond instead [sic] a crowded, cramped sea."* – Respondent 74

> *"Don't do it. About 200 000 people had the same idea before you…"* – Respondent 185

> *"Berlin is so over since at least 5 years. Above all it's party-tourism and the start-up hype is exactly that – 'hype' financed by some venture capitalists."* – Respondent 83

Such sentiments can be interpreted as either a hypocritical 'I was here first' stance, or as an indication of deteriorating working conditions and opportunities in Berlin's creative industries in recent years. Constructed notions of Berlin being 'over' has had currency in the Berlin media of late, such as *Süddeutsches Zeitung*'s 'Berlin is Over' (Mayer, 2014), *Berliner Zeitung's* 'Berlin ist vorbei - endgültig und unwiderruflich' [Berlin is over - finally and irrevocably] (Balzer, 2014), *The Gawker's* 'Berlin Is Over. What's Next?' (Read, 2014) and *Deutsche Welle*'s 'Berlin is 'over,' but so what?' (Pitu, 2014). Despite none of the survey respondents implementing themselves as players in the gentrification of this creative city, many do acknowledge that Berlin's creative industries are changing and hope the 'spirit' of Berlin, and the 'creative calling' to drew them in the first place, can be kept alive for others who come to Berlin after them:

> *"[Berlin] is changing of course, but it's up to us to make what we want with this city. I hope we can keep some of the 90s spirit of the city alive."* – Respondent 79

> *"Berlin is a beautiful city with a lot to offer all people from the world. I hope it continues to stay an artistic hub and sanctuary for creative people all over the world."* – Respondent 166

In the meantime, the international fascination with Berlin shows no signs of slowing. A study from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development found immigration to Germany rose 38% between 2011 and 2012, ranking Germany's intake as second highest in the world ahead of Canada and the UK for the first time, and topped only by the USA (Lauer & Nienaber, 2014). Berlin's Tourism Board also announced that 2013 tourism figures for Berlin broke all time records with 11.32 million visitors (up 4.4% from 2012), the number of international visitors to Berlin growing twice as fast as the German national average (Visit Berlin, 2014). Despite no official statistics on the number of creative

labourers migrating to Berlin each year, based on such statistics their numbers can reasonably be assumed to be increasing. The more Berlin's migrant creative class grows, the more strain there will be on the resources and infrastructure of the city's creative industries, exacerbating existing tensions on issues including labour conditions for creative workers, integration of migrant creatives and gentrification (Shaw, 2014).

5.8 Summary of research findings

What emerges from this research is the picture of a multicultural and educated class of migrant creatives with high levels of adaptation, improvisation, entrepreneurialism and flexibility. Findings show that these migrant creatives are drawn to Berlin due to its status as a global creative city, opportunities for their artistic and creative pursuits, a more affordable lifestyle and a more 'creative' life. They place value on Berlin's creative community, support and engagement within the creative scene, and opportunities to collaborate with a wide range of other creative labourers. They list constructionist notions of 'the Berlin life' as a strong motivation for resettlement, as well as escape from the financial, cultural or emotional constraints of their previous location.

Increasing movement between borders by creative labourers is indicative of new forms of migration as well as new mobility patterns of circular and impermanent movements (Lange & Schröder, 2011; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008). In addition, creative migration exemplifies the diversity of motivations and modalities of migration beyond traditional notions of nationality or national territories (Recchi 2006), applying constructed notions of imaginative roots and personal self-realisation when migrating to a new 'creative life' (King 2002). The calling to Berlin as creative city where one can pursue a 'labour of love' is supported by studies on the psychosocial imaginary of Berlin as 'Mecca' for artists and creatives (Maile & Griffiths, 2012), as well as representations of Berlin as a main player in the global creative industries and 'business of creativity' in the 21st Century (Lange et al., 2008; Puchta et al., 2010).

Survey results reveal Berlin's migrant creative labourers to be highly mobile independent workers, often freelancing for multiple employers in non-traditional employment settings and at multiple work locations. Either by choice or necessity, the majority continues to travel and make money outside Berlin, a finding that supports research into hyper-mobility of creative labourers in Castells' 'network society' (1996), the (re-)territorialisation of local subcultures in creative cities (Sassen, 2001) and the creative labourers' increasing prerogative to operate worldwide while simultaneously cementing work and networks at a local level (Lange, 2006a). Migrant creatives stress the importance of developing personal expertise, an industry niche and creating one's own entrepreneurial opportunities, rather than relying on a saturated job market in Berlin. This is a finding that accords with studies identifying culturepreneurialism as one of the more financially sustainable modus operandi in the global creative city (Friebe & Lobo, 2006; Lange, 2006a & 2006b).

Survey data analysis raises questions about the sustainability of the work practices of Berlin's migrant creatives. Almost 40% of respondents did not have their expectations of working life in the creative city met upon relocating to Berlin, with cited reasons including difficulties breaking into the creative industries and inadequate paid work in the field. Respondents lament extremely high levels of competition for jobs, underpayment, undervaluing of skills and expertise, unprofessionalism and an exploitative internship culture in the city's creative industries. These issues, combined with increasing rents, rising living costs and encroaching gentrification, threaten to diminish both Berlin's traditionally non-conformist culture as well as the 'creative calling' of the global creative city (Shaw, 2014). These findings are supported by wider literature on the workstyles of creative labourers signifying precarious and vulnerable working conditions (Sennett, 1998; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010), increasing individualisation of cultural work reinforcing isolation and gentrification (Jakob, 2010; Horowitz, 2011), creative labour as site of struggle with exploitative labour conditions often no longer a choice but a necessity (Cohen, 2012; Beck, 1992; Lash & Urry,

1994), and creative labourer as a personification of precarious and increasingly inescapable work structures (McRobbie, 2010).

Survey results show that over half of the city's migrant creatives spend more time working on unpaid creative projects and less time on paid creative labour than they did prior to moving to Berlin, findings that support both the view of labour as a complicated version of freedom (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010) and the 'labour of love' theory as justification for self-exploitative creative labour and practices (Menger, 1999). Without employer contributions, over half of Berlin's migrant creatives do not have regular payments into a pension fund which is also a worrying trend for the longer term financial sustainability of this group and the strain on their host societies in the future.

While following a 'creative calling' and negotiating a 'Poor but Sexy' life in the creative city may appear as an attractive pursuit (*Online Focus*, 2006), this research has revealed some of the less-than-glamorous realities of working as a migrant creative in Berlin, including exploitative labour conditions and a lack of divisions between work and free time, paid labour and unpaid labour. Berlin's migrant creative class is a demographic at the forefront of new forms of migration, creative labour, working life and self-actualising lifestyles, as well as new notions of nationality, nationhood, identity and home (Friebe & Lobo, 2006). Yet at the same time findings raise questions about the sustainability of their labour practices and working lives. Living out a 'labour of love' in the creative city can for many become a site of struggle (Cohen, 2012): a difficult, at times disheartening and potentially untenable endeavour.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Discussion and conclusions

In addressing the central research questions, "What is the meaning of Berlin to migrant creative labourers?" and "How does 'labour of love' influence workstyles in a global creative city?", this dissertation has revealed a complex web of experiences as migrant creatives negotiate highly autonomous and individualised work- and lifestyles in the global creative city.

At the root of Berlin's international reputation as a creative city lies its rich historical significance and hence, representations of Berlin must be linked to its specific socio-temporal context. Analysis reveals that Berlin means many different things to migrant creative labourers, including a global creative city, place, lifestyle, idea and philosophy. Berlin's international creative class also embodies a diversity of motivations and modalities of migration beyond traditional notions of nationality or territories (Recchi, 2006). This reflects literature on migrant creatives being drawn to the global creative city based on complex, highly personalised and existential motivations beyond the usual economic drivers, including a constructionist 'calling calling', search for the 'creative life', and escape from a prior identity, location or constraints (King 2002; Maile & Griffiths, 2012).

This research has revealed that migrant creatives drawn to Berlin are highly educated and multi-skilled, possessing high levels of adaptability and entrepreneurialism. They also embody hyper-mobility patterns even after relocating to their chosen creative 'base' (as supported by studies from Lange & Schröder, 2011; Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008), with most migrant creatives continuing to earn money outside the city, highlighting the creative labourers' prerogative to operate trans-locally while simultaneously cementing work and networks at local level (Lange, 2006a).

Survey data reveals that migrant creatives value the support, engagement and camaraderie offered by networks within the creative city, the plethora of opportunities to collaborate with a wide range of other creatives, and the time, space and energy to work on creative pursuits that were not as accessible before moving to Berlin. The rich cultural history and fabric of Berlin is also highlighted as an important part of their working lives in the creative city.

