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Abstract

The mobility of skilled professionals has been of academic interest since the 1980s. Highly skilled migrants have for long been viewed and portrayed as a global elite, whose mobility is smooth and frictionless. However, more recent research indicate that highly skilled constitute a very diverse group, who are situated within different local and transnational flows of resources, resulting in different lifestyles in the societies they inhabit. Despite the heterogeneity of the group, their skills nonetheless situate them in a privileged position compared to other kinds of migrants, where they have more freedom to choose how and whether they want to incorporate. For them it is apparently accepted to stand outside the local society. The scope of this research is to understand the peculiar nature of incorporation, which characterizes skilled migrants with a Western background in the specific context of Vienna, in order to illuminate what shape such processes and how skilled migrants actually engage with host societies. The principal argument of the thesis is that incorporation processes is best understood in the synergy between the dynamics and opportunities of the specific locality and the motivation and attitude of migrants.

The research utilizes the extended case method that aims at linking the local phenomenon of migrant incorporation in Vienna to specific structural forces at large that inflict modes and potential of incorporation into the local Viennese vis-à-vis the local expat community. Based on in-depth interviews with skilled migrants the study reveals how aspects such as migrant type, language skills, temporality, character of local community and membership influence the actual choice and ability of migrants. Despite internal diversity among the group of skilled migrants, the study shows how highly skilled migrants tend to incorporate selectively, which results in a dual character of incorporation into the local Austrian society as well as the local international community. Through an examination of the contextual setting, it is argued that the dynamics of the locality supports dual incorporation of foreign professionals. On one hand the reception context offers only partial incorporation into the local society, mainly into the labor market. The scalar position of Vienna do provide opportunities for migrants to have a social and professional life that are standing outside the local Viennese society, however such opportunities are limited, and most skilled migrants need to reach out and benefit from opportunities, which are only present in the local society.

Zusammenfassung

Seit den 80-er Jahren befasst sich die Migrationsforschung mit dem Thema „Die Mobilität von Arbeitskräften“. Hochqualifizierte Migranten wurden seither hauptsächlich als eine globale Elite, dessen Mobilität mühelos und reibungsfrei verläuft, dargestellt. Aktuelle Forschungen zeigen jedoch, dass Hochqualifizierte eine sehr heterogene Gruppe bilden. Sie befinden sich in verschiedenen lokalen und transnationalen Ressourcenflüssen. Dies wiederum führt zu Entwicklungen von unterschiedlichen Lebensstilen in den Gesellschaften, die sie bewohnen. Trotz der Heterogenität der Gruppe, befinden sich diese Migranten, auf Grund ihrer Fähigkeiten, dennoch in einer privilegierten Position im Vergleich zu anderen Arten von Migranten. Sie haben mehr Freiheit zu entscheiden, wie sie sich integrieren wollen und sie haben akzeptiert außerhalb der lokalen Gesellschaft zu stehen. Der Umfang dieser Forschungsarbeit ist es, die Besonderheit der Integration zu verstehen am Beispiel qualifizierter Migranten im spezifischen Kontext von Wien, um zu beleuchten, welche Form solche Prozesse nehmen und in wie fern qualifizierte Migranten sich eigentlich an der Aufnahmegesellschaft beteiligen. Das Hauptargument der Arbeit ist, dass Integrationsprozesse am besten in der Synergie zwischen der Dynamik und den Chancen der entsprechenden Lokalität und der Motivation und Einstellung von Migranten verstanden werden.

Die Forschung nutzt die *Extended case method*, die auf eine Verknüpfung der lokalen Phänomene der Migrantenintegration in Wien mit spezifischen strukturellen Kräften, die die Integration in die lokale Wiener Gesellschaft vis-à-vis der lokalen „Expatriate-Community“ ermöglichen, beruht. Basierend auf ausführlichen Interviews mit hochqualifizierten Migranten, zeigt die Studie, wie Aspekte, z. B. Migrantentyp, Sprachkenntnisse, Temporalien, Charakter der örtlichen Gemeinschaft und Mitgliedschaft, die eigentliche Wahl und die Fähigkeit von Migranten beeinflussen. Auf der Grundlage einer internen Vielfalt in der Gruppe der hochqualifizierten Migranten, zeigt die Studie, wie hochqualifizierte Migranten dazu neigen sich gezielt zu integrieren. Dies resultiert aus dem dualen Charakter der Integration in die lokale österreichische Gesellschaft, wie auch gegenüber der lokalen internationalen Gemeinschaft. Durch eine genauere Untersuchung der kontextuellen Umgebung wird argumentiert, dass die Dynamik des Ortes die duale Integration von ausländischen Fachkräften unterstützt. Auf der einen Seite bietet die Rezeption den Kontext für nur eine teilweise Eingliederung in die örtliche Gemeinschaft, vor allem in den

Arbeitsmarkt. Die „Scalar Position“ von Wien bietet Migranten Chancen für ein soziales und berufliches Leben, das außerhalb der lokalen Wiener Gesellschaft steht. Jedoch sind solche Möglichkeiten begrenzt. Die meisten qualifizierten Migranten brauchen zum Erreichen und zur erfolgreichen Integration Möglichkeiten welche nur in der lokalen Gesellschaft vorhanden sind.

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1. Introduction

Austria has like other European countries in recent years seen a rise in the public and political animosity against foreigners settling in the country. They are seen as a threat to the cultural hegemony and heritage; Vienna is no exception on this matter despite its richness in cultural diversity compared to the rest of the country. One group of foreigners, which seem to escape the negative spotlight, is the skilled migrants, such as the corporate manager, the researcher, or the journalist, who despite the lack of German skills or knowledge of the local “rules of the game“ avoid the negative scrutiny other foreigners are subject to. Their skills and talents presumably situate them in a privileged position, where social rules and expectations do not apply. Or do they? These thoughts form the starting point for this research, where I am intrigued to understand the peculiar situation of skilled migrants in Vienna better.

The majority of literature on skilled migration focuses on the phenomenon of “brain drain”; professionals moving from developing to developed countries, but attention also has been paid to “brain exchanges” between countries, especially developed ones. For my master thesis I am interested in the latter group of skilled migrants, the ones who cross national borders, often temporarily, in the developed world, and more specifically the ones who settle in Vienna for a given period of time. I am intrigued to explore their pathways of incorporation into the local society. How is incorporation possible when a stay is of temporary character? Which potential barriers do skilled migrants face in this process and how do they situate themselves vis-à-vis the local population?

Why is such a study important? Understanding the complexities of migrant incorporation in host societies has been studied thoroughly, but on a very limited scale on the viewpoint of skilled migrants within the Western world. In fact skilled mobility remains largely understudied in social science compared to what one may refer to as „ethnic“ or „low-wage“ labor migration. The majority of literature assume

highly skilled migration is effortless and frictionless; that highly skilled embody a privileged global elite, who can *choose* how they want to incorporate in host societies. Such claims are largely based on theory made by migration and globalization scholars (e.g. Sassen, 2000, Bauman 1998) but they often lack empirical grounding. This research seeks to attend to this gap in the current literature by providing a micro-level anthropological study on the everyday life of highly skilled migrants living in Austria. Getting a better understanding of professional migrants, their social patterns and life situations is not just desirable from an academic perspective, it provides a useful insight that is applicable and beneficial to the cities and nations they inhabit. Austria like most other Western countries has acknowledged a need for attracting and holding on to highly qualified workers. Since July 2011 the Rot-Weiss-Rot Card has been in effect, which is designed to contravene the lack of the highly qualified workers. This calls for increased attention and insight to the particular context of highly skilled in Austria. Temporary skilled migrants form a pool of potential permanent residents, and exploring strategies and possibilities for incorporation and membership may very well provide a better understanding of the degree to which this is shift is attainable.

1.1. Vienna as a Location for Skilled Migration

The Austrian capital is the largest city of the country with a population of about 2, 4 million including suburban areas, and is the 10th largest city by population in the European Union. The 1990s brought about crucial changes to the city, which included the Austrian integration into the EU as well as the fall of the Iron Curtain, which led to a general transformation among Central and Eastern European countries. These geo-strategic changes affected the urban economy as well as its integration into the global markets leading to new patterns of capital flows and establishing Vienna as a gateway-bridge between the East and the West, where foreign firms use Vienna to expand in Eastern Europe (Musil, 2009: 255). As a result around 303 international corporations use Vienna as a control center for their activities in Central and Eastern Europe including businesses such as Baxter, Siemens, Hewlett Packard and Henkel (Economist 2011). Additionally major international organizations such as the UN and OPEC are located in the city.

Several studies have ranked Vienna on global city or world city parameters in order to determine the spatial hierarchies between various major cities. The think tank Globalization and World City Research Network (GaWC) is one such example, which rated the Austrian capital as an alpha – city, which they define as “*a very important world city that link major economic regions and states into the world economy*” (Department of Geography, Loughborough University 2010).

A different kind of study, which has received much attention locally, and is used explicitly by the city to attract qualified labor is the study conducted by Mercer consulting firm, which ranked Vienna as the number one city with the highest overall quality of life in 2010 and 2011 (Mercer Human Resource Consulting 2010, Mercer Human Resource Consulting 2011). The Expat Center, which is the city’s official service and information center for international professionals, includes for instance the high standard of living in their introductory information on Vienna on their website.

“The Danube metropolis uniquely combines tradition, culture and quality of life with the factors distinguishing a top business location. Stable political and economic conditions, a research- and technology-friendly environment, the geographic and cultural proximity to [Central and Eastern European] growth markets and not least the world’s highest quality of life make Vienna the “place to be” in every way.”

It is difficult to find statistical data about the number and origins of skilled or highly skilled migrants, who stay in Vienna, which is not surprising considering the common problem of exactly delineating, who belongs to the group. A clear-cut international agreed definition is missing with the result that definitions vary from study to study. Although most definitions assume a tertiary educational qualification or its equivalent, it might not always be level of education that makes individuals fit the category of highly skilled (Salt, 1997: 5). Vienna is for example a world famous hub for classical music, which surely attracts skilled international musicians, which might not be detectable by focusing on neither education nor experience alone. In sum the ill-defined occupational group of what we refer to as “highly skilled” is a major difficulty for statistical analysis, which the lack of clear statistical data in the case of Vienna illustrates well.

Vienna Expat Center is unaware of the exact number of people belonging to the group of potential clients. A study (Haslberger and Zehetner 2008) came up with an approximate number of 20.000-30.000 individuals with a yearly fluctuation of 5.000, but these numbers are highly questionable when holding it up against official statistics from *Statistik Austria*, which for example declare that 32.422 German citizens alone live in Vienna (Statistik Austria, 2012: 51). While all Germans of course cannot be considered highly skilled or skilled, it seem fair to assume that such a large group of potentially skilled or highly skilled foreign nationals increases the total amount to more than that of Haslberger and Zehetner's number of 20.-30.000 individuals.

While we can only make assumptions about the number of skilled migrants living in the city, Statistik Austria provide a useful insight to more unambiguous data that does not deal with skill level or profession, but examines more measurable parameters such as citizenship, gender, age etc. It provides among other things an insight to the national mix-up of migrants from Europe, North America, Australia and Oceania, which is valuable to this study. According to the 2011 yearbook 593.957 individuals from EU countries live in Austria, 13.472 individuals from North America and 2.747 individuals from Australia and Oceania. The average age is respectively 44,5, 38,7 and 39,2 years of age (Statistik Austria, 2011: 27). Now it does not specify how many of the total amount lives in Vienna, and obviously it would be a considerable overstatement to claim all these individuals from EU, North America and Australia and Oceania belong to the group of skilled or highly skilled. The free mobility within the European Union surely makes it easier for individuals with less education/experience/talent to make it in other European countries. While the numbers consequently present a rather broad context, they do provide an insight to the proportion of Europeans versus North Americans in Vienna, where it seems fair to conclude that North Americans, Australians and New Zealanders make up a relatively small group of professionals compared to EU citizens.

Research on the international professional labor force in Vienna is extremely limited. A research project conducted by Haslberger and Zehetner (2008) examines the attractiveness of Vienna for qualified international labor and provides an insight to the motivations and opinions about coming to and staying in the Austrian capital. The authors conclude that Vienna generally is viewed as a very attractive place for expatriates with 91% answering that they enjoy being in Vienna and almost 70% stating they would probably move to Vienna again. Responsible for the high level of satisfaction is primarily the high quality of living, the high personal safety and the well-organized infrastructure. The respondents find Vienna underestimated as a business location. Before arriving to the city, only one third considered Vienna to be a business center for Central and Eastern Europe or an international congress center, as oppose to two thirds after arrival. Vienna is generally experienced as an unfriendly city. Many respondents notice a xenophobic attitude and only one half feel welcome in Vienna. Career wise Vienna is perceived as a stepping-stone. The majority of the respondents would recommend colleagues to accepting a professional assignment in Vienna (Haslberger and Zehetner, 2008: 32).

I will later return with a more thorough examination of Vienna as a location for skilled migration, but for now this brief review has set a basic scene of the locality the study is anchored to.

2. Literature Review

This literature review will bring the reader up to date with existing knowledge on the field, by providing an overview of what is currently known of skilled migration including the current debates connected to the phenomenon. It will additionally form the basis for my own study, by pointing out where there is a need for further research.

2.1. The Category of Skilled

Who exactly is a skilled migrant, and when is someone considered highly skilled? There is no consistent definition of “highly skilled”. Some scholars have defined the term based on education (Borjas 2003), occupation (Bouvier and Simcox 1994; Cornelius, Espenshade and Salehyan 2001) or skill level (Auriol and Sexton 2002), though the most fundamental definition tends to correlate with a person, who holds a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field (Iredale, 2001: 8). There are two basic concepts to be found in the literature concerning the migration of highly skilled. The first *brain exchange* (including brain gain and brain drain) deals with those who take on a job in a new location that broadly commensurate with their skills and qualifications. The other concept *brain waste* describes the deskilling which occurs when highly skilled workers move into forms of employment requiring less skills and experience applied in the former job (Salt, 1997: 5). This study will not deal with the latter concept, although the phenomenon is not unseen among Western skilled migrants moving between Western countries (E.g. “the trailing spouse“, who joins the partner overseas and, due to language constraints, ends up in a position, which does not match his or her previous work experience.) While there is no agreed concept or definition of highly skilled, it is clear that they are a very heterogeneous group that consists of largely self-contained and non-competing sub-groups, among whom level and duration of training varies. Some jobs are deemed to be highly skilled, but may require little training or experience, or may rely instead on natural talent such as sportspeople, entertainers,

musicians and artists, which all together demonstrates the difficulty in clearly delineating who actually belongs to the group and who does not (Salt, 1997: *ibid*).

Despite the importance of highly skilled migration to the development and management of the international economy, knowledge of the patterns and processes of their movement is limited. This can be explained by a number of reasons. First of all, highly skilled migrants make up a relatively small number compared to the total amount of people migrating worldwide. In addition the fact that the group is so ill defined, makes it difficult for statistical systems to track them. Different countries use different definitions, which causes difficulties for comparison. Connected to the problems of tracking highly skilled migrants is the fact that they often move on a temporary basis, which results in exclusion from analyses that includes only permanent immigrants (Salt, 1997: 8). Finally and perhaps the most important reason for why the insight to highly skilled migration is limited, is that they are not perceived to a 'problem'. There is a tendency for migration to not be documented if it is not seen as problematic (King, 2002: 101). Social research is in general driven by the perceived need to focus on problematic topics, which have visible social and political implications (Favell, 2003a: 400).

The label *expatriate* or simply 'expat' is commonly found in relation to highly skilled migrants. In the classic definition of the word, an expatriate is on an assignment in a foreign country within the same company, which means that the person is to return to his or her native country and the same company after a given period of time. In addition to the assigned expatriate, scholars talk of the self-initiated expatriate, who relocate voluntarily to a foreign country on his or her own initiative. For example, the individual who move independently of any employer and without organizational assistance, and who is hired under a local, host country contract (Biemann and Andresen, 2010: 431). While expatriatism is thus originally thought of within the framework of multinational corporations, there is a widespread use of the word, which also covers many other kinds of skilled migrants.

The label expat also seem to be the most commonly used term among international migrants from the Western world, which brings forth an interesting distinction

between the labels 'expat' and 'immigrant'. This I would briefly like to touch on as I find it important to keep in mind the construction or hierarchy of migrants in general. The social construction of 'skills' tends to parallel global development, ethno-religious, and racial gradients. This practically means that mass migration within the developed world is ipso facto *skilled*, whereas mass international migration from the developing world is ipso facto *unskilled* (Scott, 2006: 1106). This artificial skills or class hierarchy affects the crossing of international borders. We see for example that people from the developed world move with much greater ease than people from other less privileged places. This class hierarchy evidently also influences the way Western migrants see and label themselves as oppose to migrants with other origins.

"If you picked up, moved to Paris, and landed a job, what would you call yourself? Chances are, if you're an American, you'd soon find yourself part of a colorful community of "expats." If, while there, you hired an Algerian nanny—a woman who had picked up, moved abroad, and landed a job—how would you refer to him or her? Expat probably isn't the first word that springs to mind. Yet almost no one refers to herself as a "migrant worker."
(Howley, 2007)

Vienna is a good example of a city that boasts an international community that often explicitly claims the label 'expat'. One of the biggest international social networks is for example named "Vienna Expats". I have my own experience with this community as a foreigner in the city, and I have (uncritically) in my adjustment process claimed the label 'expat' as a category I fit into, even though I am not sent here by a company to work. I am an international student, who ended up in Vienna because of an academic career opportunity of my husband. While the so-called expat community is surely made up of 'real' expats in the classical sense, I think I am a fitting example for a lot of other people, who both engage in this international community and categorize themselves as expats, even though they might in fact be something else: international students, visitors or immigrants, who have lived in the city for decades. In that way it seems to be a unifying label for Western migrants, temporary or not. Where the label immigrant has developed negative connotations (poor, desperate, few skills, etc), expatriates are positively thought of as curious, skillful

cosmopolites. Whether this differentiation is intentional or not by those claiming to be expats, the use of different terms create a distance to the “Other”, and emphasize a hierarchy between different groups of migrants. Knowing there are many kinds of migrants, who move within the developed world, I choose not to use the term expatriate, as my interests exceed beyond the corporate world. Despite its popularity among those who claim to belong to the group, I find the term ‘highly skilled migrant’ more neutral.

2.2. The Temporal Quality of Migration

Skilled migration often involves temporality, which has resulted in reluctance by some migration scholars and officials to accept such movement as migration at all, since there is often no (initial) intention to settle in the destination country and the stay is often short in character (Salt, 1997: 4). However we find in migration research a basic distinction between *temporary* migration (followed by return) and *permanent* migration (where there is no return). While this distinction is simple in theory, it is more complex in reality. The intentions to either cross borders for a couple of years, or to emigrate for good, might be rather different from the actual outcome. One might leave with the idea of staying in a foreign country on a two-year work contract and then return home, but might end up falling in love and never leave. In addition there are different degrees of temporariness: one year, five years, twenty years, which relates to the unwillingness by some scholars to acknowledge limited period assignments as migration at all. A stay will certainly affect the migrant who stays two versus 20 years differently. Finally, the ‘myth of return’ is commonly used to describe long-term migrant’s psychological predicament of being torn between the desire to return and the desire (or need) to stay (King, 2002: 93).

While no theory can account for the unpredictability that is inherent in all migration, other factors influence the temporal quality of moves. Work on highly skilled migrants in EU indicates a shift in favor of more temporary moves. Scholars for example suggest that migration within the EU is not permanent, but part of a process of mobility in which both return and serial migration are natural economic

responses to a dynamic economy. It is also argued that longer-term migration among skilled labor migrants are increasingly being replaced by more diverse shorter-term flows. As a result concepts such as 'circulation' and 'mobility' are suggested to be more fitting to this situation rather than the concept of 'migration' (Gill and Ackers, 2008: 12).

The temporal aspect that characterizes much of skilled migration has resulted in much research on time scale matters, aiming to understand the distinction between a visit and a stay in a foreign country. Consequently a number of studies deal with this topic by distinguishing between *the labor tourist*, which involves business travel, regular commuting and extended visits, *the nomadic worker*, who face temporary sojourns and flexible contracts, and finally the *skilled migrant*, who relocate permanently. Interestingly 'permanent' is an official term, used in statistics, and generally defined to be more than 12 months of continuous stay, though some definitions use a shorter time frame (Scott, 2006: 1107).

2.3. Globalization, Global Elites and Global Cities

The literature on skilled migration falls within two main branches. The first comes from a human resource management perspective, which examines management dilemmas of dealing with personal and family difficulties linked to mobility and relocation. This includes challenges for the following spouse and children as well as the psychology of dealing with a foreign culture and distant family ties and contacts (Favell, 2003b: 10). The other branch is anchored to globalization, where people, like money, goods, images, and ideas cross national borders with much greater ease than earlier, and where time-space reconfiguration changes the experience and significance of time and distance. This perspective includes a perception of increasing polarization between those within the flows of critical resources and those excluded, between the network society and the marginalized population (Burawoy, 2000: 2f). The highly skilled migrants are in this respect thought of and portrayed as the ones who are enabled by global forces due to their transferable and attractive skills and are in studies referred to as 'sky workers' (Robert Reich) and

'world class' (Rosabeth Moss Kanter) – detached from those on the ground (ibid). This elite portrayal of highly skilled migrants and the polarization of migration is additionally connected to Saskia Sassen's theory of the 'Global City', in which she argues that highly skilled as well as low-wage migrants are attracted to certain global power centers – global cities – due to their concentration of high and low-income jobs. Globalization processes assume concrete localized forms in such major cities around the world. According to Sassen (2000: 82), the new global economy creates global and regional hierarchies of cities, making cities such as New York, London, and Hong Kong the most powerful places in the world, responsible for major economic processes that fuel the global economy. Through intense transactions on the financial market, trade in services, and investment, the global cities are closely connected with each other despite physical distance. Global cities have seen a rapid growth of industries, which attract migrants in high numbers from both ends of the spectrum. On one hand we find an international professional class of workers and highly internationalized business environments due to the presence of foreign companies and staff. On the other hand foreign low-wage manual and service laborers make their way to the cities and are incorporated into immigrant work environments that help sustain the infrastructure for the high-end financial, cultural and service industries. Sassen argues (2000: 83) that migration should be seen as a fundamental aspect of globalization, which like the internationalization of capital is a process whereby global elements are *localized*. She additionally emphasizes the significance of various forms of transnationalism connected to the global city. Global cities make up a space that is transterritorial as it connects sites that are not geographically proximate, yet intensely connected to each other. Within the grid of global cities, transmigration of capital and cultural forms takes place, and of course the international workforce of both highly skilled and low-wage migrants is transnational in character. The international professional labor force she describes as follows:

"The new international professionals...operate in contexts which are at the same time local and global. The new professionals of finance are members of a cross-border culture that is in many ways embedded in a global network of

'local' places—a set of international financial centres, with much circulation of people, information, capital among them." (Sassen, 2001: 188)

How does such cross-border culture look like and what is its function? Jonathan Beaverstock's research (2005) on transnational networks of British managerial elites working in New York City as inter-corporate transferees (ICTs) serves as a good example to demonstrate Sassen's notions of a cross-border culture among highly skilled migrants in the global city. The background for his study is a development of many transnational corporations, which now prefer short-term or non-permanent circulation instead of long-term or permanent migration. This has produced a transitory pattern of migration, and established a highly mobile, cross-border transnational managerial elite (Beaverstock, 2005: 246). Both professionally and privately, these highly mobile, highly paid, and highly skilled migrants rely on a series of cross-border connections, ties and relationships, even though local embeddings are also present. Beaverstock concludes that participation in both global and local corporate networks is fundamental for success in the industry. The local networks include American colleagues and clients, which provide an important local insight. Networking with other British or ICTs of other nationalities in New York is equally important, as this accumulates knowledge of other locals, which in turn is useful for business relations. On a global scale the ICTs constantly engage with London and other financial centers. Outside the corporate life, social networking crosses national borders with family and friends via email and telephone. Social networking in proximity to residence is also vital for 'surviving' a stay abroad. In this way, ICTs display very frequent transnational multilayered connections and ties across state borders, both professionally and privately. Their everyday experiences are deeply embedded in the firm's global culture as well as community of practice, which is transnational in both scope and networks (Beaverstock, 2005: 264). The Global City hypothesis, here applied by Beaverstock, has been much debated in migration and urban research. The idea that only certain cities are global as well the reality of migrants as merely high- and low-end is contested.

2.4. Contesting the Elite Phenomenon

As mentioned above scholars regularly refer to higher-end migrants as “elites”, which come to stand in stark contrast to the disadvantaged, lower class, and sometimes ethnically distinct migrants. The polarization of migration, for example the undocumented cleaner versus the corporate manager, has been a central theme in much migration literature related to the above-mentioned phenomenon of Global Cities. But is the broad conception of the highly skilled as an elite true? This understanding has its roots in extensive research from the 1980s and 1990s on a narrow group of elite corporate expatriates, which still influence much of our understanding of the skilled migrants today. Nevertheless, there is considerably more diversity within the group, which is generally not acknowledged through this elite perspective (Scott, 2006: 1108). The sociologist Adrian Favell argues that the explosion of migration literature in recent decades is linked to concerns of global inequalities, development, as well as the exclusionary workings of ethnicity and race. With such concerns being, understandably, the most central, the field has not been well equipped to study or understand other forms of apparently “less disadvantaged” migration except through a dismissive “elite” lens (Favell *et al.*, 2007: 16).

Sam Scott’s study (2006) is a more recent example of a research that tries to counter the elite and polarized perspectives by uncovering the diversity of contemporary migration between elite and underclass in a European context. Through the example of Brits living in Paris, Scott argues that although skilled international migration is still practiced by a relatively small number of people, it has become a ‘normal’ middle-class activity, rather than being exclusively restricted to an economic elite. The post-industrial middle class has expanded in terms of material wealth and skill level, which has resulted in a bigger pool of potential skilled migrants (Scott, 2006: 1108). In fact some will even argue that elites are more likely to emerge through conventional national channels, where national social class origins and network remain crucial (Favell, 2003b: 19). The real elites do not need to propel themselves onto an international stage, as they tend to have regular access to international travel and experience through family connections and schoolings, just as they tend

to have better chances of success in their chosen career at home (Favell *et al.*, 2007: 17). Scott's social morphology of skilled migrants provides insight to the diversity within the field by exploring the motives for migration, commitment to host country and familial status. He concludes that there are three motives for migration. The most significant one is career path, but lifestyle/cultural preference and a mixed-nationality partner are also common reasons for middle-class migration. Motivations give way to specific lifestyle types, which Scott labels "expatriate", "nomadic worker", "international-settler" and "assimilation settler" (Scott, 2006: 1111). The different lifestyle types demonstrate a spectrum within which skilled migrants engage in different social, economic and cultural circuits, and where some may indeed be embedded in global elite corporate flows, others are part of more mundane flows (Scott, 2006: 1125).

Scott's social morphology offers a much needed specification on the various types of people, who fit the overall category of skilled migrants, but it also demonstrates *how* diverse the group really is, which makes me question the comparability between for example Beaverstock's hyper mobile global professional corporate employee, who relocates often and whose transnational linkages are multiple compared to for example the English high school teacher, who relocates because of love, and form a new life in another country, but remain in close contact with family and friends back home. Though they fit the same category of skilled migrants, their social, economic and cultural trajectories are bound to be incredibly different. So while we can talk in overall terms of the group, it seems necessary to break down the category and be much more specific when conducting research, rather than making broad generalizations that are incorrect. This also demonstrates the weakness of the term I have chosen to work with; 'highly skilled migrant' is simply too broad of a term, which must spell out specification and detail.

2.5. Social Capital and Transnational Social Power

While elite backgrounds among professional migrants are contestable, they still assume a privileged position in host societies compared to other kinds of migrants.

In Europe for example skilled migrants are the least controversial form of migrants. Their middle-class characteristics, and for most their color and culture, make them socially 'invisible' (Salt, 1992: 486). In this section I would like to expand further on this notion and explore the social capital and social power these migrants are said to hold.

As oppose to migrants such as refugees and economically desperate, who have become a target of strict state control and categorization, highly skilled migrants remain for the most part untouched by the state, and can as a result easily cross state borders. The allegedly frictionless mobility is linked to human capital, which is measured in terms of internationally recognized qualifications and quantifiable talent. When rich in human capital the world is open; you can in theory go anywhere and succeed regardless of the social structure or social reproduction. As oppose to other foreigners less rich in human and social capital, who must submit to integration forces such as national norms or sanctions for difference, those with human capital mobility are thought to be able to stand "outside" of society. In other words social rules do not apply to them. If they choose, they can integrate into host society, but *they* have the control to decide to which degree (Favell, 2007: 21). A hypothetical example would be the American UN employee working in Vienna, who is not required nor expected to learn German. His lack of local language skills is likely seen as far less problematic as oppose to the Pakistani taxi driver, who also lives in the city. In reality this is further demonstrated by the fact that City of Vienna has opened an Expat Center that provides free consultancy *in* English on all practical matters about living in the city. Although the city also tries to accommodate the large ethnic minorities of the city such as the Turks or the Serbs by translating important information on city web portals and city offices, there is not the same level of service available.

Due to their assumed invisibility and the allegedly easiness of mobility, skilled migrants are often overlooked by migration scholars interested in social and cultural change (Favell, 2003a: 402). As a consequence studies that empirically examine aforementioned claims, which are based on theoretical assumptions made

by migration and globalization scholars are limited. One scholar who does address these issues is Adrian Favell, who provides an extensive study on intra-European mobility among educated migrants ('Eurostars'). Favell sees skilled migrants moving within the European Union as the perfect test case for examining transnational lives and social patterns. As mentioned earlier highly skilled should be the ones, who face the least barriers when it comes to crossing borders as well as living in a foreign country due to their high levels of human and social capital. Additionally the European context provides the ideal setting, since free mobility within the European Union removes all formal barriers for crossing borders. As a European citizen living in another European country, one is provided with rights that ensure incorporation into host society (Favell, 2003a: 413). In sum Favell argues that the highly skilled moving within the European Union have the best circumstances for living transnational lives, which include the possibility of *transnational social power*. Transnational social power must be understood in relation to *social capital*. Social capital can accumulate social power, and if the social capital is claimed in a transnational social field, the social power has a transnational span. Social capital is here understood in two constituting ways. It is first of all resources individuals are able to call upon, but it is also in accordance with Bourdieu's thinking, where social capital has to do with distinct culturally defined practices shared by a particular group, which allow the group to create distinction from other groups (Favell, 2003a: 409). Favell sees two kinds of transnational social power that may apply to 'Eurostars'. The first, which is a very narrow and specific field of transnational social power, is the kind of "transeuro social capital" found among professionals working within European institutions in Brussels. To be part of such institutions requires access to insider networks, know-how and euro-expertise, which may result in one form of transnational social power. The second and broader possibility is connected to the idea of free mobility and integration within EU; that is people migrating within the European Union, who achieve a new kind of cross-national understanding of living and working in various European countries. This requires language skills and knowledge of the local 'rules of the game'. Is such a transnational power possible? To master all the different social habits that enables a successful

interchangeable mobility between European countries? It is this social power Favell examines, which goes to the heart of the claims theorists have made about the supposedly frictionless mobility of a global elite. He concludes that transnational social power among 'Eurostars' is happening, but on a small scale (2003a: 412f). Unlike the theoretical claims about the smoothness of mobility and incorporation of highly skilled, Favell's results point to a less effortless mobility. While it is not a matter of formal barriers, hidden barriers make it a challenge to succeed in a foreign country in spite of both high human and social capital. What is required in order to thrive in a foreign country, at least in this European context, is identification with and investment in the place, which cannot be achieved if one is standing outside the local society, or if one is only there for a brief moment in time as is the idea with the hyper-mobile. Transnational social power implies an ability to change or impact places, but as the Eurostars often choose to stay *out* of local society they have no political nor social voice and as a consequence have little saying in the everyday issues of for example housing, taxation, health, child-care, and schooling. This might not be an issue for those who are migrating for shorter periods of time, but turns out to be a problem for long-term migrants (Favell, 2007: 21).