Financial precarity in Berlin's creative industries is more widespread than anticipated however, with underemployment and low pay rates being common for many migrant creatives. Survey results reveal a gap between the expectations and the realities of working a 'labour of love' in the global creative city. Research findings on the 'hand to mouth' financial situation that many of Berlin's migrant creatives find themselves in paint a troublesome picture of the socio-economic status of this demographic and raise questions on the longer-term sustainability of their working lives in the creative city. Qualitative survey data indicates that sustained periods of financial insecurity can be a disheartening, exhausting and for many, untenable endeavour.

Constructionist readings suggest that realising the dream of migrating to Berlin in pursuit of the 'creative life' does not always compensate for the drawbacks of exploitative and precarious working conditions that epitomise a 'labour of love' in the global creative city (Cohen, 2012; Hesse & Lange, 2013). Freelance work patterns and individualisation of work in the creative sector further reinforce this 'complicated versions of freedom' (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010) characterised by increasingly (self-)exploitative labour conditions (Lash & Urry, 1994; Flew & Cunningham, 2010). It follows that a 'creative calling' to Berlin holds false promises for many, and the 'Poor but Sexy' life is not always a fulfilling or sustainable endeavour. In the global creative city, a 'labour of love' often becomes a precarious site of struggle (Cohen, 2012).

Research data indicates that Berlin still represents a Utopia to creative labourers from around the world due to its vibrant cultural scene, cheap living costs,

relaxed lifestyle, multicultural creative community, opportunities to collaborate with a wide range of creative labourers, as well as psychosocial imaginaries of Berlin as a constructed 'place of culture' and 21st Century creative city (Maile & Griffiths, 2012). However, the socio-economic situation has deteriorated over recent years, with lack of employment regulation, no minimal wages in the creative industries and insufficient infrastructure or support systems forcing creative labourers to undercut each other in what is becoming cut-throat competition for any type of paid creative work. This has the effect of worsening conditions not only for creative migrants living in Berlin presently, but for those who will migrant to the creative city in the future (see Gollmitzer & Murray, 2008).

Creative labourers drawn to Berlin exemplify a new age of 'free agency' beyond standard patterns of work, life and place (Beck, 2000). Economic rewards and financial security are sacrificed in exchange for creative satisfaction. The concepts of pursuing a 'labour of love', following a 'creative calling' and having high-levels of professional freedom all characterise this work- and lifestyle. However such freedoms are complex and often romanticised. In reality, job gratification for creative labourers comes at the price of increasingly precarious and vulnerable working conditions as can be seen in the results of this study (Sennett, 1998; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010).

Whilst pursuing a 'labour of love' is an active choice for most mobile migrants creatives, such constructs are increasingly confined by the limitations of the global creative city. Once a 'creative calling' is acted upon and a 'labour of love' lived out in a place of high unemployment like Berlin, there is the danger of creative workers slipping into a precarious and increasingly inescapable rut, both financial and psychological (McRobbie, 2010). Thus 'labour of love' perpetuates and deepens exploitative work practices (Menger, 1999). On top of this, such constraints and limitations on the livelihoods of this highly educated and skilled demographic threaten, in the longer term, to stifle creativity and innovation in the global creative city.

6.2 Reflections on the research topic and process

This research is of benefit to the wider academic field for multiple reasons. The first is that migrant creatives in Berlin combine a variety of interdisciplinary workstyles featuring high levels of adaptation, improvisation, multi-tasking and connectivity. They live out new mobility patterns and embody new forms of identities beyond traditional notions of migration or nationality in their pursuit of workstyles and lives based on a 'labour of love' ethos. The specific frame of inquiry and the findings of this research therefore offer insight into not only the working lives of migrant creatives in Berlin, but the wider narratives and representations at play in the workstyles and lives of labourers in creative cities worldwide. Secondly, the large number of creative labourers who have migrated to Berlin not only play an intrinsic role in the city's creative industries and cultural scene, but also define and perpetuate wider representations of Berlin as a global creative city and a destination for those in search of a 'creative life'. This research topic is tempo-spatially unique due to the fact it analyses a class of highly mobile creative labourers, basing themselves in the dynamic global creative city of Berlin, all in an era of new labour structures and work-life negotiations. This demographic is also a class of highly individualised creative practitioners at the forefront of rapidly shifting labour practices and workstyles.

In relation to the research process itself, the large response rate to the questionnaire from over 200 foreign creative labourers working in Berlin indicated that there was widespread interest in this research topic, providing evidence that the subject matter is both relevant and timely. Most of the Berlin-based cultural networks approached responded positively to requests to distribute the survey to their communities with many expressing interest in receiving the results of the study.

The author had initial concerns that the avenues through which the research survey was promoted might not have attracted a valid cross-section of migrant creatives since most were English-speaking channels. That the survey was in

English could have created bias towards those international migrant creatives who network mostly in English, as opposed to German or other languages. However, these concerns were allayed during the data analysis phase when it was revealed that of the top 15 nationalities listed by survey respondents, nine were non-English speaking countries. Secondly, creative labour in a city such as Berlin is often a highly networked and international practice (Castells, 1996), with connections and work contracts often spanning borders and continents (Goldman, 2013). For this reason English is often used as the language of business and the *lingua franca* for creative labourers in global creative cities (Mayer, 2014). It was thus determined that a fair representative cultural sample of the target demographic had been obtained for the purpose of the research.

It was decided that the inclusion of survey questions regarding income figures might generate feelings of intrusion and jeopardise data quality, so survey questions focused instead on whether participants could support themselves financially through their creative work, and how this compared to before moving to Berlin. Slight inconsistencies in data were observed however due to differing interpretations of the wording of a couple of survey questions, including the lack of a consensual definition from respondents of the term 'work', as well as a clear division between paid and unpaid creative labour. A further challenge during the data analysis phase was discerning which data was specific to *Berlin* and which was typical of creative industries work in *any* city. This issue was tackled by focusing the research and analysis around specific representations of Berlin – as city, destination, philosophy and way of life – as opposed to global creative cities more generally.

6.3 Into the future: Ideas for further research

The literature reviewed for this dissertation revealed insufficient mapping of Berlin's migrant creative class, including inadequate measurement of the migration and mobility patterns of creative labourers to Berlin; limited documentation of their work practices; and a lack of general understanding of the

long-term career paths or professional life cycles of this highly adaptable and entrepreneurial demographic, arguably at the forefront of new, highly-mobile work practices (Towse, 2010). Suggestions for further research include wider quantitative and qualitative studies to help address these research gaps. Further studies would provide more in-depth explorations into the backgrounds of creative labourers drawn to the global creative city, as well as richer insight into their workstyles, mobility patterns, creative labour practices and negotiations of culturepreneurialism. Further research could also map the activities of groups already fighting for political representation and labour rights for Berlin's international creative class, for example the European Freelancer's Union, Internship Rights Berlin, and support networks such as Expath Berlin, ArtConnect Berlin and SUPERMARKT creative resource centre.

The findings of this dissertation call for a push towards more transparency from cultural institutions, fresh debate around the price and value of creative labour, and increased political representation for creative labourers – in particular migrant creatives – in Berlin and other places that sell themselves globally as 'creative cities'. This research process has also prompted many wider questions including: How can the findings of this dissertation be applied to wider creative labour patterns and workstyles across other global creative cities? How is a 'labour of love' and creative output affected when creative labour becomes a site of struggle? Is the meaning of Berlin to migrant creatives evolving due to shifts in the wider creative economy? How will mobility patterns of creative labourers evolve as their workstyles become increasingly digitalised and internationally networked? In what ways will digitalised creative labour practices change the role of the creative city?