2.6. Summing-up and Zooming In

The examination of literature raised the issue of the problematic category of skilled, which first of all is hard to clearly delineate resulting in methodological difficulties, and secondly has a tendency to imply a hierarchy between migrants with different backgrounds. A lot of research on the skilled migrants centers on a so-called elite in global cities, but it became clear that the elite lens is dismissive, as most highly skilled migrants are in fact coming from a middleclass background. Beaverstock's example of inter-company transferees showed a prime example of a hyper-mobile corporate elite, whose success is dependent on transnational networks both professionally and personally. It was not a transnational life free-of-choice, but rather bounded to the corporation, who decided where they would move. Scott and Favell demonstrated that the free mobility within the European Union provide a

structure, where (European) skilled migrants can move by choice alone, which result in a diverse group of highly skilled migrants. The European example additionally gave nuance to the transnational social power, claiming that the theoretical assumption about the supposedly frictionless mobility of highly skilled is glorified, and that incorporation into host societies (also) is complicated for this group of migrants. It requires identification with and investment in the place, which goes beyond the idea that high levels of human and social capital alone is the generator for success and power. Even though highly skilled migrants find themselves in a privileged position, the often-temporary character of their stay affects their possibilities for incorporation into host society. Favell's results give a thought provoking spin on what is otherwise known of highly skilled migrants. Surely highly skilled migrants are incredibly privileged compared to other kinds of migrants, but to claim that their mobility is frictionless and smooth is an overstatement that leaves out a lot of important detail. It also puts forth a predicament, which I find puzzling: the fact that highly skilled migrants are powerful and influential yet to a large degree remains *unincorporated* into host-societies. This puzzlement forms the entry point to this research, where I am intrigued to understand the peculiarities of skilled migration in more detail, by examining their nature of incorporation into the particular setting of Vienna.

The scope of the present study is to illuminate what shapes incorporation of skilled migrants in the specific context of Vienna, thereby adding knowledge to a group of migrants that to a large degree remains invisible in the migrant portrayal of Vienna and on a broader scale within migration research. This entry point is tending to an area within the topic of skilled migration, which calls for further study. There is a need for more empirically grounded research that simultaneously takes the heterogeneity, and not implicitly elitist character into perspective, while still acknowledging the fact that highly skilled migrants are the often-desired type of migrants, which provide them with a set of privileges. Additionally there is a need to understand how skilled migrants settle in other settings than 'regular' global cities such as New York, Singapore and London, which so much of our knowledge on skilled migration is based on (See for instance Beaverstock 2002, 2005; Favell

2006). In addition to attending to a blind spot in our current understanding of migrants in Vienna, which on a practical level is useful for service providers assisting skilled migrants, the study is thought to provide an insight that is beneficial for policy making purposes on skilled migration to Vienna by providing a lens with which to understand the peculiar situation of skilled migrants, and how the migrants themselves experience their place in the local society. This leads me to my formulate my research questions as follows:

3. Research Questions

- 1. What is the particular nature of incorporation among skilled Western migrants residing in Vienna vis-à-vis the general understanding of incorporation?**
- 2. Which key determinants shape incorporation and membership among this particular group of migrants in Vienna?**
- 3. How do structural forces interact to result in processes of incorporation of highly skilled migrants in Vienna?**

4. Design and Methodology

This chapter will provide the methodological framework for the study, by arguing for its specific use of methods, the selection and handling of data, as well as the validity and reliability of the study including my role as a researcher

4.1. Methodological Considerations

The research utilizes the extended case method, which premises a historically grounded and theoretically driven approach that aims at linking the local phenomenon of migrant incorporation in Vienna to specific structural forces at large. Four dimensions constitute the method. The first is extension from observer to participant – the researcher must immerse himself in the life world of his participants in order to understand them. The second dimension calls for an extension over time and place; by spending extended amounts of time with his subjects the researcher will gain a thorough understanding. The third dimension is the extension from micro processes to macro forces, and highlights the importance of situating knowledge to a specific time and place. Rather than seeing the local site as isolated, we need to bring in the geographical and historical context to make proper sense of it. Lastly the fourth dimension calls for an extension of theory. The extended method implies a deductive approach where existing theory on the field form the entry point to the research. The aim is then to extend or improve existing theory by revising, reconstructing or simply just elaborating on the material that is already there (Burawoy, 2000: 26ff). While the four dimensions should be considered in all studies, which utilize the extended case method, they cannot all be accounted for on an equal level, as the focus unavoidably will land on one or two at the expense of the others (Burawoy, 2000: 28). The present study will focus on the third and fourth dimension. It will problematize how the dynamics of the specific context, including the state of the global economic crisis, shape the phenomenon of migrant incorporation. The research will also elaborate and work towards an extension of theory, by examining the match between theories on (skilled) migration and incorporation and the results of my own research.

I rely on the extended case method as I find it a valuable approach to incorporate the micro-level face-to-face examination of a social situation, which is in accordance with the classic ethnographic approach, while simultaneously including the contextual geographical and historical aspects. By doing that the study can claim spatial and temporal specificity, which contravenes the critiques of ethnographies that rely on participant observation as being ahistorical and micro (Burawoy, 1991: 272). The extended case method additionally involves a careful consideration to the inherent *power* the researcher has in any study in terms of his conduction of fieldwork and presentation of results. This power should not be misused. As I seek to elaborate and discuss preexisting theory it is important to lay open my results to the people I try to understand to avoid that my results are disciplined into an obscured framework (Burawoy, 2000: 28). Such considerations have been a part of the fieldwork process, where the results from the beginning were briefly discussed with the later participants. In addition I have discussed my project and findings with two professionals, who works and has worked with skilled migration.

With the principles of the extended case method I have approached the study in a deductive manner, by examining first the existing literature thoroughly, before entering the field. The collected data has been transcribed and categorized in terms of research questions and emerging themes in a qualitative data analysis. Rather than a pure deductive approach, I have chosen a coding strategy that is somewhere between the deductive and inductive. While my understanding and knowledge is primarily drawn from existing literature, some of the coding categories are based on themes that emerged in the data. The combination of the two strategies in the data analysis has provided both a general idea of what I was after, while still being in a discovery mode to allow new themes and categories to emerge as the analysis took shape. Quotations have then been selected from the interviews to illuminate the themes and concepts.

4.2. Definition of Terms

The two terms ‘highly skilled migrants’ and ‘incorporation’ are used throughout the thesis. Highly skilled migration has already been thoroughly discussed and explained in the literature review, but I would briefly like to state in what particular way I understand and use both concepts in this study.

- *Skilled migrant*: As previously described the term highly skilled migrant is measured and defined in a variety of ways. For this study I use level of education to delimit the target group and have had as requirement that participants as a minimum should hold a university degree (bachelor level). I acknowledge that this definition leaves out individuals, who also fit the category of highly skilled migrants given their extensive experience in a given field (e.g. IT specialists) or the “naturally gifted” (e.g. artists and sports talents), but I found that people belonging to the latter two groups are more problematic to delineate with more grey-zones, and I consequently chose the ordinal variable of education to define the term of highly skilled.
- *Incorporation*: The term is used to capture the social inclusion processes of highly skilled migrants into the existing social structures of society. I consider incorporation a multidimensional concept, and will consequently deal with it in terms of a respectively social, political, economic, and cultural level in order to describe and conceptualize the multifaceted processes of settlement and participation into the local society in Vienna. In order to obtain a holistic understanding of a complex process I additionally consider identification processes and belonging to be connected to the overall term of incorporation. Lastly, I choose to use the term ‘incorporation’ instead of ‘integration’ as I find the first one more neutral.

4.3. Data Collection

The data was collected through qualitative semi-structured interviews with residing highly skilled migrants to explore their perspectives on the particular phenomenon.

I chose to rely on semi-structured interviews, as that is the best method in a situation, where the researcher only gets the chance to interview someone once (Bernard, 2002: 205). It is a kind of interviewing that works well when dealing with people, who are accustomed to efficient use of their time, which is the case of highly skilled migrants, who most often have a very busy work schedule. The semi-structured approach demonstrates that I, as the researcher, am in full control of what I want from the interview based on the use of an interview guide (see Appendix A), while it simultaneously leaves both me and each participant open to follow new leads.

Participants were found through various organizations and web portals dedicated to the local expatriate community (Virtual Vienna, Vienna Expats, Vienna Baby Club, American Association of Women), where requests for participants were made. These requests linked to a homepage constructed to provide basic information about the research, which resulted in most participants already knowing the scope of study by the time we met to conduct the interviews. The Expat Center of Vienna, which supports local and international scientific projects dealing with questions of expatriate movement, included a brief description of the study in their bi-monthly newsletter with encouragement of readers to participate. In addition I spread the word of the study through my personal network of international contacts. I refrained from interviewing close friends, but rather connected with friends of friends through this approach. The procedure of selecting participants was based on the principle of demonstrating the heterogeneity of the group in terms of demographic characteristics such as age, socioeconomic status, occupation, duration of stay in Vienna and foreign countries in general. Twenty participants were chosen based on their various backgrounds, which in addition strived a gender-related balance (11 women and 9 men). Please see Appendix B for a detailed table of participants.

I chose to restrict my focus to migrants with a Western background. Considering the fact that I primarily base my research on 20 interviews, I have, after careful

consideration, weighed that it was necessary to restrict the attention of study to a certain group. Haslberger and Zehetner (2008) found that many skilled migrants notice a xenophobic attitude in Vienna, and I consequently chose to focus my attention on those who were least likely to become targets of xenophobia in Vienna, due to their social invisibility, which John Salt explain as a result of their middle-class characteristics, and for most their color and culture (Salt, 1992: 486).

In addition the Western migrants comprise the largest segment of highly skilled migrants in Vienna (see statistics in introduction), and therefore is an important group to understand in better detail. I am aware of hierarchy or construction of skill and migrant, and I want to emphasize that the delineation of Western migrants is solely an attempt to provide a more in-depth analysis on a certain group, albeit the group is constituted by diverse cultures and backgrounds.

The interviews were conducted with the participants individually after work, during lunch breaks and days off. I was given permission to use the respondents' first name in the study. In order to address the issues of incorporation and membership in the interviews, the question asked evolved around concrete issues such as the development of social networks in Vienna, local political awareness and participation, use of local media, as well as inquiry on a more abstract level related to values and opinions in terms of incorporation of themselves and possible family members, and feelings of being an insider or outsider in Vienna. In addition incorporation was examined through time related questions, by unraveling past experiences and future perspectives and visions. Each interview was recorded with the consent of the interviewee for accuracy, and lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. Often our conversations would extend after we finished the interviews.

4.4. Validity

What is the significance of a study that is based on merely 20 interviews? A common critique connected to a qualitative case study like this one is the issue of significance. How can we generalize from the small scale of 20 participants to wider contexts – such as *all* skilled migrants in Vienna, or skilled migrants in *other* localities? For this

appropriate question I will briefly return to the extended case method. Michael Burawoy, the founder of the extended case method, argues that generalization and thus significance can for a qualitative case study like this one be accomplished through the reconstruction of theory (Burawoy, 1991: 278). The study can in other words claim a broader and more well grounded significance by placing it in relation to existing theory. Here a key part is to examine the differences or the mismatch between my results and existing theory, which in part accredits that explanations are the result of particular outcome (cf. context).

What is the accuracy and trustworthiness of data and findings in this research? As with any study, which rely on semi-structured (as well as unstructured) interviews one could say the comparability between the data is difficult, as questions for example might be asked in a different order or phrased differently. While one could in that way question the reliability of the data, I will argue that the character of a study, which investigates the experiences and actions among a specific target group, calls for an interpretative and flexible approach, which allows an adaptation of the research instruments to the individuality of each research respondent. This allows the respondents to develop their answers in their own terms and at their own length and depth, and present the possibility for researcher to follow interesting leads that are presented. Such an approach does not lead to clear-cut measurable and comparable variables, but it builds up and brings together pieces that allow for an overall portray of a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon.

The interviews have been conducted in English, and while all participants have had good English skills, some participants might have been restricted in their ability to express exact feelings and impressions in English rather than their mother tongue.

Additionally it is important to consider the interviewer effects. One of the greatest disadvantages of interviews is the possibility that the interview may be biased. Preconceived notions and appearances are among the factors that may influence how interviewer and interviewee respond to one another (Leonard, 2003: 170). In the following section I would like to expand on how my personal background and situation might influence the interviews as well as the interpretation of data.

4.4.1. Reflections about my Role as Researcher

I have a bachelor degree, and will, if all goes well, soon receive my master diploma. Additionally I have for the last six years lived outside my home country in two different countries, with the outlook of an upcoming third international move to a new destination, due to my husband's career. Finally Vienna has been my home for the last two and half years, where I have engaged with the international community as well the local Viennese as a temporary resident of the city. All this means I fit the profile of the particular group of people, which I try to study. I therefore find it particularly important to reflect upon how my personal situation influences my role as a researcher.

To be an insider to the field one studies and engages with as a researcher is not unseen in anthropology. While anthropologists in the usual sense are thought to study the Others, whose foreign cultural worlds they must come to understand, the "native", "indigenous", or "insider" anthropologists are thought to study their own cultures from a position of intimate affinity (Narayan, 1993: 671). In this case I have the personal experience of being a non-local in the city, which provide me with some preconceived notions about the phenomenon that I want to understand at a scientific rather than personal level. Kirsten Hastrup (1993: 153) distinguishes between the terms *knowing* and *understanding*, and argues the intimate and implicit native knowledge and external and explicit expert understanding must constitute each other. Anthropology is about bridging the two, and thereby attaining an insider *and* outsider perspective simultaneously. Hastrup argues that it is not important if the researcher is an actual "insider", as all anthropological fieldwork must strive to first achieve the insider knowing of the social space followed by the understanding as detached analyst.

Kirin Narayan (1993: 678) explains how the study of one's own society or group involves an inverse process compared to the study of an alien one. Instead of learning conceptual categories and then, through fieldwork, finding the context in which to apply them, those who study societies in which they have preexisting experience, absorb analytical categories that rename and reframe what they already

know. The particular must be connected to larger cultural patterns, sociological relations, and historical shifts. I find that to be true to a certain extent. However as Hastrup argues even the insider anthropologist is submitted to particular rules within anthropology, which transcend local knowledge (Hastrup: 1993, 156). This practically means that I have not entered the field as a private person, but as a professional, who from the start have been aware of the existing literature and arguments on the area, just as I have been considerate of the principles and ethics of proper fieldwork. In the end research is a gradual process, where one stone at a time is turned around to be carefully examined. Where my insider knowledge sometimes have an formed understanding, which then later was attached to more abstract academic terms, it more often happened the other way around, where preexisting expert knowledge formed my understanding of what I saw. This might be different from someone who is born into the culture or group, and know it extensively before they later turn to study it from an anthropological viewpoint. For me, my insider experience is after all relatively limited.

This brings me to briefly consider what it means to be an insider? By default the term sounds like someone, who knows comprehensively much about a given context. The truth is far from it. Narayan (1993: 679) notes that *“even for the purported insider, it is clearly impossible to be omniscient: one knows about a society from particular locations within it.”* I am situated within specific circles in the international community due to my status as a student and my husband’s job. My in-depth knowledge on other types of international ‘skilled’ migrants in Vienna is limited.

Nevertheless the fact that I am a non-local has surely had its advantages. Some of the claimed positive sides of an insider position is related to a privileged access to certain aspects of the local culture, especially the emotional dimension, and to see the nuances and links within a culture easier than those, who are standing outside (Hastrup: 1993, 156). I found my personal situation as a non-local in Vienna to be beneficial in terms of connecting with the participants of the study. I was advised by a consultant at the Expat Center to be open about my foreign background, as it was

his experience that clients would then be more positive about being approached and questioned. To them I was a neutral observer, whom they could explain their honest opinion and experience of living in Vienna, without being concerned about stepping on anybody's toes.

I refrained from using myself in the interviews strictly focusing on their responses. I was not interested in leading them in a certain direction initiated by my own experience. The focus constantly remained on their experience and responses, while I was focused on demonstrating genuine interest yet remaining neutral to their answers. Although I would sometimes recognize what they would explain I kept it to myself.

After the interviews were completed, I would turn off the recorder and thank them for their participation. Often they would be interested in knowing more about my situation, which I would then briefly share. I found the time after the official interview was completed to be highly insightful and rather than an interview, this was more of a conversation. I learned that giving a little bit of myself resulted in a different level of trust and familiarity, and rather than polite answers, I experienced the time when the recorder was turned off to be the most honest and straightforward talk on difficult issues on resettling, depression, opinions about the locals etc. It did occur to me to turn the recorder on again, during these talks. In fact I wanted to because what was said was highly valuable, but the openness and intimacy that sometimes developed afterwards, was surely also there because the recorder was put away. I chose instead to write notes after my meetings with respondents were completed, in as much details as possible.

4.5 Structure of Thesis

I introduced the thesis with a broad area of interest and an initial problem of concern, the case of skilled migrants in Vienna and their peculiar nature of incorporation. Through an examination of existing literature on the field I accounted for the current debates and dilemmas, which additionally provided me with an entry point to build my own research on. In this chapter I have justified the project's

methodological standpoint just as I have reflected on the validity of the study including my role as researcher.

The following chapters will present two analyses, which serve to uncover the central research questions posed in the beginning. The first analysis is solely based on the collected data and will give an in-depth account of skilled migrants in Vienna, as experienced from their viewpoint. It will examine their relations and engagement with the local Viennese vis-à-vis the international community in town, and it will elucidate the variation within the group of skilled migrants in terms of for example migrant type, temporality and language skills, and demonstrate how such variables impact incorporation into the two communities in different ways. The first analysis will additionally examine how the current setting of global economic crisis impact migrant incorporation in Vienna. The second analysis and discussion will take the findings from the first analysis as its starting point, and examine them in relation to relevant theory and to the specific time and place. The aim of the second analysis will be to illuminate how structural forces impact the potential for incorporation. This leads to a discussion where I will compare and discuss my findings with Adrian Favell's arguments, which were presented in the literature review. It will additionally reflect on the limitations of the study, as well as on how this particular kind of research provides ideas for further research on the topic. This finally takes us to a conclusion, where the main results and arguments are summed up.

5. Analysis I: Incorporation of Highly Skilled Migrants in Vienna

The incorporation of skilled Western migrants is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that is shaped and influenced by a variety of factors. In order to unpack the numerous layers that constitute the research topic, the presentation of results will be threefold. The first part of this data analysis describes the overall picture of the particular situation of skilled migrants in Vienna and their incorporation into the local society. This section serves to highlight the common trends that are prominent when talking of ‘skilled Western migrants’ as a whole. The second part will go a step further by taking into consideration the diversity *within* the group, and explore how various factors such as for example migrant type, language skills, and temporality play a role in the desire, ability and opportunity to engage with the local society. As an extension to the first two sections the third part of the chapter will then investigate how skilled migrants in Vienna see and position themselves vis-à-vis the locals; to what extent do they view themselves as part of the local society.

5.1. General Trends of Incorporation

“Vienna is like Paris. It’s been a neutral country for a long time with so many diplomats and business people coming in and out. The population is used to that; they won’t invest in you, if you don’t invest in them” (Eric)

“It’s a very hierarchical society, which I don’t like at all. It’s just a lot of formality, and really just doesn’t fit with my personality, so I’m glad I’m not part of that society. Sometimes I have to go to certain events, and I bear it, but it’s not my thing.” (Katia)

I deliberately begin with these two quotes as they go straight to the core of the situation of skilled Western migrants in Vienna. They tell of certain hardships of getting through to the local population as a foreigner in the city as well as a widespread selectiveness, which turns out to be a common characteristic of this group in terms of their engagement with the local culture and its people. There are aspects of the way of life in Vienna, which these international professionals find meaningful and interesting, and which they choose to embrace and become a part of,

but it also happens the other way around, where people, customs, and traditions are disliked or has no value, and where there is a wish to maintain a distance as an outsider. I would like to emphasize that I consider skilled migrants to be a highly diverse group, who are situated in different economic and social settings within the same geographical space. This section will elaborate on the overall trends of incorporation, which set the scene for understanding the diversity *within*, which the second part of the chapter focuses on.

However, first a brief overview of why skilled migrants find it important to participate and engage with the locals. When sharing their thoughts on why it is important to participate and engage with the local society, the most widespread answer is that it is a matter of respect, merely connected to the 'guest' role they as foreigners inhabit. Many find it important to do their best to act and interact according to the rules that exist here, for example by talking however little or much German one can. Another reason is more connected to the benefit of one's own situation, and evolves around a practical dimension. It is important to engage and develop ties to the local society; because it makes life here easier in the sense that one can more smoothly navigate through the daily life in Vienna. This is especially useful for those with children, who are dependent on having a reliable network to count on for support when needed.

"We don't have family nearby. Once you build up a network of like-minded contacts and friends, there is always someone you can call up and ask for help in the event of crisis. It has a practical side to it as well." (Ingrid)

Lastly for a number of participants the importance of participating in the local society is tied to the decision of living in a foreign country, which seems to be fueled by the desire to learn something new. For them the Austrian or Viennese way of life is something they strive to accomplish in their project of living away from home and becoming part of a different culture.

On the topic of how skilled Western migrants feel received and treated by the host population the general opinion gravitate towards an either positive or neutral experience. The vast majority states they have had no bad experiences and

Austrians generally tend to be friendly and accepting towards them, not in an overtly positive kind of way, but a more quiet and distant manner. Most feel that they are respected for their skills, especially in their work place. One participant explains how his title of *Doktor* made it easier to find housing in the initial stage. At the same time several participants know of friends or colleagues, who because of their dark skin face a lot more difficulties in their everyday life and are met with resentment among the locals. This has also been the case for one participant, whose wife is dark skinned; the couple was denied service in a restaurant as well as denied access to a bar in the city center. This participant is the only one in the present study, who has experienced such a thing in Vienna. On the contrary to a negative encounter with locals, there is either a curious interest or a plain non-interest from the locals.

“I’m French and whatever I do, I will still be French. My culture is like having an aura of light and because I’m French everything is fine. I never got in trouble with people. When I talk to new people, the first thing they recognize is my accent, even though I try to hide it, that’s the first thing they recognize, my accent, and then they are going to say everything on me is French, like ‘Oh you look so French’, ‘Oh, your mustache is French as well’.” (Flavian)

“I remember a while ago, I wouldn’t do them again, going to an evening where it is a whole bunch of people that are all locals and all good friends, and you are just the total Außenseiter, and you are not interesting to them either, that’s the funny thing. It’s not like you are the exotic foreigner, you should be to them because they are very provincial, some of them have never been to many places (...) It’s not like they are unfriendly, they just don’t care about you.” (Thomas)

To be met with either the curiously positive or indifferent attitude may in part be influenced by age; this will be examined in further detail later in this chapter.

The motivation to partake in the local Austrian society as well as the attitude of the locals form the backdrop of the incorporation of skilled Western migrants, which in the present case will be divided and analyzed separately in terms of a social, political, economical and cultural dimension.

5.1.1. Social Incorporation

There is generally a widespread wish to develop social relations with the local population in Vienna. This wish is connected to the experience of living in Austria and learning about its culture and people. Approximately half of the participants state that they in the initial state specifically had no interest to engage with the expat community, as that was viewed as a barrier to connecting with the local society.

Most develop personal contacts with the local population, but to what extent is very different. Some have a network consisting mainly of Austrians, while others have very limited interaction with the local population, but on the other hand extensive contact to the international community in town. For the majority of skilled migrants in the study it is a mix of both the local and the international community yet with a stronger foundation in the non-local part of society. One can point to a couple of overall reasons to this result. One explanation is simply connected to the social circles the migrant automatically are part of in Vienna through work and personal situation, and which is likely to form a foundation for building social contacts. For example Sally is married to a diplomat and must participate in the official socializing that is part of the diplomatic culture by attending and hosting receptions and dinners. She is automatically placed in a non-local circle, which partly affects her social incorporation. Justin, on the other hand, is working in a smaller Austrian hedge fund alongside Austrian and German colleagues, whom he also sees Friday nights for basketball. Several participants explain that whom they interact with and consider as friends is not something they have given much thought or consciously planned; it is something that has just happened and developed over time. Through a friend from work, one is introduced to someone else and so it develops and extends for there. Such circles one is part of can explain this.

Another reason has to do with the character of the local population; it is simply difficult to break into the local population and be included.

“I have made a few good Austrian friends, but it’s not easy to break into their circles. At a certain point you just start to say, well I don’t really care, because I

can find other friends. If there are a few people I do make friends with then it's fine, but otherwise, you know, whatever..." (Thomas)

19 out of 20 participants explain difficulties in terms of making Austrian friends. Several argue that Austria is such a small country and often people have known the same group of people their entire life, and are not on the lookout for new friends. There is not the same tradition for movement within the country as it is the case in some of the big Western countries, which results in a more open and welcoming approach to newcomers. The international community in town provide an alternative to the closed-off locals; it is a quick entry point where the language is not a barrier, and where there is a group of people who are also in Vienna for relatively limited periods, which results in a culture where one makes acquaintances and friends quite quickly. At the same time the results in this study also indicate that one cannot refer to the international community as one coherent unit. The long-term migrants differentiate themselves from those who are only in town for time-limited stays, and are, perhaps like the local population, less interested in investing in friendships with people who will be leaving shortly.

One can say that a dual social incorporation in both a local Austrian society *and* the international community in Vienna describe the situation for skilled migrants regardless if he or she is long-term or short-term.

5.1.2. Political Incorporation

This dimension must distinguish between EU-nationals and third-country nationals. EU-nationals are allowed to participate in local elections, and consequently have better opportunities to incorporate politically to a certain extent compared to third-country nationals, who have no political rights whatsoever although residing in Austria.

The differences in political interest between the two groups are also evident. Third-country nationals are vaguely aware of Austrian politics and like Eric describes below, there is no desire to really follow it, since it is impossible to influence the development.

“Since I can’t vote in the election and I’m a guest here, I don’t follow it. I mean I listen to some of my friends, who have been long term residents talk about it, but as with anything, I can’t do anything about it, so why waste my time.”
(Eric)

EU-nationals follow Austrian politics to a certain extent. Language skills and consumption of Austrian media are crucial in order to follow national and local politics. There is a clear divide between the long-term migrants and the ones who have only been in Vienna for a shorter amount of time. The ones who have been in Vienna long are aware of especially local politics, which they also have a say in. A couple of the long-termers are not interested, and state they feel the same about politics in their home countries. For the ones who have only been in Vienna for a year or two, there is not the same engagement or interest. Only a third of the EU-nationals participated in the last local election. These were all long-term residents (7 years of stay or more). One long-term migrant chose deliberately not to participate due to the situation of the party, she usually votes for. Although the participation overall is low, many find it important to practice their right to vote.

“It’s important for us to exercise whatever rights we have, however few we have, when we have the chance.” (Ingrid)

This opinion is found among long-termers as well those who have recently moved to Vienna.

5.1.3. Economic Incorporation

As with the political dimension, EU citizens also have better conditions for economic incorporation due to their employment rights in Austria. The majority of skilled migrants are economically incorporated in the sense that they are employed in Austria and pay taxes here. In return they of course enjoy the rights to financial benefits such as children’s allowance and maternity pay. The foreign diplomats and UN staff are in this sense not included in the local economy, as they are paid by their respective country or organization and are exempt from Austrian taxation law. However, their general consumption is of course a part of the Austrian economy.

Some of the participants do not work, either because they do not need to, because they are looking for a job or because of young children. In this case these migrants

rely financially on their partners, and women with young children rely on the maternity pay paid by the Austrian state.

5.1.4. Cultural Incorporation

Vienna is a cultural hub and something that for some of the skilled migrants is very valuable and attractive, while for others less so. Lack of German skills affects to some extent how much one can participate in the cultural life in town such as theatre and movies, as well as simply reading a local newspaper or following other sources of local media. The majority of skilled migrants, who lack proper language skills, however do not think that they are missing out on the cultural side that requires a certain level of German, as they can easily compensate by reading international or national news online, by subscribing to international TV channels and in such manner be cultural consumers that extends beyond the society in Vienna or Austria through modern means of technology. Several of the participants, who have good German skills, are selective in terms of their cultural consumption and incorporation. In terms of media specifically they complain about the standard and will rather rely on other non-local sources of media. For those who are particularly interested in cultural events that are specific to Vienna, this interest can be a motivator for learning the language. Thomas for example is very interested in German and Austrian philosophy and likes to attend public lectures on such matters. This interest has been a driving force for him in the initial stage to learn German.

The majority of participants additionally highlight the various cultural celebrations that are part of the different seasons in Austria as a highly attractive feature, and something they find specific to the Austrian way of life. Cultural events and celebrations that comes with different seasons is something the majority take pleasure in participating in and is a catalyst for socializing with others whether it is with locals or not. Such celebrations are something one can take part in and enjoy, and which does not necessarily require good German skills as is the case with other cultural events. As a result such activities are also very popular among the international community in general.

“(...) one of the things in Vienna that I think actually facilitates going out, even if it’s not with locals, is that there is a season for everything and it make things more special. In the States you can buy asparagus that are like the size of a baseball bat every day of the year. They don’t have any flavor, but they are always available. But here you know because Spargel is only available at a certain time, it makes it special. You appreciate it. And so now at this time of the year it’s like ‘oh let’s go and have Sturm’, ‘let’s go and have Punsch’. I think that is a natural facilitator for getting out and doing things, and because of the fact that the Ubahn runs as well and it’s cheap, and the crime rate is quite low I’m much more interested in going out.” (Anthony)

I started out claiming that skilled Western migrants tend to have a selective approach to incorporating into society in Vienna. This is visible when examining their actual social, political, economic and cultural incorporation, however it still portrays the situation of skilled migrants on a very superior level. The following section will explore the nuances within the group of skilled migrants, and expose the patterns that are visible when paying attention to different variables that influence the multiple characters of incorporation.

5.2. Examining the Internal Diversity

The variety among skilled migrants is enormous, which the participants of this study demonstrate well with their various educational levels, work experience and responsibilities, the time spent in Vienna and general experience of living abroad. In this section I will examine a number of variables that I find have an impact on incorporation specifically.

5.2.1. Migrant Type

A quite influential dimension that has an impact on how the skilled migrant engages with the local society is connected to his or her reason for being in Vienna. Based on the number of participants in this study I am able to identify four main types of migrants, which have been labeled the *global elite migrant*, the *study/work/adventure migrant* and the *career advancement migrant*, and the *love migrant*. There is always an in-built danger when claiming such labels to think of them rigidly, when the reality is a person might in fact fit several types at the same time, or that the characteristics of one type is also present to some extent among

other types. Nevertheless I will argue that there is a noticeable pattern among the types I have categorized, and while one should be careful thinking of them inflexibly, they provide an insight to one aspect that affect the overall incorporation.

Global Elite Migrant

The global elite migrant is characterized by extensive experience of moving around due to jobs that require his or her special skills and expertise. They are employed as high-ranking employees of multi-national corporations or as diplomats sent abroad for particular countries or employed by international organizations. In this study I have also included the spouses of such migrants, as they can rely on the resources available to the global elite migrants and must adhere within the framework that is characteristic for this group.

How do the global elite migrant position him or herself in relation to the local society in Vienna?