Today's migrant creative labourers can be viewed as the "canaries in the coal mine" for future trends in labour conditions well beyond the creative sector and the global creative city (Horowitz et al., 2005). The results of this research, including the complex and often inconvenient truths revealed about the working lives of creative labourers in a globalised market and a neoliberal era, can

therefore serve as a warning sign to the wider labour market. This dissertation ends with a quote from one of Berlin's migrant creatives, highlighting the constructed myths and harsh realities of pursuing a 'labour of love' in the global creative city:

> "*Berlin is a wonderful city – it is inspiring, creative and challenging. But to survive and work here takes patience, time, luck and so much hard work. In my experience it has been worth the pain, but it is no creative silver bullet.*" – Respondent 15

7. Bibliography

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8. Appendix

8.1 Survey questions

1. What is your gender?

    □ Female   □ Male

2. How old are you?

    □ Under 18   □ 39–44
    □ 18–24   □ 45–54
    □ 25–28   □ 54–65
    □ 29–33   □ 66 or older
    □ 34–38   □ I'd prefer not to say

3. How long have you been based in Berlin?

    □ Less than 6 months   □ 3–5 years
    □ 6–12 months   □ 5–10 years
    □ 1–2 years   □ 10–20 years
    □ 2–3 years   □ Over 20 years

4. What is your nationality as stated on your passport/s?

5. Where were you based before Berlin? Please specify city and country.

6. How would you categorise your work in the creative industries? Feel free to tick multiple boxes.

    □ Advertising   □ Fashion   □ Publishing
    □ Architecture   □ Film   □ Research & education
    □ Arts   □ Information technology   □ Research & development
    □ Arts management   □ Journalism   □ Software
    □ Communications   □ Music production   □ Television
    □ Curating   □ Music management   □ Radio
    □ Crafts   □ Performing arts   □ Writing
    □ Design   □ Performing arts   □ Video games
                           management
    □ Event   □ Photography   □ Toys
      management

7.   Would you have categorised your work in the creative industries in the same way before working in Berlin?

       □ Yes   □ No
       □ I didn't work in the creative industries before Berlin

8.   How would you best define your current employment status in Berlin?

       □ On a regular salary from a single employer   □ Homemaker
       □ Self-employed (freelance) with multiple employers   □ Student
       □ Self-employed (freelance) with a single employer   □ Retired
       □ Unemployed   □ Other

       If other, please specify.

9.   What is the highest level of education you have completed? If currently studying, what is highest qualification you have received?

       □ No schooling completed   □ Associate degree or
                                                      diploma
       □ School until 8th grade   □ Bachelor's degree
       □ Some high school, no high school certificate □ Master's degree
       □ High school graduate   □ Professional degree
       □ Some university credit, no degree   □ Doctorate degree
       □ Some vocational training, no certificate   □ Post-doctorate degree
       □ Vocational certificate

10.   What type of work visa do you currently have in Germany?

       □ No visa due to holding passport that allows □ Company-sponsored
         work in EU   employment visa
       □ Student visa   □ Permanent residency
       □ Working/holiday visa   □ German citizenship
       □ Freelance visa with specified area of   □ Other (please specify)
         employment
       □ Freelance visa with no limitations on areas
         of employment

11.   Do you currently pay pension/superannuation contributions, either in Germany or abroad?

       □ Yes   □ No
       □ I don't know

If yes, do any of your employers in Berlin pay a percentage of your contributions?

12. On an average month in Berlin, do you earn enough money from working in the city's creative industries to cover your living costs?

□ Yes   □ No

13. On an average month in Berlin, do you need to supplement your work in the creative industries with other work? (e.g. a part-time job in hospitality or another field)

□ Yes   □ No

14. On an average month BEFORE living in Berlin, did you earn enough money from working in the creative industries to cover your living costs?

□ Yes   □ No
□ Didn't work in creative industries before

15. Since you have been based in Berlin, on average how often have you earned money from work outside the city?

□ Never	□ Every 3-6 months
□ Seldom	□ Every 1-3 months
□ Once a year	□ Every month
□ Every 6-12 months	□ I only earn money outside Berlin

16. Since you have been based in Berlin, on average how often to do travel outside the city for work?

□ Never	□ Every 3-6 months
□ Seldom	□ Every 1-3 months
□ Once a year	□ Every month
□ Every 6-12 months	□ I only work outside Berlin

17. On average, roughly how many hours of PAID work in the creative industries do you do per week whilst living in Berlin? (i.e. when there is a direct time-based or contract-based financial remuneration for your labour)

□ Under 8 hours	□ 40–48 hours
□ 8–16 hours	□ 48–56 hours
□ 16–24 hours	□ 56–64 hours

□ 24–32 hours   □ Over 65 hours
□ 32–40 hours

18.   Before you lived in Berlin, was your average number of PAID
      working hours per week more or less than it is now?

      □ More   □ Less
      □ The same

19.   On average, roughly how many hours of UNPAID work in the
      creative industries do you do per week whilst living in Berlin?
      (i.e. when there is no direct time-based or contract-based
      financial remuneration for your labour)

      □ Under 8 hours   □ 40–48 hours
      □ 8–16 hours   □ 48–56 hours
      □ 16–24 hours   □ 56–64 hours
      □ 24–32 hours   □ Over 65 hours
      □ 32–40 hours

20.   Before you lived in Berlin, was your average number of
      UNPAID working hours per week more or less than it is now?

      □ More   □ Less
      □ The same

21.   Have you completed any internships (Praktikum) in Berlin's
      creative industries?

      □ Yes   □ No

      If yes: please specify:

      a)   How long was it?

      b)   How much were you paid?

      c)   Did it lead to a job?

22.   Where is your main place of work in Berlin's creative
      industries? (Feel free to tick multiple boxes)

      □ Home   □ Co-working office
      □ Home studio   □ External company office
      □ External studio   □ Café
      □ Home office   □ Other (please specify)
      □ External independent office

23.   What were your main motivations for coming to work in Berlin's creative industries?

24.   Were your expectations of working in Berlin's creative industries met upon moving here?

       □ Yes   □ No

       Please explain your answer.

25.   What do you find most <u>positive</u> about working in Berlin's creative industries?

26.   What do you find most <u>negative</u> about working in Berlin's creative industries?

27.   How would you rate your level of German language proficiency?

       □ Non-existent   □ Very good
       □ Poor   □ Fluent
       □ Basic   □ Native
       □ Good

28.   Do you use German language in your work in Berlin's creative industries?

       □ Never   □ Often
       □ Seldom   □ Always
       □ Sometimes   □ German is the only language I use

29.   How many of those in your personal network in Berlin work in the creative industries?

       □ None   □ Many
       □ A few   □ Most
       □ Some   □ All

30.   How many of those in your personal network in Berlin come from outside of Germany?

       □ None   □ Many
       □ A few   □ Most
       □ Some   □ All

31. How many of those in your professional network in Berlin come from outside of Germany?

☐ None   ☐ Many
☐ A few   ☐ Most
☐ Some   ☐ All

32. In your opinion, what are the keys to success for a migrant creative to make a living working in Berlin's creative industries?

33. What advice would you give someone from outside of Germany considering moving to Berlin to work in the creative industries?

34. Please add any final thoughts or comments you have on the topic of migrant creatives living (and making a living) in Berlin's creative industries.

35. Please provide your email address in case clarification of one of your answers is required. Your email will not be passed on to a third party.
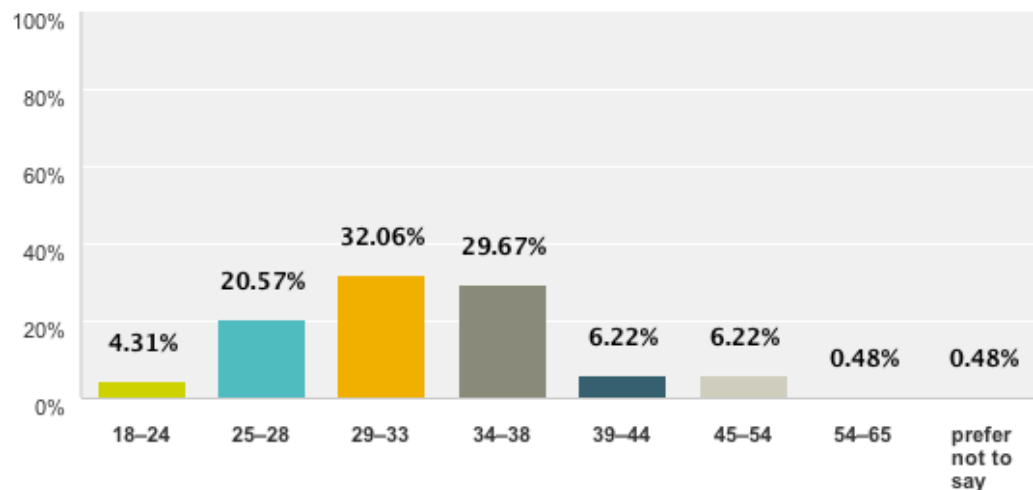
8.2 Survey response data

1. What is your gender?

Female (54.1%)　　　Male (45.9%)

2. How old are you?

Under 18 (0.0%)
18–24 (4.3%)
25–28 (20.6%)
29–33 (32.1%)
34–38 (29.7%)
39–44 (6.2%)
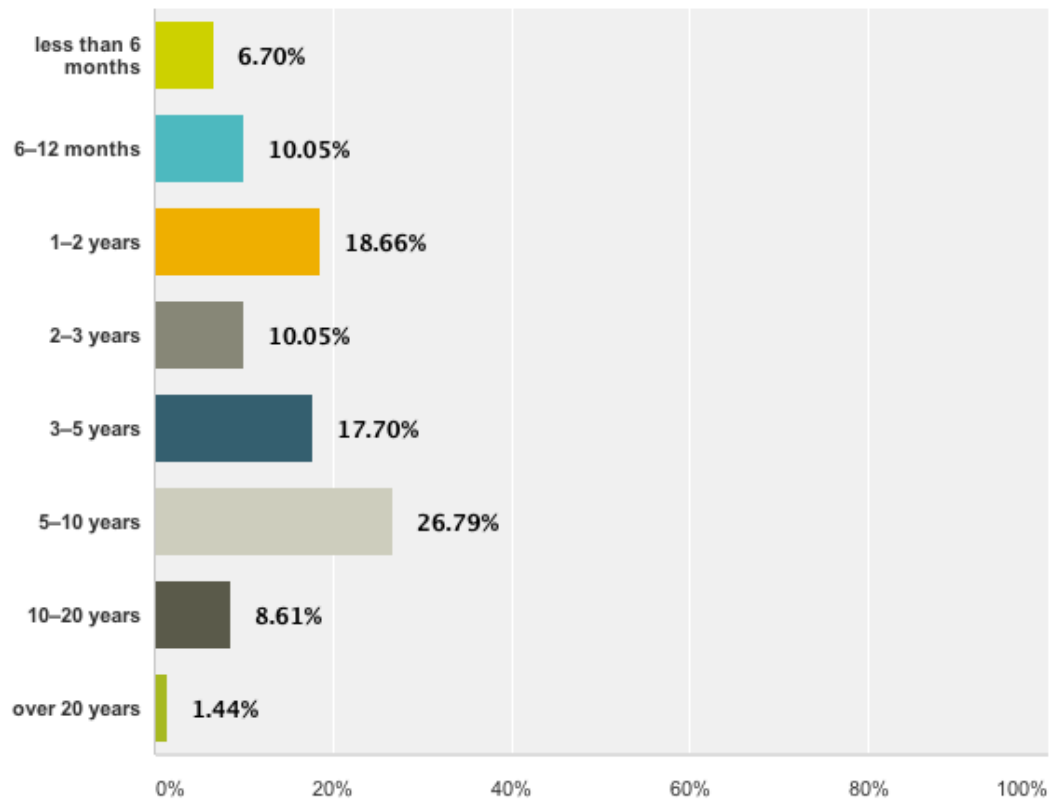45–54 (6.2%)
54–65 (0.5%)
Prefer not to say (0.5%)

3. How long have you been based in Berlin?

Under 5 years (63.1%)
5–10 years (26.8%)
10–20 years (8.6%)
Over 20 years (1.4%)

Breakdown of those who have lived in the city under five years:

Less than 6 months (6.7%)
6–12 months (10.0%)
1–2 years (18.7%)
2–3 years (10.0%)
3–5 years (17.7%)

less than 6 months	6.70%
6–12 months	10.05%
1–2 years	18.66%
2–3 years	10.05%
3–5 years	17.70%
5–10 years	26.79%
10–20 years	8.61%
over 20 years	1.44%

4. Nationality as per passport/s

Top 30 responses:

1. Australian (18.5%)
2. American (17.7%)
3. British (15.2%)
4. German (9.1%)
5. French (5.4%)
6. Spanish (4.5%)
7. Italian (3.7%)
8. Canadian (2.9%)
9. Irish (2.9%)
10. Dutch (2.5%)
11. Austrian (2.1%)
12. New Zealand (2.1%)
13. Danish (1.7%)
14. Luxembourgish (1.7%)
15. Brazilian (1.2%)

16. Greek (0.8%)
17. Hungarian (0.8%)
18. Israeli (0.8%)
19. South African (0.8%)
20. Bulgarian (0.4%)
21. Croatian (0.4%)
22. Estonian (0.4%)
23. Finnish (0.4%)
24. Icelandic (0.4%)
25. Japanese (0.4%)
26. Latvian (0.4%)
27. Lithuanian (0.4%)
28. Norwegian (0.4%)
29. Peruvian (0.4%)
30. Polish (0.4%)

5. What city were you based before Berlin?

Top 30 responses:

1. Sydney (10.5%)
2. London (8.1%)
3. NYC (7.2%)
4. Melbourne (6.2%)
5. Paris (3.8%)
6. San Francisco (2.9%)
7. Amsterdam (2.4%)
8. Dublin (1.9%)
9. Barcelona (1.4%)

10. Cologne (1.4%)
11. Copenhagen (1.4%)
12. Gothenburg (1.4%)
13. Madrid (1.4%)
14. Munich (1.4%)
15. Rotterdam (1.4%)

16. Athens (1.0%)
17. Atlanta (1.0%)
18. Baltimore (1.0%)
19. Belfast (1.0%)
20. Brighton (1.0%)
21. Brisbane (1.0%)
22. Bristol (1.0%)
23. Brussels (1.0%)
24. Frankfurt am Main (1.0%)
25. Gießen (1.0%)
26. Glasgow (1.0%)
27. Hamburg (1.0%)
28. Philadelphia (1.0%)
29. Prague (1.0%)
30. São Paulo (1.0%)

6. How would you categorise your work in the creative industries?

Top responses:

1. Art (33.0%)
2. Design (29.2%)
3. Event management (28.2%)
4. Music production (22.0%)
5. Writing (21.1%)
6. Communications (20.6%)
7. Performing arts (20.1%)
8. Curating (18.2%)
9. Advertising (16.3%)
10. Arts management (16.3%)
11. Journalism (15.8%)
12. Film (13.4%)
13. Photography (13.4%)

14. Music management (12.9%)
15. Publishing (10.5%)
16. Fashion (8.1%)
17. Research & education (8.1%)
18. Information technology (6.7%)
19. Performing arts management (6.7%)
20. Research & development (5.7%)
21. Radio (5.3%)
22. Television (4.8%)
23. Software design (4.3%)
24. Architecture (3.8%)
25. Crafts (3.3%)
26. Video games (2.4%)

Other (18.20%) included:

Deejaying, creative development and production, illustration and cartooning, web and social media, entertainment business, blogging, artist management and booking, translating, art direction, music technology, open culture/open technologies, social sustainability, cultural management, music education, PR/promotion, new media, arts education and digital music consulting.

7. Would you have categorised your work in the creative industries in the same way before working in Berlin?

Yes (57.9%)   No (30.1%)
Didn't work in creative industries before Berlin (12.0%)

8. How would you best define your current employment status in Berlin?

Top responses:
1. Self-employed (freelance) with multiple employers (51.7%)
2. On a regular salary from a single employer (22.5%)
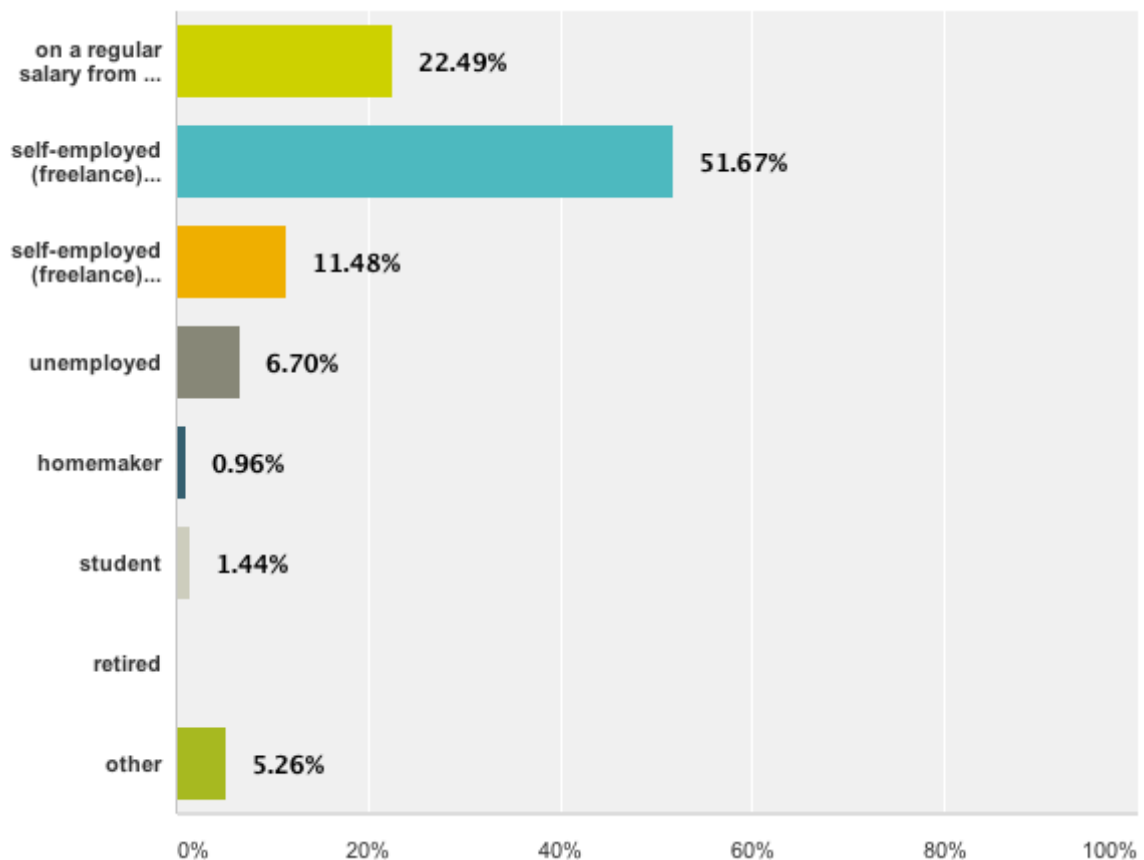3. Self-employed (freelance) with a single employer (11.5%)
4. Unemployed (6.7%)
5. Student (1.4%)
6. Homemaker (1.0%)

Other answers (5.3%) included:

Internship, main employer based overseas, main employer not in creative industries but freelance work is, studio practice based on scholarship, business owner/starting a new business, student, full time artist, supported by German dole.