“Do I feel like a local? No. As with most people, who work with multinationals I’m part the multinational culture. Highly skilled workers, it doesn’t matter where we are. We move from one multinational to another. We’re the original plug-in circuit board. Even if I were in the US, I wouldn’t feel part of the local culture. I’m part of an international community.” (Eric)

For this type of migrant Vienna is one stop among many. Previously the global elite migrant has lived in places such as Cape Town, Singapore, New York and Bangkok, and Vienna is now like any other locality time limited. Some already know where they will be send to next, and are planning the upcoming move. This sort of lifestyle shapes a migrant type that needs to be highly flexible, and the experience of resettling in new places again and again makes the migrant know what to expect to a certain level. Several describes the highly mobile way of life as something not everyone can handle. It is either sink or swim.

For many global elite migrants the international community in Vienna is the natural starting point for developing social networks, as they have relied on similar communities in other places. All participants explain how they are interested in learning about Vienna, but time constraints makes it difficult to commit to learning

German or making the effort of building personal relationships with the local population. Sally for example knows she will only be in Vienna for a limited amount of time and chose to become a member of the American Women's Association. There she can connect with others who are either in a similar situation or who have been in Vienna for a long time. Interacting with other non-local women and talking about the way things are done in Austria becomes a kind of window into how the society behaves.

"We once had quite a long discussion of how Austria compared to say America or Britain, the seasons and the festivals here are much more observed. We have lost that in England. We don't tend to do that anymore. Here now it's Kürbis Zeit, everything is pumpkins (...) It's useful to talk to someone who has been here longer, to understand why is that." (Sally)

In addition the global elite migrants are situated in some highly international circles through their respective work settings that rarely requires a lot of interaction with locals. Erla, who is a UN employee, married to a UN diplomat, explains how easy it is to remain within the international UN community she is part of.

"Working in the international community here in Vienna, you quite sort of isolate yourself, because you tend to... The working hours are long; it's basically 8.30 to 5.30. There is maybe not so much of a chance to really get to know the local people, and one tends to live in a bit of a cocoon: Living in the Vienna International Centre. All the facilities are there. You have a cafeteria, a bank, a shop, a gym, and an insurance company, a kindergarten." (Erla)

As Erla describes various facilities are present at the UN, which makes the service side of dealing with practical matters such as car insurance or bank appointments something that can take place without having to reach out to the Austrian society. For Sally who is not affiliated with the UN, the situation is somewhat similar.

"If I have a problem with my water I will call up the embassy and the embassy sorts it out. I don't have to ring up the plumber. And that makes life a lot easier. (...) In fact all facilities to do with my apartment are all dealt with by the embassy. I don't have to do it myself." (Sally)

The two participants from this group with children sent their children to international schools rather than local schools. The international schools offer international accreditation and transferability; and English is usually the language of

instruction, which is practical for the highly mobile family. The employer of the global elite migrant may moreover provide for the rather high tuition fees of the international schools.

Altogether this result in a daily life that can be very much isolated from the local Austrian society due to the social and economic circuits the global elite migrant is situated in. In addition to the international work setting, the global elite migrant can claim resources and support that goes the beyond the local society, decreasing the practical need considerably to reach out and dwell in the local.

Nevertheless I find that two out of four participants belonging to this group are in fact very interested in reaching out to the local population. This does not mean they feel part of the local society or that they have any interest in growing roots in Vienna, but it is a matter of taking advantage of the opportunities that is in the local society vis-à-vis the international community.

“As in any situation, your friends and whom you hang with, is a combination of what you are doing and where you are doing it. I’m a member of an outdoor club, and the majority of the people in that club are Austrians, so these are the people I on a weekend will go biking with, go rock climbing with, or hut-to-hut.” (Eric)

Jayne is explicitly not interested in remaining within the ‘UN space shuttle’ as she calls it or the international community in general, but has like other participants in the study experienced exceeding difficulties in getting to know locals. Her attempts to volunteer at a local nursery school and a cancer clinic have been unsuccessful and despite a lot of effort, she has only befriended one Austrian, who is married to a British woman.

Study/Work/Adventure Migrant

The label study/work/adventure migrant is typically a younger migrant who is motivated to combine studies or work with the experience of living in a different country. Some have lived in other countries before coming to Austria, while others have their first foreign experience living in Vienna. This type of migrant is typically

very interested to learn the local culture and its people, and is therefore hesitant to engage too much with the 'expat community' of the city.

"It's important for me to embrace the culture and not stick out as a foreigner, because, I don't know, maybe it will cause problems for me. If you want to live in a different country you have to get to know their roots, their customs and their culture, what they do, how the social etiquette is like, so that's why it's important for me to kind of integrate." (Jonathan)

"Just to make a point, I'm not part of any expat groups. I think being part of an expat group is already putting a limit to what I want to do. So if people ask me 'Livio what do you think of becoming a member of this expat group', I say 'No thanks.'" (Livio)

One fourth of the study's participants fit this category, and the ease with which they have become part of the local society has been quite different. One group (three participants) seems to have had a smooth transition into a network that mainly consists of Austrian, but also includes other non-locals like themselves. The other half (two participants) has had considerable difficulties.

"I had given up trying to meet someone, to have a relationship, because I think that getting into society here it's very closed off in some ways, and I didn't want to be this kind of person who only hung out with expats, so I ended up being this person who mostly hung out by myself (...) I never had the experience before where I would go to places, where I would typically meet people, and that if you tried to speak to someone, they would look at you like you were probably crazy, and I just started feeling like I was really unattractive. And I just started thinking; I'm not doing this anymore. So I started just staying home, or hanging out with friends from Holland or England, mostly anywhere from here except for my very best friend here, who rented me my first apartment, but she lived in States for year, so we have this special kind of connection." (Anthony)

Interestingly the two participants who talk of difficulties with the local community are the ones in this group who most clearly state they want to stay in Vienna for as long as possible. They like the quality of life, the safety, and the cultural opportunities, and they can tolerate the unfriendliness and lack of interest among the locals, because there also exist a vibrant international community.

In addition to a general desire to immerse oneself in the local Austrian society there is a pragmatic need for this type of migrant to tap into resources and services

available in the local society, as they cannot rely on the kind corporate or diplomatic support that characterized the global elite.

Career Advancement Migrant

The career advancement migrant describes the type of migrant whose mobility is facilitated primarily by career advancement considerations. He or she has come to Vienna because of a job opportunity. In this study they are the ones with the most internal diversity in terms of duration of stay, interest and actual engagement and investment with the local society, which is related to where they are in their career: Is Vienna a stepping-stone and hence an intermediate stop on the way up or are they attracted to come here by such a good job opportunity that they see the stay in Vienna as long-term? Both types are identifiable among the participants in the present study. There is Greg, a postdoctoral researcher who came to Vienna with a one-year contract, which got extended with a year at a time. Although he is interested in staying the possibilities within his field are limited, and he is now applying for post doc and professor positions elsewhere in Europe. Greg could not afford sending his teenage daughter to an international school, although he would have liked to, and ended up sending her to one of the public schools in the city with the result that she has mostly German speaking friends. She is now working to finish her *Matura* and plans on staying in Austria although her parents most likely move elsewhere.

Also belonging to this group is Ingrid, a patent attorney, who has recently come to Vienna and who has previously lived and worked in the pharmaceutical industry in Switzerland, France and Belgium.

“My husband is also a patent attorney. He was a senior attorney in Belgium, but he wasn’t the head of the group, and we felt ready to move to the next stage, and he was ready to get a position in Vienna as head or IP for a biotech company. So yeah... in recent year his career has been the driving force for our moves. We do expect or hope to stay here longer now, and finally put down some roots” (Ingrid)

The differences between Greg and Ingrid's situation are enormous. Greg's one-year contract has been extended four times, but the one-year time frame makes the stay feel transitional. He likes Vienna and would like to stay, but the present job opportunities makes it unattractive to invest a lot of time and energy, in case a job opportunity shows up elsewhere in near future. He argues for instance that the short time frame influences his interest to learn German. At the same time his daughter has spent a considerable amount of her teenage years in Vienna and has come to feel so much at home that she intends to stay.

Different from Greg, Ingrid and her husband on the other hand have reached a point on the job front where they are satisfied to stay put for a while. When they moved they intentionally bought a house in a suburb to Vienna, because they felt that would help them establish some roots in Austria. To make some general conclusions about this group is therefore difficult as it depends on the career opportunity that brings the migrant to Vienna in the first place: Is it an opportunity that includes a short-term or long-term involvement. I will return to the aspect of temporality later in this chapter.

Love Migrant

The love migrant is in Vienna because of an Austrian partner. Approximately one in five marriages in Austria involve a foreign partner (Economist 2011a); the group of love migrant is thus thought to be relatively big. The participants belonging to this group have been in the city for different amounts of time; some fairly short, while others have called Vienna home for a decade or more, which of course makes a difference in terms of the time one has had to build a social life and a career in the city.

Generally this group is characterized by a long-term commitment of staying in the Vienna. Even those who have recently arrived, think of their stay as indefinite. The love migrant either speaks German or is highly motivated to learn the language, as it is considered important in order to talk with relatives of the partner and for work reasons. Austria is often the only foreign country they have lived in.

Several participants describe how the social network of the partner becomes the starting point for the love migrant him or herself.

“Because my boyfriend is Austrian I meet Austrians. I actually just recently met an American guy here, who has helped me with the visa process. All my friends are Austrian. Tonight after I’m done talking to you I am meeting with five Austrian girls.” (Jessica)

Although the love migrant has a natural way into the local population through the partner and are received welcomingly, all seven love migrants in the study describe the importance for them to also be connected to the international community in Vienna. The general opinion is that it is still easier to be among other foreigners, and it is satisfying to meet other non-locals who also happen to live in Vienna; especially those who consider Vienna their home, while simultaneously feel connected to another place as well. Among the long-term love migrants there is a clear tendency to engage with other long-term migrants rather than the ones who are only in town for a short amount of time.

“One of the big disadvantages is of course when you make friends with these internationals and then they are moving. That you have a lot. (...) In the Swedish church I met another girl, who is also married to an Austrian, and we agreed this is really not what we are after anymore, because these people that are moving to Vienna are soon moving again. (...) I would like to meet people from Sweden and also other places and know that they are integrated, it’s not like they are moving next month.” (Cecilia)

“I try to pick people, who are in it for the long run. (...) I don’t need immediate friends to do something with right now. I want people who will be around in five years.” (Katy)

Generally the social and economic circles of the love migrant is dependent on the partner, which primarily is locally based, as well as the skill set of love migrant, which might place him or her in a work context with considerable access to resources that falls outside the local society. Judging from the seven participants of the study this however seems to be the exception of the rule.

5.2.2. Language

“My German is okay, it’s still a bit childish, but I can in most cases be understood. But because of my color I look like the locals. So I don’t feel very

much different on a day-to-day basis, until I open my mouth, and then of course explicitly I'm not Austrian.” (Erla)

The issue of language is widely discussed among the participants, and many argue it is the single most challenging aspect of their daily lives in Vienna. Lack of good German skills is in their opinion a hindrance for interacting with the local population, who do not speak English well, and it is making it difficult to fully take advantage of the many cultural events the city offers such as theater, movies, operas etc. Lack of German skills also makes it difficult to follow Austrian media, which makes for a group of people, who lack insight to the development of big and small events on the local and national level in Austria.

“When my mom phones me and says ‘Oh, the jobs in England, and there’s rioting here and something there’ and I say ‘Oh, they don’t do that in Austria’. (laughs) I don’t hear about it. It’s actually one thing that is perfect, I don’t hear about crime, I don’t hear about violence, I don’t hear about any of this stuff, and I think this is Utopia (laughs).” (Jayne)

The motivation to learn the language I find is closely related to temporality, which I will elaborate on in the following section. Good German skills can be, but is not necessarily the key to becoming more integrated into the Austrian society. Eight participants state they speak good or fluent German. Their language skills serve the practical purpose of work (the working language is German for all but one), but outside of work they engage mostly with other non-locals. Katy is the only participant who uses German with her non-local friends. The one participant in the study who has German as her mother tongue, explains that although there is not a language barrier per say, the communication style is very different, which has made it surprisingly difficult to deal with the local population.

5.2.3. Temporality

How do time and the specific context in time influence incorporation? The temporal aspect of time has a considerable influence in terms of the motivation to invest in the local society, which include learning German, developing social ties, participating in local events etc. This dimension will first be examined in terms of

time rhythms related to what influences time of stay, followed by an investigation of how the *contextual time* of financial crisis has significance on incorporation.

Time Rhythms: How long to stay

When questioned about the time horizon for the stay in Vienna two main groups are identifiable. One group of migrants thinks of the stay in Vienna as indefinite. They are either in relationships with Austrians, and have decided to make Vienna the base for their family, or are simply pleased with their work, the opportunities the city provide and the overall quality of life in Vienna, and are consequently interested settling in the Austrian capital for good. Another group knows that Vienna is a time-limited, and plan either to return to their country of origin or move on to a new destination. In addition, a considerable amount of participants seem to fluctuate between these two possibilities. Many have had considerable experience with moving around, and the thought of committing to one place for good is frightening, although at the same time desirable.

"It's bit scary for me, because I have not stayed very long time in any place in all my adult life; so I try not to think of it in terms of 10 years. I still think of time in chunks of three years." (Ingrid)

For many the future is highly uncertain and depends not only on what they want, but also what is possible: are they be able to continue working in Vienna, are they able to find employment if they loose their current job, are they still in the same relationship, what is the situation in their home country like, what is the health of their relatives back home. Such considerations make it difficult to fully commit for those, who are open to the idea of a long-term stay. For those who work, the work contract provides a concrete and comprehensible time frame, they hold on to. Elizabeth for example signed a two-year contract with an international organization, and she feels certain she will be in Vienna for that amount of time. Right now she would like to stay longer, but whether that is possible depends on whether or not her contract gets renewed. Especially third-country nationals are dependent on work contracts in order to be able to stay due to visa regulations.

Some skilled migrants are signed for only a year at a time, which means they can just plan one year ahead in time and that makes it difficult to fully commit to a life in Vienna with everything it entails. Who knows, one might soon be on a move again. Greg is in this situation and explains:

"I have always felt like it's a temporary thing, but that is also because my contract has been for one year plus one year, and then another year and so on. I have never had anything longer or more permanent, so I have always felt fairly transitional all the time, and it has always been in the back of my mind that I would have to go back to New Zealand within a year with all the costs it entails (...) If I had something more permanent than one year I definitely would want to put more effort into learning German. But honestly when you are here for one year, I could be in Scandinavia next year or somewhere else, and then it's another language." (Greg)

No matter if the stay is characterized as indefinite or temporary, the time horizon is especially influential when it comes to the interest of learning German. Knowing the local language is considered a key to membership of the local society and is crucial for succeeding on the Austrian labor market in a way, where the migrant can apply his or her skills and expertise, rather than working in a field one is overqualified for, due to the lack of German.

One thing is the time horizon that individuals plan of or think of, another thing is what actually happens. Sometimes the initial plan is changed because a work contract is renewed or changed or because personal issues make one reconsider the plans of either staying in Vienna or leaving after a certain time period. Jayne is married to a UN diplomat and the couple arrived in Vienna with a plan to stay for one year. The one-year contract of her husband was then extended for another year, which then got extended by another year and now the couple are approaching their 5th year of stay in Vienna. Jayne says she would have taken an extensive language course in the beginning, had she known from the start they would be here for such a long time. This would have made every day life a lot easier. Instead she has done a month of language learning here and a month there, every time she realized the stay got extended with one more year. It also happens the other way around, that long-term stays are shortened. Sally for example is married to a British military diplomat,

and arrived with a three-year time frame of their stay in Vienna. Sally was planning to learn German and look for a job, either as an English teacher or in HR. However after two months of stay, her husband was notified he would shortly be transferred to a position in Macedonia, and the three-year plan consequently turned into a stay of just a year. The short time frame changed her interest to become part of life here, and the stay became more of an extended holiday. Her study of German became recreational and it no longer made sense to even look for a job. How could she commit to anything when leaving shortly?

Personal issues may also provide an unforeseen incentive to either stay or leave. Justin for example came to Vienna with a two-year commitment to build out things in a company, earn some money and then return to America. However, he unexpectedly became the father to a little girl in Denmark, which changed his plans. Copenhagen turns out to be very difficult for his industry and now Vienna has become an important base for him that he feels he fully has to commit to in order to succeed to stay in proximity to his daughter. This has changed his interest to partake in the local Austrian society over the international one.