Category	Percentage
on a regular salary from ...	22.49%
self-employed (freelance)...	51.67%
self-employed (freelance)...	11.48%
unemployed	6.70%
homemaker	0.96%
student	1.44%
retired	
other	5.26%

9. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Top responses:

1. Bachelors degree (41.6%)
2. Masters degree (30.6%)
3. Some university credit, no degree (9.1%)
4. Vocational certificate (4.8%)
5. Associate degree / university diploma (4.3%)
6. Professional degree (3.3%)
7. High school graduate (3.3%)
8. Doctorate degree (1.4%)
9. Post-doctorate degree (1.0%)
10. Some high school but no high school certificate (0.5%)

Category	Percentage
some high school, no h...	0.48%
high school graduate	3.35%
some university...	9.09%
vocational certificate	4.78%
associate degree /...	4.31%
bachelor's degree	41.63%
master's degree	30.62%
professional degree	3.35%
doctorate degree	1.44%
post-doctorate degree	0.96%
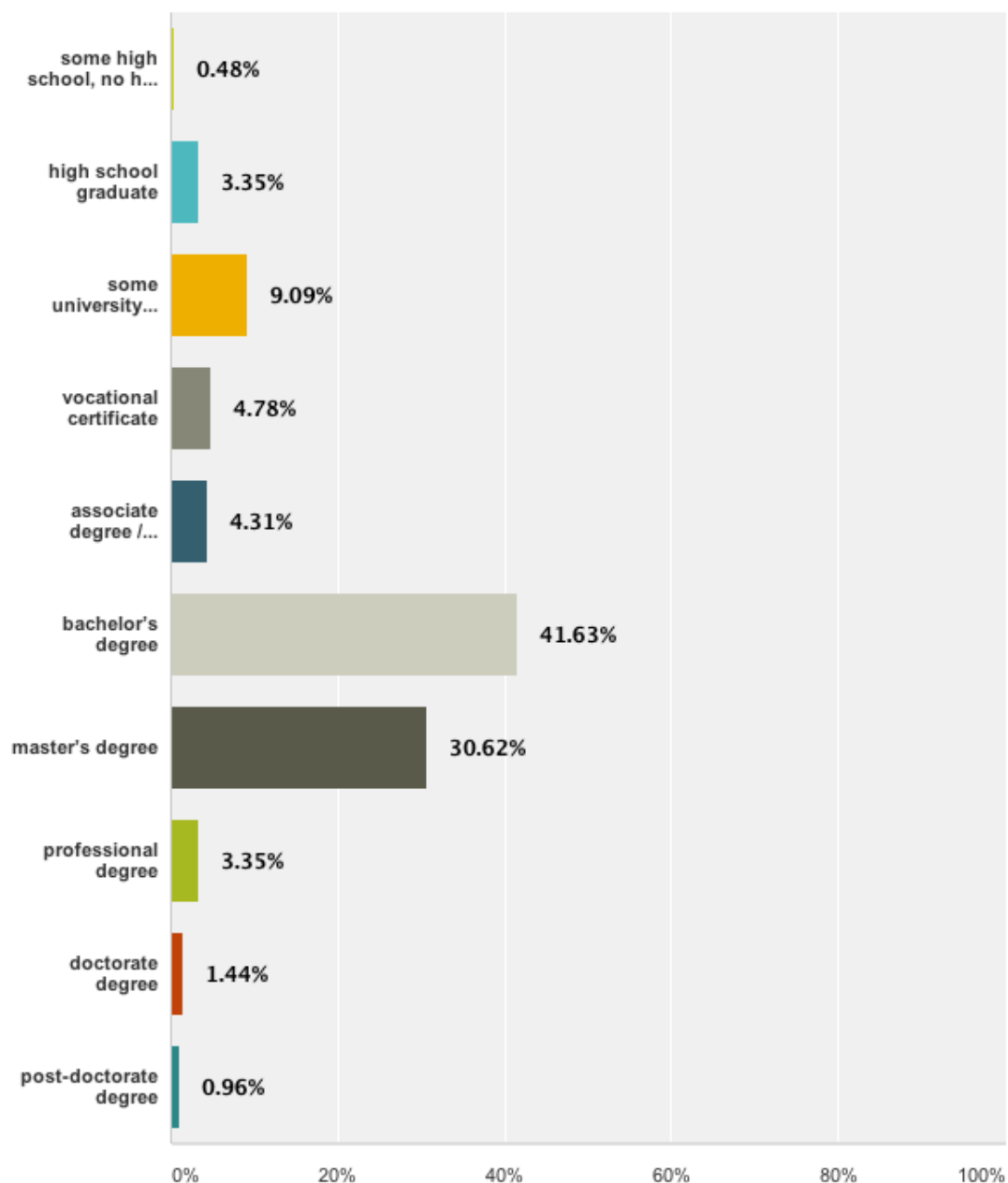
10. What type of work visa do you currently have in Germany?

Top responses:

> 1. No visa due to holding passport that allows work in European Union (56.5%)
> 2. Freelance visa with specified area of employment (12.0%)
> 3. Freelance visa with no limitations on areas of employment (9.1%)
> 4. Permanent residency (8.6%)
> 5. German citizenship (6.2%)
> 6. Working/holiday visa (4.8%)
> 7. Company-sponsored employment visa (1.4%)
> 8. Student visa (1.4%)

Other answers included:

> Visa application currently in review, spousal visa, preparing study for university visa

11. a) Do you currently pay pension/superannuation contributions, either in Germany or abroad?

> No (47.4%)   Yes (43.1%)   Don't know (9.6%)

b) If yes, do any of your employers in Berlin pay a percentage of your contributions?

> Yes (52%)   No (48%)

12. On an average month in Berlin, do you earn enough money from working in the city's creative industries to cover your living costs?

> Yes (50.7%)   No (49.3%)

13. On an average month in Berlin, do you need to supplement your work in the creative industries with other work?

> Yes (41.1%)   No (58.9%)

14. On an average month BEFORE living in Berlin, did you earn enough money from working in the creative industries to cover your living costs?