“For me it’s really important to be with my daughter and her mom, but also my career is very important to me. So I feel like I have to give Vienna a try, because at the moment that is the only opportunity for me so I want to fully embrace it. (...) Now that I have a child I have to start growing some roots, because otherwise I might not be able to stay. So before I would have welcomed the expat community, because I would have an easy group to instantly go into, but then of course this also makes it much more difficult.” (Justin)

In addition to making the effort of learning German or building friendships with Austrians, the migrant who thinks of staying for a longer amount of time also changes his attitude towards the little things that commits one to Vienna for a given period of time.

I think once I started the Masters and I realized my daughter was on the horizon, things changed completely of course. Then I really said ‘Ok, I’m here. I’m here. I don’t know about the future, but the future is very very far away.’ I think that would have been a time I really realized I was going to be here for a while. That changed my attitude a lot I would say. Simple things like you wouldn’t think of, like do I get a contract for a mobile phone or not, you know? Because you are kind of thinking, what will happen in two years time? So little

things you decided to change. Do I look for a proper job, something I really should be doing, or do I look for something that is just going to fill the time, and pay the expenses. All of that completely changed, my attitude towards it changed. (David)

I find that related to the issue of time is the matter of motivation. How long would one like to stay? A lack of motivation to be in Vienna in the first place naturally affects the interest to becoming and being an active participant of society. A number of participants are in Vienna due to their partners, who are either locals or in town because of a job. Katia is one of these and have had a lot of difficulties settling in Austria. She speaks German, but engage mainly with other non-locals. She continues to think of Austria as a temporary place.

"It took me 9 years to adjust, but there are many reasons. I did not want to adjust. I did not want to move here. I liked my life in Los Angeles a lot, and I liked my work, so let's just say that one really wanted to move here, and one just followed (...) My experience to sum it up, is that I came here, I did not want to integrate and I didn't for quite a while. Now, okay I can't say I'm integrated, but I'm reconciled, you know, I'm content." (Katia)

In sum the notion of temporality is an influential dimension affecting incorporation, and is shaped by external factors such as work contracts and visa regulations as well internal factors such as motivation to stay and the migrant's personal situation.

Contextual Time: Financial Crisis

At the time of conducting the research (fall and winter 2011/2012) the world is undergoing global financial and economic crisis, which has resulted in an unprecedented rise in global unemployment. Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable in times of economic recession, and are often the first to suffer from job cuts, in addition to facing shrinking employment opportunities. Although highly skilled migrant workers are benefitting from more favorable legal migration opportunities compared to low skilled migrants, they are far from untouched by the crisis (ILO 2010).

Of course some migrants hold such attractive skills that place them in a favorable position compared to others in a time characterized by layoffs, downsizing and

collapse. Their skills allow them the mobility, where others may be stuck. This was for example the case for Justin, whose own California-based company blew up during the initial stage of the crisis in 2008, which led to his international move to Austria. However the skill-set of the majority do not place them in a secured position, and the insecurities that follows, result for some of the migrants in a wish to hold on to the jobs they currently hold in Vienna. Anthony has moved around quite a lot in his adult life. First he moved between different American cities and then he moved internationally, first to Edinburgh, then London before he ended up in Vienna. In the beginning he did not intend for this stay to be particularly long, in fact his initial work contract at the UN was only for a few months, but it kept getting extended, two years at a time. Given the current situation Anthony consider himself lucky and do not want to jeopardize his luck by leaving Vienna and the job he has.

The state of what is going on in the world right now. If you don't have a really special highly profitable skill; I know so many people that are really struggling, that either don't have work or really bad work, and I have a job I feel very comfortable in, and I know the skills. (Anthony)

The crisis is for some participants a motivator for acquiring the localized skills (language and work accreditation) that increases the chances for succeeding in Austria in the long run. Jessica, who is still quite new to Vienna, find the city an attractive and stable place to stick to as oppose to her home state in America, and is consequently determined to do what it takes to build a career in Austria.

"For me a big part of it too is that the US is falling into the shitter, forgive my language, but California right now... I think the quality of life is better here than in California or America right now" (Jessica)

While the crisis has an impact on the desire to stay in Vienna and acquiring the skills that makes it possible, it also affects those who have already decided to stay. The bad economy results in local cut backs and collapse, and if a job is lost, the migrant might not be able to stay. Such a loss can be especially hard for the migrant, who is in town with a family, who has come to feel at home here. While the skilled migrant may be fortunate to find another job elsewhere, the concerns and stress can be big when a family, which both feel rooted in Vienna and which has visions to stay, need to pick up and move. Ingrid and her family intend to stay, but the crisis has resulted in some unforeseen uncertainties about the future.

There is still a lot of uncertainty, because the company that employs my husband has run into bad times and who knows what the future holds. But maybe because we have bought the house, and because we have made the decision to try to make this work since so far it appeals to us, I think we will make it work. If the company collapses we find something, we find a way of getting through. (Ingrid)

Situating this study in its present context brings forth an interesting vulnerability to the otherwise privileged skilled migrants. They are affected by the crisis, as is everyone else. The insecurities that are inherent in a time of crisis is crucial to understanding the situation of skilled migrants in Vienna as well as their nature of incorporation. In addition to the insecurity, crisis leads both to a desire to stay put in Vienna, and to acquire the localized skills that increases the chances for local success.

5.2.4. Age

Age is another factor that seems to have an influence on incorporation among skilled migrants. The youngest age group (20-30) is the one who have the most personal contact with the Austrian society as oppose to the international community, whether their stay in Vienna is initiated by a job, a study program or to be in proximity to an Austrian partner. The participants belonging to this group, who only have a basic level of German have also managed to build up a social network that mainly consists of Austrians. Nothing indicates the interest and actual involvement with the local society decreases with age. It just seems to fall particularly easy among the youngest.

“In Vienna I was really soon integrated into a group of people who know each other, a group of friends coming from the country side, from Krems, and yeah I have been living with them, have gone to their parents’ place to have dinner, even though I don’t speak German. (...) If I need a car, I know how to find a car, if I need people to help me move, they will do so. I have furniture like I have been here a long time, although it’s just been two years.” (Flavian)

Younger migrants consequently seem to have an easier time being received and welcomed into the circles of locals; perhaps because younger generations today are more internationally minded and have better English skills than older generations in Austria. The participants state their local friends belong to the academic milieu of

Vienna either as university students or newly graduated professionals, who have excellent English skills. In addition it also seems fair to argue that the younger migrants are more open and flexible and have more free time compared to other age groups who are tied up with family responsibilities alongside their careers, which means less time, than the young and independent ones, to take advantage of the many possibilities the Viennese society offer. This seems to be a general thing, migrant or not, in Vienna or elsewhere; it is especially in the younger years individuals engage in a lot of different circles and form long-lasting friendships, perhaps especially during the time of their studies. Through local connections the young migrants in Vienna can tap into resources that are available in the local society, and which makes life easier and more enjoyable, either in the form of material goods such as Flavian described above with furniture or having access to a car, or through insider-knowledge on the city.

[My Austrian friends] showed me around, they said go this café, go to this restaurant, this food is cheap, the food is nice, and you meet nice people there.”
(Jonathan)

5.2.5. Gender and Children

Does gender affect incorporation? Overall there seems to be little or no difference between the sexes. The male migrant seems to a higher degree to interact with locals by going out by himself and talking to people at the local bar or pub, which might lead to acquaintanceships or friendships, whereas women seem to be less direct with strangers and develop local contacts through friends, work or their children's activities.

All women with younger children in the study (5) planned for their children to spend a considerable amount of their childhood in Austria, which made for some interesting considerations in terms of their investment in the Austrian versus the international community in Vienna. These mothers shared a vision of bridging the different communities in Vienna, which also had an effect on how they valued both communities. On one hand, children are a motivation to partake in the local Viennese society.

“I don’t want to be a complete foreigner for my kids, because they get much more of the Austrian culture from the school, and I want them to feel comfortable as well. Not that their mom is a complete alien. (Katia)

Practically the children are forming a path into the otherwise closed circles, which many participants use to describe Austrians, through school and extra curricular activities the children befriend in these settings. On the other hand, children for the long-term migrants are a driving force to stay connected with the international community in town due to the non-Austrian roots that these children have.

“It would be important [to stay connected with an international community] for the viewpoint of our children, so they don’t feel like they are the odd ones. That they also have contact with families, where the children have parents of different nationality, speak more than one language, perhaps especially the English-German combination. So they feel even as non-locals, they are just as entitled to live here, and yeah that they are not strange.” (Ingrid)

5.2.6. Character of Local Community

Finally, the last factor, which I find has an impact on skilled migrants in their relationship with the local Austrian society, is the character and opportunities of the local communities they reside in. Surely Vienna is a smaller big city, the local districts are overall fairly similar, and it is easy accessible to get from one end of town to the other. Does it then make a difference where one settles? I want to bring in two examples to demonstrate that the character of the local community can have a say in how little or how much one needs to deal with locals.

Ingrid engages mostly with Austrians on a daily basis, which according to her is related to the place where she lives.

“We are living a bit outside of Vienna, which has bit of a small town feel to it. We found it quite welcoming, more than I expected. Sometimes these places regard expats or foreigners as a bit strange or untrustworthy maybe, but we have had very positive experiences, and so I do feel it is a place where you could settle and feel part of a community. (...) I have gone out of my way looking for expats living near us. I certainly don’t want to not mix with the locals. Wherever we’ve been I have always done my best to try to integrate, but there is no doubt that you have a lot in common with expats in general, so similar experiences and so on. The fact is that they are thin on the ground where we

live, and I'm not prepared to come into Vienna regularly to seek them out."
(Ingrid)

Katy on the hand lives like two other long-term migrants in the 7th district, which she claims is particularly multicultural. Most of the people she interacts with in her neighborhood, particularly through her children, are other non-locals, who nevertheless speaks German and identify Vienna as a permanent home.

"I'm part of a society (...) to this certain very multicultural in a district, that is sort of this quite well off, in between greeny-lefty, city, no car, no television group. I think you get it in a lot of European cities and which is quite acceptable and where it is quite easy to exist as a foreigner. (...) In the Kindergarten my son went to, I think half of the children were bilingual, and they have all been here a very long time, and they are all here to stay. The two Turkish architects are here to stay, the Polish woman who works in graphic art is here to stay. They are all foreign and they all speak more or less perfect German, but then they are all here to stay, and I suppose they are my reference group. (Katy)

Of course there is a choice involved in this matter, which ultimately says something about how the migrant wishes to position him or herself. What is valued for a specific neighborhood to be attractive? For Ingrid and her husband it is among other things an international Gymnasium that they would like their children to attend in the future. In the meantime they are joining the local small town community and can come into Vienna when the desire arises to connect with non-locals. In Katy's case a certain neighborhood provides a corner of the city, she feels she fits into and identity with given her foreign background and general values. Here she feels easily accepted and have a lot in common with many other residents.

These two examples illustrate the fact that there are in fact differences in terms of where one settles and how that impacts the daily life of the migrant. However it is important to keep in mind that given Vienna's relatively small size and the fact that the city hosts a fairly large international community one *can* choose be immensely involved with the international community over the local or the other way, it might just take a bit more effort, if there is more distance.

5.3. Belonging and Membership

Lastly I want to bring in the notion of membership and belonging. While immigrant incorporation theories mainly are concerned with incorporation into economic and social institutions in the host society, cultural aspects and questions of belonging and identity are also part of incorporation processes (Dahinden 2010, 1)

Thus far the analysis of data has illustrated the selective character of incorporation among skilled migrants residing in Vienna and has explained the determinants that influence the ability and desire to engage with the local Austrian society vis-à-vis the international community in town. It is clear that this is a complex phenomenon that must take a multitude of conditions into consideration. Although the incorporation pattern among these migrants overall is very varied, and dependent on aspects such as migrant type, duration of stay, language skills and age, there is an overall tendency among skilled migrants to develop ties to *both* the local Austrian community *and* the international community. How does that relate to their sense of belonging?

The vast majority of participants state they feel like outsiders in Vienna. This feeling of standing outside the local society it constituted by self-identification as well as the categorization of host society members. Several participants notice how the road to insider membership in local society is long and might even take several generations, which they simultaneously notice is not something that is unique to Austria or Vienna, but a widespread feature in many European countries.

"I think you would have to be here many generations before they would accept you as not an outsider. (...) So in New Zealand, of course when you are born in New Zealand you are a New Zealander, and nobody even care if your parents were just on holiday. If you have lived there for a few years, well you're a New Zealander now. But here in Europe... My daughter was just saying how some of her friends, who have been in Austria for several generations, even before the war, and they are still not Austrians, they are Serbians or Turkish, or you know whatever." (Greg)

Even the ones, who otherwise engage mostly with locals, notice how they are categorized as outsiders.

"[I feel like an outsider] because people want me to feel like an outsider as well. They want me to be the exotic one. For them I am the exotic part at home."
(Flavian)

In terms of their personal sense of belonging there is an equal sense of distance. They very clearly do not feel like Austrians, which seems to connect to the selective approach towards incorporation. While there are things they surely enjoy about the Austrian way of life, there are other parts they find less appealing, and differentiating oneself from that is a way to cope with this ambivalence.

"I don't feel like an Austrian. I never will, so... I'm German. I have no connection with Austria except liking to be in Vienna." (Thomas)

Approximately one forth of the study's participants state they do not feel at home anywhere. Their highly mobile lifestyle, which sometimes goes back to childhood, has resulted in a weak sense of belonging. If anything they feel as sense of membership to this international cosmopolitan community that in part is comprised by like-minded and experienced individuals.

While belonging and membership to the Austrian society in general is limited for the majority and constituted both by host population and the migrants themselves, membership to the city is a different matter. With time migrants develop roots and a sense of belonging, which seem to connect to the city itself rather than Austria as such. We see for instance the sense of membership when the long-term European migrants participate in local politics.

Belonging and membership is something that takes time to develop from both sides, and even 10 or 15 years is not that long, when we consider literature on immigrant incorporation often discuss how *2nd* and *3rd generation immigrants* become and are members of the societies they inhabit.

6. Analysis II: Local Dynamics and Structural Forces Shaping Migrant Incorporation

The previous chapter examined the fine-grained details of migrant incorporation, and demonstrated how multiple factors such as migrant type, temporality and membership must be taken into consideration in order to understand what influence the processes of integration. The analysis additionally found that although the group is highly heterogeneous, there is a general trend among skilled migrants in Vienna to incorporate in both the local Viennese society *and* the international community. In this second analysis I would like to elaborate in further detail about the character of dual incorporation, by theorizing how the specific locality and time shape migrant incorporation.

6.1. Beyond an Ethnic Understanding of Incorporation

Before I get into how wider structural forces and current settings shape the dualism, which is observed, I find it valuable to bring attention to the kind of social incorporation that characterizes skilled migrants in Vienna. The aim of the study has been to understand the peculiar nature of incorporation among skilled migrants. Rather than initiating the study with an overview of existing theories and models on immigrant incorporation, the research has used skilled migrants as a lens to examine the actual incorporation. Interestingly, I find that whether we talk about social integration into the local or international part of society, the actual incorporation is related to *social class* or certain kind of *habitus* instead of ethnicity, which most models and theories use as “*explanans* for both describing and explaining processes of integration” (Dahinden, 2010: 2). Critique of the problematic use of the ‘ethnic lens’ (see Glick Schiller, Caglar & Guldbrandsen, 2006), which dominates much immigration theory, is not new, but this study exemplifies such theoretical shortcomings.