> Yes (49.8%)   No (32.5%)
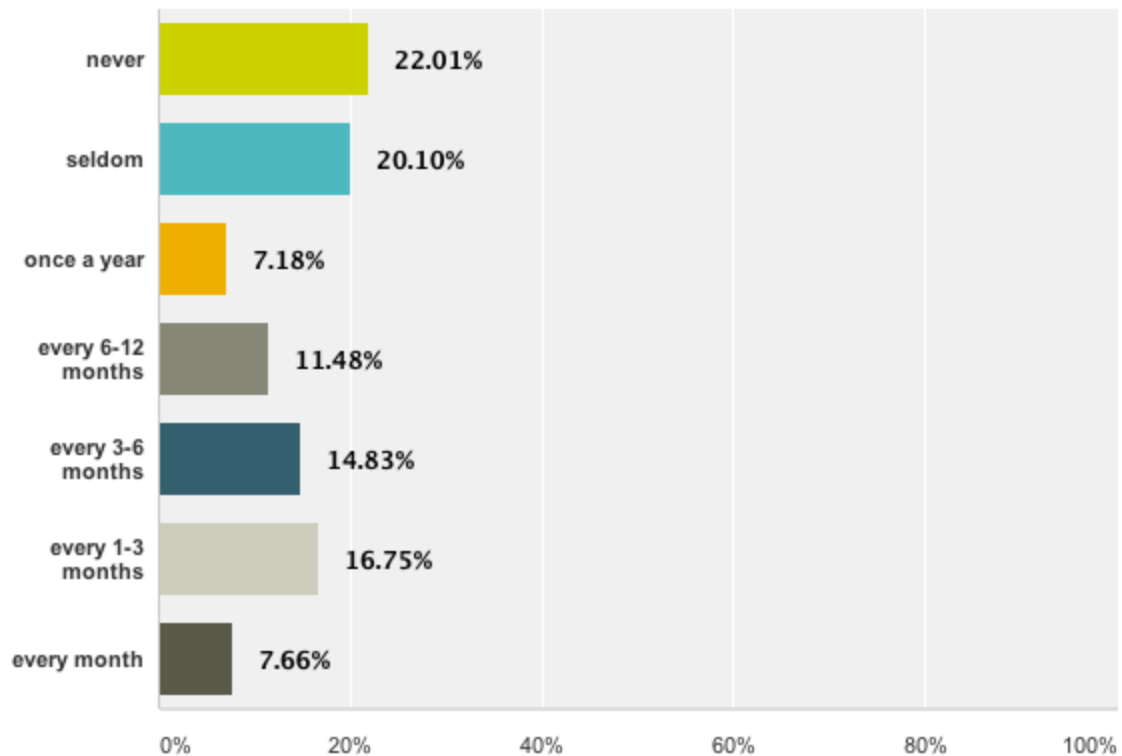> Didn't work in creative industries before Berlin (17.7%)

15. Since you have been based in Berlin, on average how often have you earned money from work outside the city?

I only earn money from outside Berlin (7.7%)
Every month (17.2%)
Every 1-3 months (12.4%)
Every 3-6 months (10.0%)
Every 6-12 months (11.0%)
Once a year (5.7%)
Seldom (17.2%)
Never (18.7%)
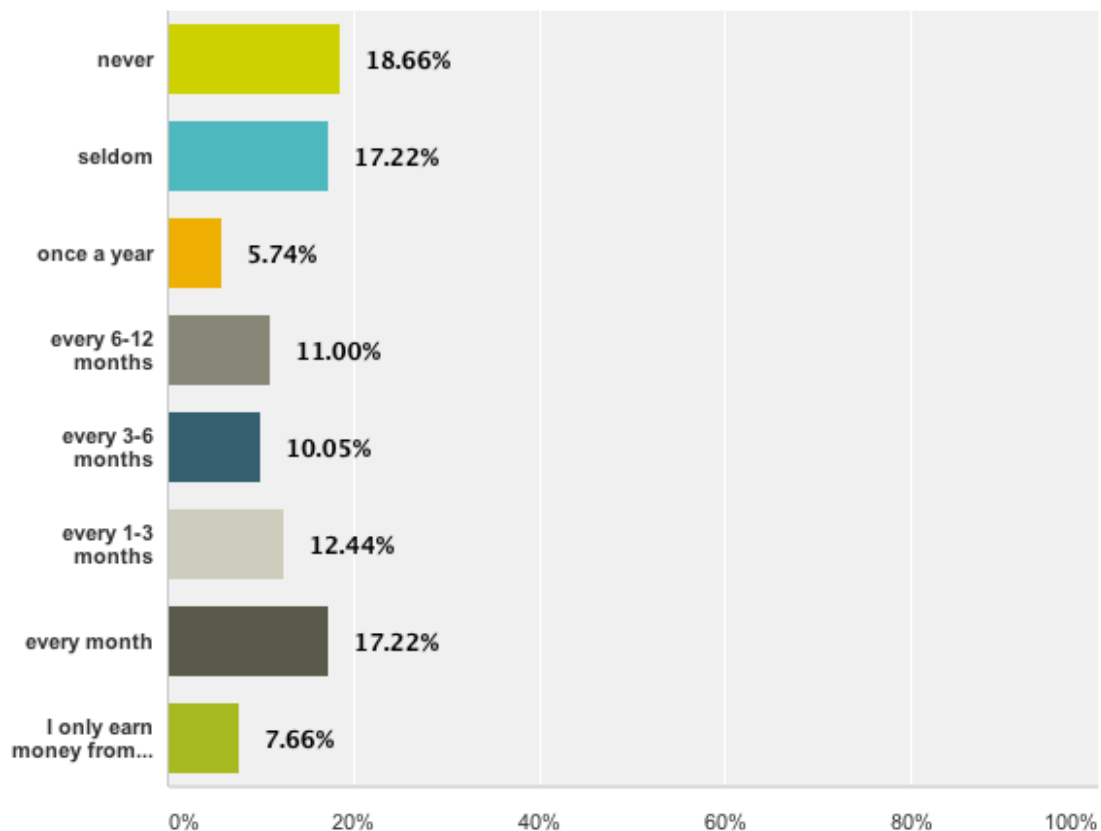
16. Since you have been based in Berlin, on average how often to do travel outside the city for work?

Every month (7.7%)
Every 1-3 months (16.7%)
Every 3-6 months (14.8%)
Every 6-12 months (11.5%)
Once a year (7.2%)
Seldom (20.1%)
Never (22.0%)

never	22.01%
seldom	20.10%
once a year	7.18%
every 6-12 months	11.48%
every 3-6 months	14.83%
every 1-3 months	16.75%
every month	7.66%

17. On average, roughly how many hours of PAID work in the creative industries do you do per week whilst living in Berlin? (i.e. when there is a direct time-based or contract-based financial remuneration for your labour)

Under 8 hours (31.6%)
8–16 hours (12.0%)
16–24 hours (13.9%)
24–32 hours (11.5%)
32–40 hours (16.7%)
40–48 hours (10.5%)
48–56 hours (2.4%)
56–64 hours (0.5%)
Over 65 hours (1.0%)

18. Before you lived in Berlin, was your average number of PAID working hours per week more or less than it is now?

More (50.2%) Less (25.8%) The same (23.9%)

19. On average, roughly how many hours of UNPAID work in the creative industries do you do per week whilst living in Berlin? (i.e. when there is no direct time-based or contract-based financial remuneration for your labour)
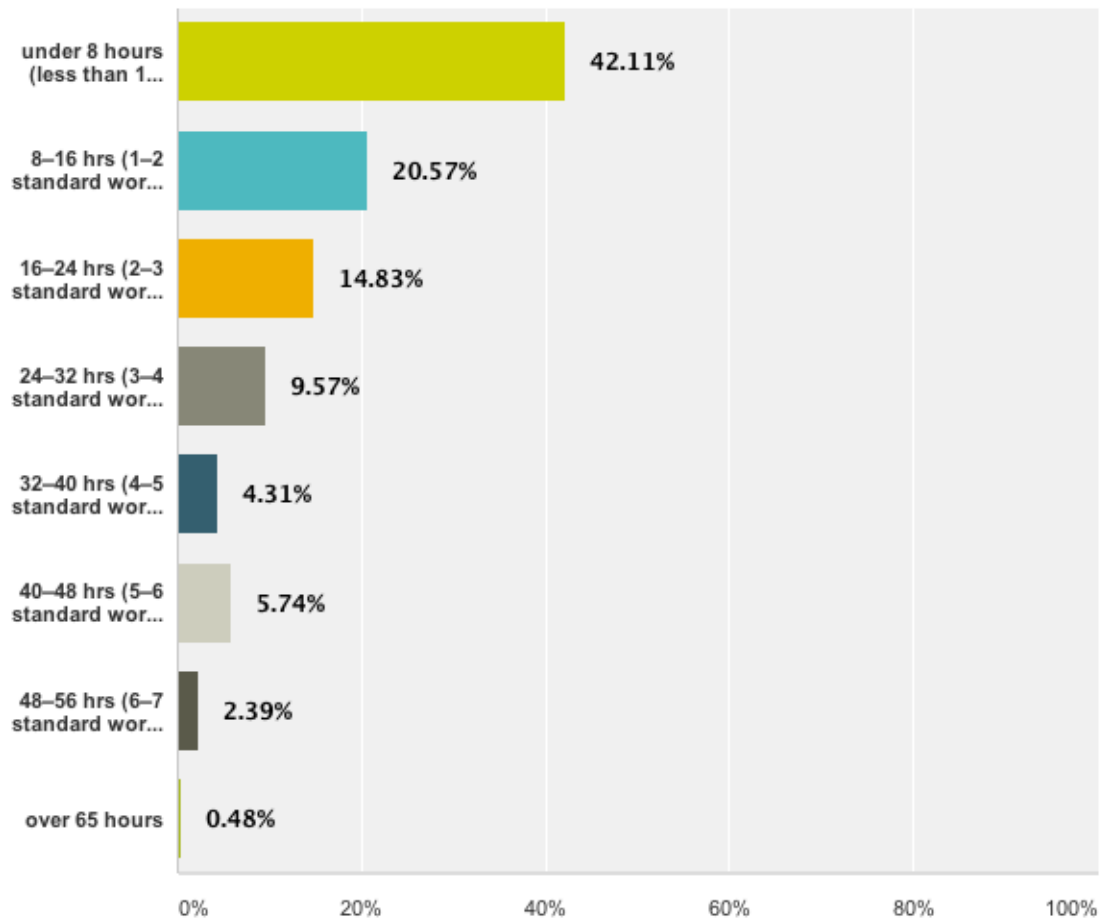
0–8 hours (42.1%)
8–16 hours (20.6%)
16–24 hours (14.8%)
24–32 hours (9.6%)
32–40 hours (4.3%)
40–48 hours (5.7%)
48–56 hours (2.4%)
56–64 hours (0.0%)
Over 65 hours (0.5%)

under 8 hours (less than 1...	42.11%
8–16 hrs (1–2 standard wor...	20.57%
16–24 hrs (2–3 standard wor...	14.83%
24–32 hrs (3–4 standard wor...	9.57%
32–40 hrs (4–5 standard wor...	4.31%
40–48 hrs (5–6 standard wor...	5.74%
48–56 hrs (6–7 standard wor...	2.39%
over 65 hours	0.48%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

20. Before you lived in Berlin, was your average number of UNPAID working hours per week more or less than it is now?

Less (51.7%)   The same (31.1%)   More (17.2%)

21. Have you completed any internships (Praktikum) in Berlin's creative industries?

Yes (31.1%)   No (68.9%)

If yes, please specify:
a) The duration

    Under 3 months (11.3%)
    3-5 months (39.4%)
    6-8 months (32.4%)
    9-11 months (2.8%)
    12 months and over (2.8%)
    No answer (11.3%)

b) Whether of not you were paid

    Paid (53.5%)
    Not paid (36.6%)
    No answer (9.9%)

c) How much you were paid

    Under 300€ / month (9.4%)
    300-399€ / month (12.5%)
    400-499€ / month (31.3%)
    500-599€ / month (12.5%)
    600-699€ / month (9.4%)
    700-799€ / month (9.4%)
    800-899€ /month (6.3%)
    over 1000€ / month (9.4%)

d) Whether it lead to a job

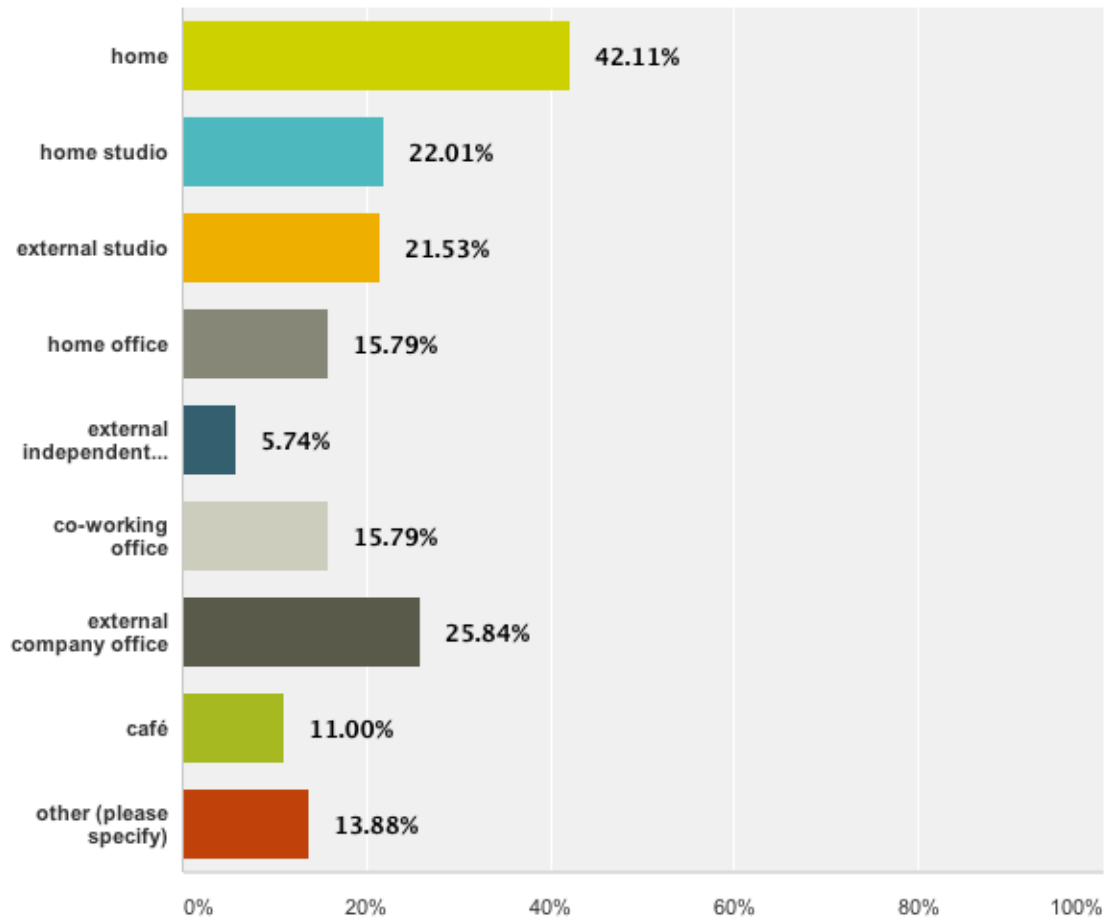   Yes (35.2%)   No (46.5%)   No answer (18.3%)

22. Where is your main place of work in Berlin's creative industries?

Top responses:

    1. Home (42.1%)
    2. External company office (25.8%)
    3. Home studio (22.0%)
    4. External studio (21.5%)
    5. Home office (15.8%)
    6. Co-working office (15.8%)
    7. Café (11.0%)
    8. External independent office (5.7%)

Other answers (13.9%) included:
    Library, arts and cultural institutions, galleries, museums, workshop
    spaces, theatres, client spaces, bars, nightclubs, film sets, salons,
   performing arts and music venues, university.

home	42.11%
home studio	22.01%
external studio	21.53%
home office	15.79%
external independent...	5.74%
co-working office	15.79%
external company office	25.84%
café	11.00%
other (please specify)	13.88%

24a. Were your expectations of working in Berlin's creative industries met upon moving here?

Yes (62.7%)   No (37.3%)

27. How would you rate your level of German language proficiency?

Non-existent (2.9%)
Poor (11.5%)
Basic (23.9%)
Good (23.4%)
Very good (14.4%)
Fluent (14.4%)
Native (9.6%)

non-existent	2.87%
poor	11.48%
basic	23.92%
good	23.44%
very good	14.35%
fluent	14.35%
native	9.57%
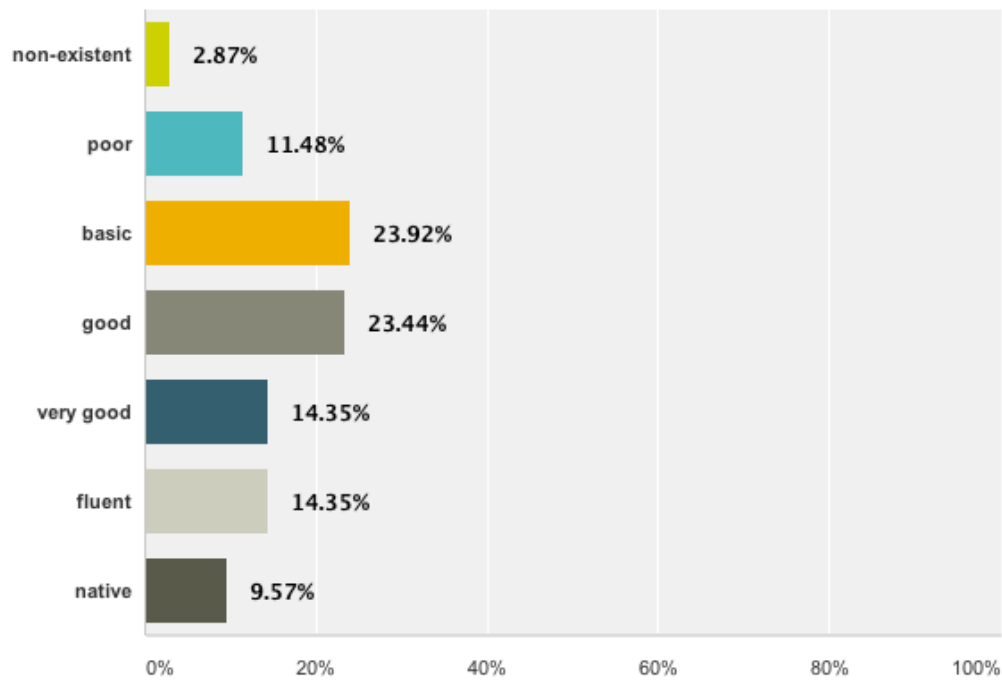
28. Do you use German language in your work in Berlin's creative industries?