Let me briefly provide an overview of the most fundamental theoretical paradigms on immigrant incorporation in order to draw out the misfit between general

theories of incorporation with the skilled migrants. Since the 1920s scholars have elaborated and discussed theories to understand in detail the processes by which migrants adapt to their host countries, and proposed different models and approaches. By studying migrant incorporation the main focus has been on measuring the degree of incorporation of immigrant groups into economic and social institutions in the host society by taking into account structural aspects such as educational attainments, access to labor market and discrimination (Dahinden, 2010: 1). *Assimilation* has been the dominant paradigm of migration scholarship in the United States, whereas the concept of *Integration* has been influential in European migration scholarship and policies. The two terms have striking parallels, such as an assumption of migration as a one-way process and an absorption into the dominant culture. In the early 1990s the transnational paradigm emerged as a critique to the unilinear assimilation and integration paradigms and emphasized migrants' simultaneous incorporation in economic, religious, political and cultural terms into both their country of origin and settlement. It is not a matter of this 'either or' logic but rather 'here and there'. A weakness to this approach maintained an emphasis on the tendency to use ethnic group as the sample and unit of analysis (Caglar 2011). Migration studies continue to approach migrant's relationship to economic, social and political forms of urban incorporation through an ethnic lens. As a result most of these studies assume migrants from a particular nation-state or region constitute an ethnic group before their identity, actions, social relations and beliefs are studied. The problem is that when assuming that a population being studied already share an ethnic identity, the analyst risks neglecting or obscuring processes of local and transnational incorporation that eventuate in the emergence of ethnic or pan-ethnic identities and organization (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2009: 184).

This present study has not focused on ethnicity as the unit of analysis, but instead a unit based on skill level. Although skills transform into diverse professions and life styles, it ties the majority of the group back together in a certain societal class of the middle/upper-middle class with a certain upper-class segment, and it is this class element that turns out to be the key facilitator for connection, engagement as well as

identification. Ethnicity or nationality proves to be of limited significance for identification and organization to this group. It is explicitly stated that people's backgrounds are of zero importance to these individuals, who generally tend to engage in ethnically and nationally highly diverse networks; what matters is what people have to offer. This does not mean that ethnicity or national background does not play a role; it does, just as other modes of distinction such as religion, profession, gender, or legal status are also likely to serve as a wheel of unity and connection for different individuals. However if we are to understand social relations, actions and identity in general terms for this group, it is similarities in social class or a certain habitus that take the dominant position. Habitus in this regard is understood as the set of acquired dispositions of thought, behavior and taste, which according to Pierre Bourdieu constitute the link between social structures and social action (Scott 2009). The previous chapter demonstrated for example how younger migrants made social contacts with younger Austrians, who were either university students or newly graduates like themselves. It was also articulated how highly skilled migrants engage extensively in migrants networks, that are not constituted by ethnicity, but rather developed in terms of a shared habitus related to a professional background as well as a feeling of being an outsider in Vienna.

I am thus able to conclude ethnicity or nationality play a minor role when it comes to integration processes of skilled migrants, which calls for a more diversified understanding of the modes of distinction that shape migrant actions, organization, and identification. Having said that though, I will at the same time argue that skilled migrants present a rather atypical case in migration studies, because they are explicitly defined by their skills, which immediately place ethnic or national background in the periphery of our understanding of them as a group. They are their skills before their ethnicity or nationality. This makes it easier to avoid falling into the problematic 'ethnic' trap for the academics, who study them, as well as for politicians, who otherwise have a similar tendency to articulate and conceptualize immigration contexts in relations to ethnically or nationally defined groups (Dahinden: 2010, 8). To be explicitly defined in terms of (attractive) skills situate the skilled migrants in a privileged position, where ethnicity is less likely to form the

entry point of how they are first of all perceived, but also how they are expected to adjust or conform to the host society.

Although their category presumably situate them in a position, where they are less likely to experience the pressure and potential scrutiny as easily as other types of migrants, processes of incorporation are still inflicted by structural forces, which the following sections will focus on.

6.2. Theorizing Locality in relation to Migrant Incorporation

In order to understand migrant incorporation it is crucial to examine the dynamics of the specific locality (Glick Schiller and Caglar 2011). In the era of globalization, locality is deeply affected by global forces. The term 'glocalization' is used to refer to the mutual constitution of the global and the local, but other scales (including regional and national) are also deeply implicated in the local processes. Glocalization is moreover thought to capture relationships of people to territory that are influenced *both* by grounded face-to-face encounters *and* by transnational flows of capital, media, resources, products, information, and populations. By focusing on a specific locality (e.g. a city or neighborhood) it is possible to capture how the global (including the global transfer of people) meets the local (Brettell: 2011, 86). When studying cities in relation to migrant incorporation one must be mindful about the specific context of a given city. Cities have different histories, including different histories of experience with the foreign-born, but they are also positioned differently in relation to global forces (ibid).

Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Caglar (2009) propose a theory that considers migrant incorporation in relation to the global positioning of cities. As oppose to Sassen's theory on certain cities being Global Cities, Glick Schiller and Caglar (2009: 187) argue that all cities are global, but situated differently within various trajectories of power. Even though nation-states set up a structure within which cities work, they cannot restrict them, as their trajectories operate beyond the national sphere. In the neoliberal world any given city engages in a repositioning of status and significance,

which involves competition against other cities in order to make the given city look attractable for foreign capital and market. To attract new-economy industries such as computer-related technology, cities must offer a certain mix of human capital, higher education, and cultural and recreational facilities.

Glick Schiller and Caglar suggest the concept of 'city scale' to examine how this new form of urban competition takes place, and define it as "*the differential positioning of cities determined by the articulation of institutions of political, cultural and economic power within regions, states and the globe.*" (2009: 188). City scale projects a four level continuum from top scale to down scale, in which different cities are relatively positioned, as a result of neoliberal restructuring measures. These different positionings reflect and shape the relationship of urban places to regions, states, supra-regions and the globe, and thus ultimately centers on differential significance of power (ibid).

In terms of immigration and migrant incorporation the concept of city scale is beneficial to understand the kinds and amount of migrants, which cities are able to entice. The opportunities offered by the scalar position of the city itself, affects the migrants it attracts. This means that the nature and quantity of jobs, the way culture is represented and marketed and the availability of public spaces shape the opportunities a city can provide for its migrants (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2009: 189). There is a reason why most research on highly skilled migration is tied to major world cities. It is not because of the size, but because such localities offer a range of career opportunities for the highly skilled, as well as a diversified recreational selection. According to Glick Schiller and Caglar, we additionally must take into consideration, how migrants create and expand opportunities in the cities they inhabit. I will return to this point later.

Alejandro Portes and Jozsef Borocz (1989) argue that modes of reception are central in order to understand immigrant incorporation. "*Although it is possible and useful for analytical purposes to separate the economic, political, legal and other aspects of contexts of reception, in reality these conditions tend to form more or less coherent patterns organizing the life chances for newcomers*" (1989: 618). Therefore the

stance of host governments, employers, the surrounding native population and the characteristics of pre-ethnic communities if any are significant features of the situation confronting new immigrants. Such a reality alters the immigrant's aspirations and plans and can channel individuals of similar background into very different directions (ibid). Portes and Borocz identify three modes of incorporation for professional/technical immigrants depending on the given reception of host society. The first mode is a 'handicapped' or unfavorable reception context, in which skilled migrants for example face heavy discrimination because of racial characteristics or they experience difficulties in terms of revalidating titles or obtaining licenses. The second mode is a 'neutral' context, in which skilled migrants become incorporated into the primary market. Individual skills and merits are the most important determinants of successful adaptation, and allow foreign professionals to enter directly into the mainstream of their respective careers. Finally, the third mode is an 'advantaged' situation, where political, social, and economic factors, facilitate upward social mobility of professional and civic leadership (Portes & Borocz, 1989: 622).

The reception theory is a useful approach to consider to what degree skilled migrants are likely to succeed incorporation-wise in the locality they settle, given the characteristics of the particular setting. It is also valuable to understand how a reception context can prevent or promote skilled migrants to choose certain destinations. The global demand for skilled workers means that they have greater choice as to where they go. Certain destinations may be more favorable for skilled migrants in general (such as the USA), but if that is not possible, they tend to select their destinations on the basis of a number of factors, which among other things include lifestyle and host societies' attitude towards immigrants. Germany's pilot scheme in 2000 designed to bring 20.000 IT workers from the Third World yielded less than half the figure. The explanations given by Indian IT professionals for not going to Germany was that they were aware from media reports and other sources of the level of racism in German society that is directed to many immigrants (Iredale, 2001: 19).

Emphasizing the importance of understanding immigrant incorporation in relation to the dynamics of a particular locality brings me to a closer examination of Vienna as a setting for skilled migrants.

6.3. Scalar Position and Reception Context of Vienna

Several studies have ranked Vienna on global city or world city parameters in order to determine the spatial hierarchies between various major cities. The think tank Globalization and World City Research Network (GaWC) is one such example, which rated the Austrian capital as an alpha minus city, which they define as “*a very important world city that link major economic regions and states into the world economy*” (Department of Geography, Loughborough University 2010). The introduction accounted briefly for Vienna as a setting and destination for skilled migration. One of four UN headquarters is located in the city, which has attracted highly skilled migrants from all corners of the world, since its opening in the 1970s. Today the United Nations employs approximately 3000 foreign nationals (unvienna.org 2012). In addition Vienna has since the 1990s become the regional hub of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) following the fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria’s integration into the EU. These geo-strategic changes affected the urban economy as well as its integration into the global markets leading to new patterns of capital flows and establishing Vienna as a gateway-bridge between the East and the West, where foreign firms use Vienna to expand in Eastern Europe (Musil, 2009: 255). At the last count 303 companies have their CEE headquarters in Vienna, which is 14 more than just two years ago. Authorities are aware of the need to market the city in order to ensure foreign investment to the city (see Glick Schiller and Caglar above), which for example was demonstrated in last year’s big congress facilitated by Headquarters Austria and the Austrian Business Agency to market the city (Economist 2011b).¹

¹ A prime example of the way state-level actors contributes to the development of uneven geographies of urbanization and territorial inequality within the national territory. Nation states do not lose their role as active players in urban space. They

The fact that Vienna for a considerable amount of years has had a steady flow of skilled migrants settling in the city has resulted in a range of opportunities that accommodate to this group of people. The city is for instance home to seven international schools (e.g. Vienna International School, The American International School, Lycee Francais) as well as international kindergartens and a number of internationally oriented universities. In Vienna one also finds English-language news media such the newspapers Vienna Review and Austrian Time and the English-speaking radio station FM4 operated by the ORF, created principally for the United Nations community. As was described in the previous analysis the actual use of such opportunities depends on the type of migrant and intentions to stay put in the city. If we take the international schools, they are a much more expensive choice compared to local public schools, and therefore it is *not* an actual opportunity for all skilled migrants. Additionally some migrants have long-term perspectives towards staying and consequently find it more appropriate for their children to go to a normal school, where they can acquire skills in a German-speaking environment and develop lasting friendships.

Aside from the opportunities that Vienna offer skilled migrants, it is worth examining the reception context, which Portes and Borocz theorized, to examine the contemporary setting which skilled migrants face. If we look at the official side of reception, the city is working towards a welcoming and inclusive approach to foreign professionals; at least when it comes to incorporation on the labor market. Skilled immigration is viewed as an important way to ensure future prosperity, which has resulted in a broad political alliance to ensure political incentives to attract qualified labor (wieninternatinoal.at 2011a). By hosting a highly skilled workforce the city benefits from an increased economic growth; competitiveness and technology transfers, while highly skilled migrants fill labor shortages in highly

contribute to it. *"By re-concentrating their socio-economic activity to increase the competitiveness of certain cities and zones, states shape this restructuring process through their spatially selective interventions.* (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2009: 187)

skilled sectors, and help to alleviate burdens from population ageing (ILO 2010). Reports show there is a particular need for technical professionals in Vienna. One in three Austrian companies have problems finding skilled staff for production, technology, research, innovation and development, a trend that is further exacerbated by a dwindling population (wieninternational.at 2011b). The Red White Red Card, The Expat Center, the planning of a multilingual website serving as a virtual contact point, which tailors to different target groups of skills, are examples of incentives that within the last three years are put into action to attract the highly skilled that Vienna needs. However it is also still a work in process, and not without official hurdles that are standing in the way for a smooth reception. There is for instance a continuing problem of having foreign diplomas recognized (wieninternatinoal.at 2011a). Considering the economic crisis, which has dominated the EU along with other large developed economies since the end of 2007, and continues to do so, it is remarkable how Austria and Vienna specifically are liberalizing and taking incentives to be more open toward skilled migrants during this time. Many destination countries have until recently favored policies meant to attract highly skilled migrants, but with the onset of the crisis and increasing pressure to 'protect' native-born workers from rising unemployment, many governments have introduced restrictions on highly skilled migration (ILO, 2010: v). In fact the very crisis may present Vienna with a need to stay 'on top of the game' in order to maintain its leading position as the hub of the Central and Eastern European region, which include a skillful, competitive workforce and continued investment. While Vienna is still the regional center, companies increasingly look to neighboring cities such as Bratislava, Budapest, Prague or Warsaw to locate regional head quarters, where living expenses are lower; a highly valuable asset in a time of crisis (Economist 2011b).

Now if we are to examine the reception of the host population it seems to be less welcoming than the official one. Haslberger and Zehetner's study (2008) found that professional migrants generally experience Vienna as an unfriendly city with a xenophobic attitude with the result that only one half of the respondents feel welcome in Vienna. My own findings indicate that few feel hostility from the local

population, but the majority find it incredibly difficult to develop social ties with the local population and to become a part of the local community here. As a result I will argue Vienna offer a 'neutral' reception setting according to Portes and Borozc' reception theory. The city, supported by the Austrian state, is ensuring incorporation into the labor market can take place rather easily, even in a time of economic crisis, but on a social and political level skilled migrants are far less accommodated for, which limits their opportunities to reach civic and professional leadership. As we shall see in the following section, the international community does provide a reception context that to a certain degree allow for civic engagement and potential leadership, but it has a limited reach.

2012 started with an Austrian downgrade of the triple A status and a warning from the World Bank about another recession in Europe (wieninternational.at 2012). Although the Austrian government and the City of Vienna claim to take efficient measures to tackle the situation, the gloomy economic forecasts for 2012 might make it harder to be a skilled migrant in Vienna, as foreign investment might be harder to attract, and because increasing unemployment may increase the public hostility towards Vienna's liberal immigration policy of the highly skilled migrants.

6.4. Migrants as Scale makers

So far I have only considered how the locality affect the potential for incorporation, however it is equally important to consider the agency migrants have in this process. In the post-industrial repositioning of cities, which Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Caglar theorize, migrants are viewed as active participants or *scale makers* influencing the overall status and significance of a particular city. *Migrants contribute to the positioning of cities in national and global markets and within national, regional and global hierarchies as they labour, produce wealth, raise families, and create and reproduce social institutions* (Glick Schiller and Caglar, 2009: 189). In order to analyze and understand the process of migrant's role in shaping and contributing to the repositioning of cities, one must look into the migrant pathways of incorporation. The more pathways of migrant incorporation, the more

chances migrants have to act as scale makers in cities' repositioning. The first analysis found that the majority of highly skilled migrants are economically incorporated into the city through employment or entrepreneurial enterprises, but political incorporation is restricted to regional level and only for a certain segment, which if not exclude then at least challenge the opportunities to act at scale makers on a political level. If we look at the cultural and especially social pathways of incorporation, skilled migrants are quite active and expand the international and transnational opportunity structures of the city in this regard. Skilled migrants have formed several local organizations, networks and initiatives that are offered mainly English, but also in other languages, and which cater to the 'expat community' specifically, but also serve subgroups of the general society. One example of the latter is the Women's Career Network in Vienna, which is a resource and support network for women seeking to develop and expand career opportunities in Vienna. Meetings are conducted in English, and the approximately 150 members are comprised of 30 % Austrians, 20 % other EU citizens and 15 % American women. Aside from a couple of career organizations we find social networking groups (e.g. Vienna Expats, Internations), regional or national associations (e.g. British Community Association of Vienna), and charitable groups (e.g. UN Women's Guild). To get a better grasp of how this has any connection to scale making and expansion of opportunity structures, I want to provide a small example: Vienna Babies Club (VBC) is a nonprofit organization, which serves as a *"support network for expat women living in or around Vienna."* The organization was initiated by international mothers for international mothers, and it now includes approximately 1000 members from nearly 100 countries. VBC offers information about all practical matters related to birth, health- and childcare in Vienna, as well as general information about living in Austria, it facilitates mother's groups, where mothers meet according to children's age or various social activities (book clubs, learning German, hiking, specific language groups etc.), and it provides a weekly email notice for its members with relevant information and opportunities such as music classes for children, relationship counseling, or yoga classes, all which are offered in English (Vienna Babies Club 2012). In that way VBC is an organization that contributes to

the heterogeneity of the city, by offering a community for 'expat' mothers, and connect them to resources that are available within the 'expat' community. Examining the organizations and associations developed by skilled migrants, the VBC is a good example of the most common groups developed by skilled migrants. In my research I find that most groups are related to social networking, which aside from serving a social and practical purpose also has a professional dimension to it. That furthermore says something about the limits highly skilled migrants have to act as scale makers in Vienna. In comparison Caroline Brettell has examined how organizations formed by highly skilled Indian immigrants residing in Dallas Fort Worth facilitates social, economic and political incorporation. The scalar position of Dallas offers a context in which more than 80 organizations founded by Indian professionals and their relatives can thrive (Brettell, 2011: 80). Brettell describes how a range of workplace and professional organizations facilitate networking as well as promoting professional expertise. The immigrant-based professional associations offer arenas for economic claims making, and sometimes this in turn is leveraged for political purposes at multiple scale (local, regional, national or transnational) (Brettell, 2011: 96). Vienna is positioned differently than Dallas, and attracts other and fewer kinds of skilled migrants, which additionally are more temporary by nature. Although I have not studied skilled migrants specifically in terms of scale making or the organizations they form, the organizations I am able to track does not seem to have the same economic or political capacity or potential, which is described in Brettell's study. I expect this has to do with the kinds of migrants that come to Vienna, but also the framework migrants in Vienna are submitted or restricted to in their integration process.