Never (15.8%)
Seldom (23.4%)
Sometimes (23.9%)
Often (23.9%)
Always (12.9%)

| never | 15.79% |
seldom	23.44%
sometimes	23.92%
often	23.92%
always	12.92%
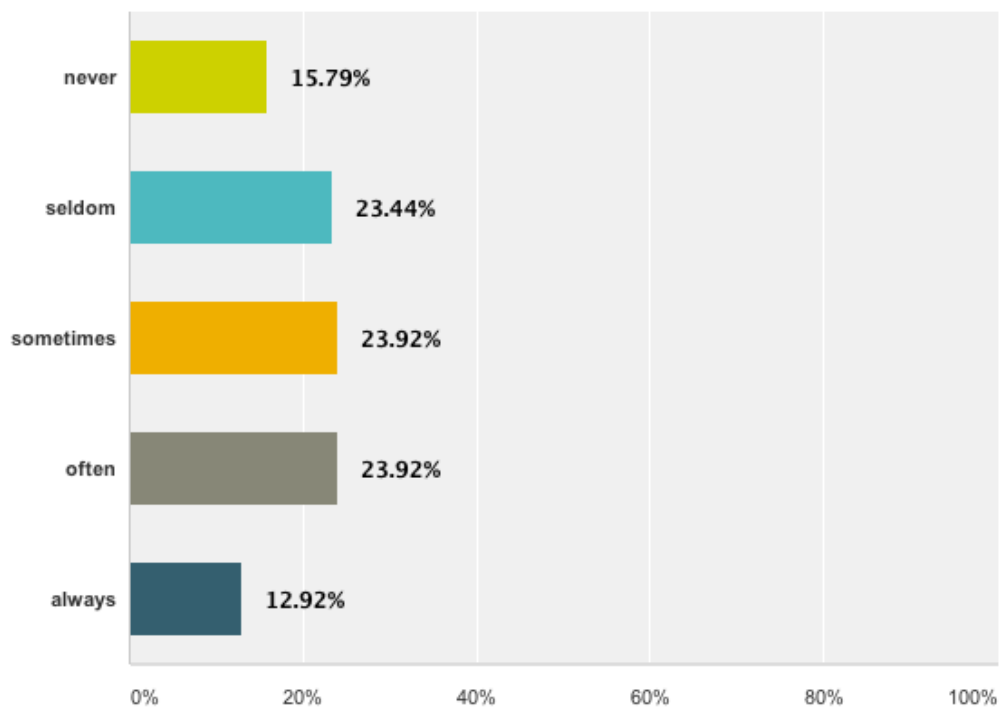
29. How many of those in your personal network in Berlin work in the creative industries?

Few (9.6%)
Some (7.7%)
Many (30.6%)
Most (47.8%)
All (4.3%)

a few	9.57%
some	7.66%
many	30.62%
most	47.85%
all	4.31%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%
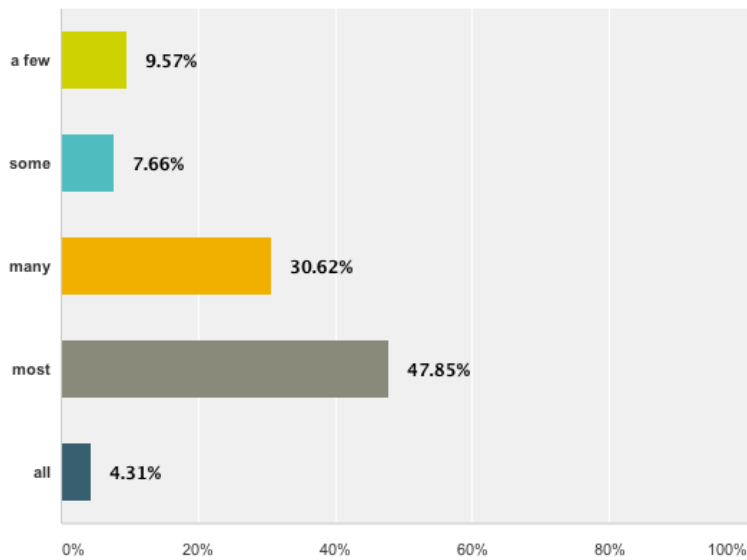
30. How many of those in your personal network in Berlin come from outside of Germany?

A few (6.2%)
Some (14.8%)
Many (48.3%)
Most (28.7%)
All (1.9%)
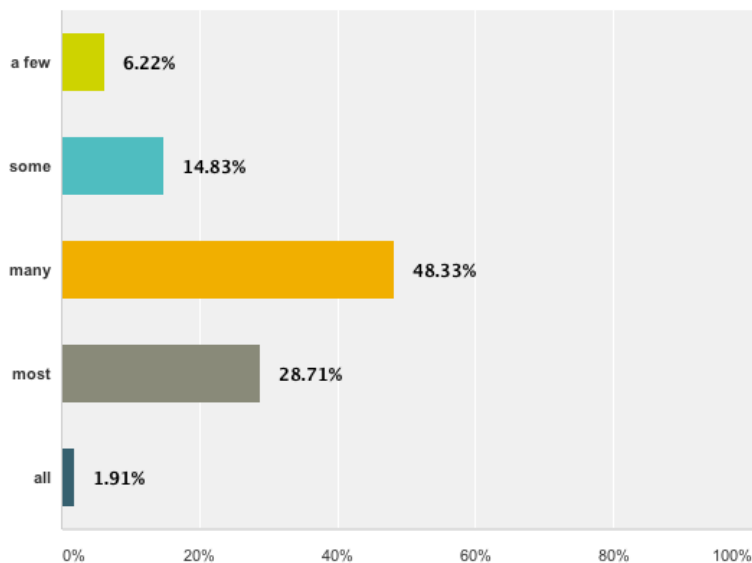
a few	6.22%
some	14.83%
many	48.33%
most	28.71%
all	1.91%

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

31. How many of those in your professional network in Berlin come from outside of Germany?

None (1.9%)
A few (7.7%)
Some (28.7%)
Many (40.2%)
Most (19.6%)
All (1.9%)

none	1.91%
a few	7.66%
some	28.71%
many	40.19%
most	19.62%
all	1.91%
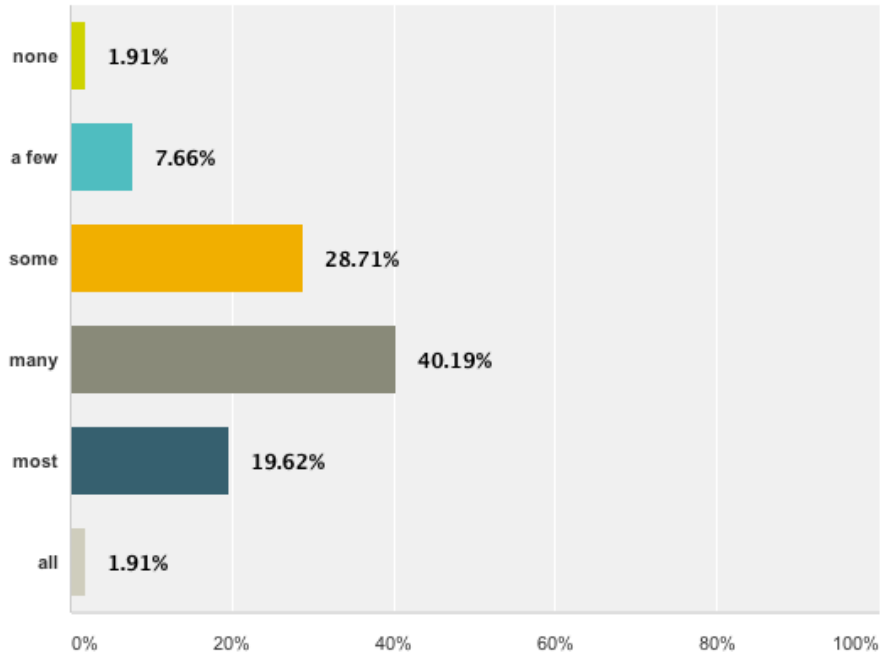
Please note questions 23, 24b, 25, 26, 32, 33, 34 are not included due to the fact they are qualitative questions. Please see Critical Analysis for discussion of qualitative responses.