6.5. Dual Incorporation: Choice and Circumstances

Dual incorporation, which characterizes skilled migrants in Vienna, is both facilitated by structure *and* agency. The first analysis described the agency of skilled migrants in terms of their motivations and actual engagement and participation in the local society vis-à-vis the international community. Despite a great variety

between the migrants I was able to conclude they generally tend to incorporate selectively; an approach that is heavily shaped by temporality, access to resources and identification. Most types of skilled migrants are subject to time limited and time changing stays, which affect the desire to invest in the local society on a social, political, and cultural level. That combined with a local population that is difficult to 'break into', creates a space where an international community can thrive. In addition, different types of migrants are situated within different international and transnational flows of resources, and where a certain segment can rely on much support within such flows and networks, the majority of skilled migrants are part of more mundane flows, and need to reach out to opportunities and services that are only available in the local society.

Hosting an international and highly skilled work force is vital for Vienna, and perhaps even more so during a time of economic crisis, as it is a highly marketable asset that demonstrates that foreign companies can invest in the city, and that foreign professionals can thrive given the opportunities such a community constitutes. The city consequently has an interest in supporting the existence and expansion of local 'international' opportunity structures. However, with Portes and Brooks' reception theory I found that a neutral reception context face skilled migrants in Vienna, which imply a number of barriers challenges the possibilities for full incorporation, even for those who are most committed. The city implements social policies and incentives to attract and hold on to qualified labor, but it is mainly connected to ensure a smooth transition into the labor market. Skilled migrants continue to be excluded from the political sphere (with the exception of EU migrants, who have a say on regional-level politics), and it is difficult to be included among the locals, which result in a feeling of not being welcome. The lack of social inclusion and openness pulls the skilled migrants towards the international community, where it is easy to form relations and to become engaged, in a way that if desired, could alter some level of civic leadership within the local international circles. Incorporation into the international community can therefore be understood as a result of the contextual shortcomings in the local society.

7. Discussion

In this chapter I will shortly revisit Adrian Favell's arguments on incorporation of highly skilled migrants and discuss how his reasoning match the findings in this study. Favell, whose research was described in detail in the literature review, argues that the transnational power that characterizes the privileged position of skilled migrants causes them to choose to stay *out* of host societies. This kind of non-incorporation has implications for their everyday life, as they lack a saying on basic things such as housing, childcare and taxation. Based on findings in the study I both agree and disagree with Favell. First of all, the results in the case of Vienna indicate that skilled migrants *want* to incorporate in the local society and seek to do so, but only to a certain extent. This also applies for the most mobile migrants, who have the least reason to do so. Incorporation is a matter of respect, just as it is to varying degree a question of need and desire. I argue that the transnational social power gives the skilled migrant a freedom to incorporate *selectively*, and as a result he picks and chooses between the local as well the international opportunities in a given locality. However, and this is where I agree with Favell, skilled migrants do not reach a level of local incorporation, where they have the ability to change things. Surely they engage in the expansion of international community and the opportunities such a community provides (see scalemaking above), but their engagement does not reach a level where they have an actual political or social voice, which is the scope of a transnational social power. In this way skilled migrants impersonate a peculiar power asymmetry. On one hand their skills bestow them with an incredible power, which a city like Vienna goes out of its way to attract and hold on to. At the same time, at least in the case Vienna, they lack any form of political representation or official voice, and are in that way surprisingly powerless. Of course a migrant can decide to settle in Vienna, go through the citizenship process and in that way become a full legal member of the local society, but that does not change the fact that the majority of highly skilled migrants are transient and not represented.

Favell also argues that for incorporation to be successful, skilled migrants must invest in and identify with the specific place. Based on the results of this study it is

clear that many skilled migrants are subject to time related uncertainty (due to work and personal situation), which challenges the ability and desire to invest in terms of learning the language, consuming local media, as well as developing local friendships. This also demonstrates how the transient nature of much skilled migration is an influential dimension, which affect many more migrants than solely the highly mobile global elite. Although investment and identification ideally encompasses the successful incorporation, the reality is that the very character of much skilled migration naturally challenges the potential for investment.

Finally, it is not only a matter of investment and identification or the agency of the migrant. It also strongly depends on the dynamics of the contextual setting; how they are received and the leeway they have to actually become and act as active participants of a host society. Different localities will provide different opportunities and structures, which ultimately support or prevent incorporation of professional migrants. In this study it was among other things demonstrated how the economic crisis meant some of the skilled migrants felt a greater need to incorporate into the local society. However, it was also revealed political incentives mainly supported incorporation into the labor market. To summarize my point is that incorporation processes must be understood in the synergy between the dynamics and opportunities of the specific locality and the motivation and attitude of migrants. Whether the privileged position or transnational social power highly skilled migrants hold, result in incorporation, non-incorporation, or dual incorporation, it is necessary to problematize how the of the specific locality play a role in the given result.

7.1. Limitations of Study

As I have completed the study I have become aware of some limitations to the approach I chose, which I will briefly discuss here.

One limitation deals with the data collection method. The study relied only on qualitative interviews, and although I gained extensive insight and the participants seemed honest and sincere in sharing their experience and opinions, it would be beneficial for another study like this one to include participant observation in order

to examine the correlation between what is said and what is done. It struck me a couple of times during the interviews, that participants came with normative statements about how incorporation should take place, when I inquired about their subjective experience and opinion. In such cases I find participant observation to be a highly useful method to examine how it really acts out.

Another limitation deals with the problematic category of skill. In an attempt to limit the field of inquiry I decided to focus on Western migrants, which arguably still provides a general insight, because the group is made up of such different types of migrants. Illuminating general trends among a group, which is accepted as heterogeneous, is also valuable, but it limits the details and ultimately the understanding one is able to gain from the different subgroups of highly skilled migrants. This brings me to recommendations for future research.

7.2. Recommendations for Future Research

There are several recommendations for future research, based on the results of this study. First the limitations outlined above aim to incorporate methods that investigate the relationship between the articulated and the acted. In this study I demonstrated how different migrant types as well different time scales (long-term and short-term), result in different organization and identification. Consequently it is of interest to gain a better understanding of how specific subgroups are constituted, how they engage with each other and the general society. The second analysis described briefly the organizations and associations made by skilled migrants. To get a more thorough understanding of the spectra of organizations skilled migrants in Vienna engage in, will allow us to get a better understanding of the potential migrants have to act as scale makers.

This study has focused solely on the actual incorporation in Vienna, but considering that *“most social scientists agree that integration processes and transnationality are interrelated”* (Dahinden, 2010: 6), it certainly would be valuable to examine how

skilled migrants in Vienna are transnationally connected, and how such connections impact local integration processes.

Lastly, the only point where I found almost complete agreement among the participants of the study was the difficulties to engage with the local population. As this study only focused on the experience of incorporation from the viewpoint of the skilled migrants, it would also be of interest to examine how the host population actually view skilled migrants, and what comprise the attitude and engagement of local population in relation to skilled migrants.

8. Conclusion

The inquiry of this research has been to enhance our understanding of how skilled migrants engage and relate with their host society. What are the main lessons learned?

With individual skilled migrants, and the city of Vienna as entry points for analysis, the study reveals how skilled migrants incorporate into the local Viennese society *and* a local internationally skilled community simultaneously. Through an examination of the motives and experiences of the migrants themselves, as well as an inspection of the contextual setting in terms of locality and time, I find that dual incorporation is the result of both dimensions, and needs to be understood in relation to both. To understand the peculiar nature of incorporation among skilled migrants therefore calls for an understanding of how the dynamics of migrant agency interrelate with the structural setting that forms host society.

Although we can talk in overall terms about skilled migrants and their ability and character, the first analysis reveals how a multitude of determinants accounts for the internal diversity of the group. It is additionally demonstrated how such determinants impact processes of incorporation: migrant types, language skills, temporality, age, children of migrants, as well as the character of the local community. These give way for different approaches as well as needs to deal with the local Viennese community *vis-à-vis* the local expat community. I want to highlight two examples: While some can rely on extensive support and resources within the highly international and transnational networks and flows they are situated in, most highly skilled migrants are part of more mundane flows, and must reach out to the local society in their daily life in Vienna. This applies not only of services, but also to opportunities that are not present in the international community. At the same time, on a social level, there is a wish to connect with like-minded individuals, who share a common experience of being a non-local in the city. This is a characteristic that is shared by short-term as well as long-term migrants.

Despite the internal heterogeneity of skilled migrants, I am still able to trace the general pattern of dual incorporation. To comprehend this duality it is necessary to understand the concurrent flexibility and restrictions skilled migrants are submitted to in general and more specifically in Vienna. The fact that they are defined in terms of their skills situates them in a privileged position with more freedom to act as they wish. Vienna, which attempts to attract both foreign capital and qualified labor, benefits from the opportunities and community that skilled migrants contribute with as scale makers, and the city consequently has an interest in supporting them in such endeavors, as oppose to forcing them to conform to the Austrian 'way of life'. In that way I find that the contextual setting allow the skilled migrant the freedom to incorporate as they please. They do not organize or identify themselves based on ethnic or national background, but engage in a highly varied international community, which is constituted by a certain level of skill or habitus. This results in a selective approach to incorporation, where skilled migrants are able to pick and choose between the opportunities in the local Viennese as well the international community. They generally *want* to integrate into the local society, but only to a limited extent.

With Portes and Brooks' reception theory, I find that Vienna offer skilled migrants a neutral reception context, which implies a number of barriers challenges the possibilities for full incorporation. The city implements social policies and incentives to attract and hold on to qualified labor, but it is mainly aimed at facilitating a smooth transition into the labor market. The skilled migrants lack political leverage (though EU citizens do have a political vote in local elections) and the host population is remarkably difficult to be accepted by and included into. The lack of social inclusion and openness pulls the skilled migrants towards the international community, where it is easy to form social relations and to become engaged. However, the capacity of and opportunities within the international community is limited, a trait that can be explained by Vienna's scalar position and the types of skilled migrants it attracts.

In sum I find that both the local Viennese as well as the international community in Vienna have shortcomings for the skilled migrants, and to depend and engage in both is a way to make the best of the situation as a skilled migrant in the Austrian capital. With the current conditions of economic crisis and instability, Vienna is working to maintain its position as the central hub for Central and Eastern Europe. As long as the economy continues to perform poorly, it will be increasingly important for Vienna to maintain its position in the years to come. This will undoubtedly be reflected in the ability to attract and hold on to skilled migrants, as the city continues to position itself regionally as well as globally.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Orientation

- Presentation of research project and myself
- How will the information be used
- Tape Recorder

Questions

1. Please tell me your name, age, and profession.
2. How long have you been in Vienna?
3. Do you speak German?
4. Did you move to Vienna by yourself or with a partner/family
5. Have you lived in other countries than your home countries? If yes, for what reasons?

6. How would you summarize your experience as a foreigner living in Vienna?
7. Do you feel valued or disrespected as a resident with a foreign background?
8. What do you feel to be the most significant challenge connected to your everyday life in Vienna?
9. Where do you see yourself 5 years from now? Where do you live?
10. Is it foreseen or do you think of settling in Austria. Why/why not?
11. In your opinion what makes Vienna an attractive/unattractive city to live in?
12. Describe your contact and interactions with Austrians?
13. Why is it important/not important for you to participate and engage with the local population of Vienna?
14. What have you gained from living in Vienna?
15. What sources of media do you follow? (News print, TV) (Local/international)
16. Do you follow the Austrian politics? EU-citizens: Did you participate in the last local election?
17. Please describe the networks you engage with here in Vienna. Is it mainly other non-locals or is it Austrians? Why do you think it is like that?
18. In your opinion are there any formal or informal barriers to incorporating into the Austrian society?
19. Does time matter to you in terms of investing in place?
20. Do you feel like an insider or an outsider to the local society here? Why?

Appendix B: Table of participants

	Name	Age	Nationality	Occupation	Level of education	Duration of stay in Vienna
1	Elizabeth	22	American	Human Resource employee at OSCE	BA	7 months
2	Eric	58	American	Senior director of market information at MNC	PhD	3,5 years
3	Erla	51	Icelandic	Nurse at IAEA	MA	7+2 years
4	Sally	52	British	Business and HR Trainer (*)	BA	1 years
5	Natalie	32	American	Stay-at-home-mom	BA	10 years
6	Cecelia	37	Swedish	Financial controller	MA	12 years
7	Justin	36	American	Financial analyst	MA	1,5 year
8	Anthony	41	American	UN, Editorial services	BA	4,5 years
9	Ingrid	39	Irish	Patent attorney (*)	PhD	1 year
10	Jenny	29	German	Assistant to academic director of doctoral programs at WU	MA	2 years
11	Flavian	23	French	MA student + campaign manager	BA	2 years
12	Greg	36	New Zealander	Postdoctoral scholar	PhD	5 years

13	Katia	40	Greek	Researcher at Ministry of Defense	PhD	10 years
14	Katy	39	British	Research consultant at Austrian Institute of Technology	MA	11 years
15	Livio	31	Italian	Customer advisor	MA	1,5 years
16	Jonathan	23	Irish	English language teaching assistant	BA	2 years
17	Jayne	53	British	Secretary at UN	BA	4,5 years
18	Thomas	47	German/Canadian	Seminar organizer, assistant to research director at GMI	BA	10 years
19	Jessica	27	American	PhD student	MA	9 months
20	David	31	Irish	PhD student	MA	7 years

(*) Currently not employed in Vienna.

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Curriculum Vitae

Dorte Pedersen

EDUCATION

University of Vienna 2009-2012
Master, CREOLE Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes

- Master thesis: *"Towards an improved understanding of incorporation dynamics of highly skilled migrants in Vienna"*

- Thematic modules: New Identities and Visual Culture

Copenhagen College of Social Work, Denmark 2004-2008
Bachelor, International/Intercultural Social Work

- Bachelor thesis: *"Improving interminority relations in South Los Angeles"*

The International People's College, Denmark 2001
International relations, intercultural awareness and understanding

WORK EXPERIENCE

University of Southern California
Group Coordinator of International Families' Association 2008-2009

Los Angeles Youth Network 2008-2009
Shelter Staff

The International Rescue Committee, Los Angeles, CA 2007
Refugee Resettlement Intern

LANGUAGES

Danish, English, German, Icelandic.

