Jean-François Ouellet*

The Economic Value of Club Culture as a Magnet for Expatriates: A Quantitative Exploration in the city of Berlin

Abstract

This article demonstrates that Berlin's club culture is far more than entertainment: it is an urban asset that significantly contributes to the economy through the attraction and retention of global talent. Drawing on a survey of 518 self-assigned expatriates living in Berlin, the study shows that lifestyle fit and nightlife rank nearly as highly as job opportunities in relocation decisions. When combined with economic modeling, the findings indicate that club culture is responsible for €2.8 billion in GDP contribution through its ability to draw skilled, productive workers to the city. Rather than a cost or nuisance, nightlife emerges as a strategic asset that enhances Berlin's competitiveness and long-term economic vitality.

1. Introduction

Cities are not just economic engines or political hubs — they are cultural ecosystems (Glaeser, Kolko, & Saiz 2001). Among the many elements that shape a city's identity and attractiveness, **club culture** stands out as a powerful yet often underestimated force (Chatterton & Hollands 2002). Beyond the music, nightlife, and subcultural scenes it sustains, club culture contributes significantly to a city's image, drawing a global community of creatives, entrepreneurs, and professionals. Nowhere is this more evident than in Berlin, long celebrated as one of the world's capitals of nightlife, alternative lifestyles, and underground art.

While the **cultural significance** of club culture has been widely discussed in sociological and urban studies literature, its **economic value remains elusive** (Pratt, 2008). What is the monetary worth of a thriving nightlife scene? How do we measure its impact beyond ticket sales, tourism revenue, or bar receipts? One important yet underexplored channel may lie in the decisions of **expatriates** — global professionals who often have the freedom

* The author is an Associate Professor of Entrepreneurship and Innovation at HEC Montréal, in Canada.
This research was made while in sabbatical leave in the city of Berlin. The author thanks the European School of Management and Technology (ESMT Berlin) and HEC Montréal for their support in conducting this research.
The author can be contacted at: jf.ouellet@hec.ca

to choose where to live, work, or start a business. These individuals contribute to a city's economy through **knowledge work, entrepreneurship, spending power, tax contributions**, and cultural capital. Their location decisions are therefore not just personal but also **macroeconomically relevant**.

Yet, expat mobility is shaped by more than job opportunities or cost of living (Florida, 2003). For many, **social, cultural, and lifestyle factors** — including openness, creative energy, and vibrant nightlife — weigh heavily in the decision to settle in one city over another. In the case of Berlin, anecdotal evidence and qualitative studies suggest that its **club culture is a magnet** for this highly mobile, economically impactful population. But does this hold true empirically? Can we **quantify the role of lifestyle fit and nightlife appeal** in shaping expatriate settlement patterns?

This research takes a first step toward answering these questions in the context of the German capital. Through a structured survey of expatriates living in Berlin, it explores how various city attributes — including **club culture as a component of lifestyle fit** — influence relocation decisions. Our aim is to provide a **quantitative estimate of the indirect economic value** of club culture by understanding how it **shapes the migration choices of economically active, globally mobile individuals**.

2. Conceptual Development

2.1 The Economic Value of Club Culture

Club culture has often been framed through the lens of sociology, urban anthropology, or cultural studies, emphasizing its role in identity formation, resistance, and community-building. Yet increasingly, scholars and policymakers are recognizing that club culture is not just a subcultural expression — it is also an economic asset.

A seminal study on Berlin's nightlife industry (Damm & Drevenstedt, 2019) estimated that club culture contributes over €1.5 billion annually to the local economy, through direct revenues (e.g., admissions, drinks, wages), indirect spending (e.g., tourism, transport, accommodation), and induced effects (e.g., creative services, media, tech). According to the same source, Berlin's club scene generated 9,000 jobs and attracted over 3 million tourists in 2018, with many international visitors citing nightlife as a primary reason for travel.

This is not unique to Berlin. In the UK, the nighttime economy — including clubs, bars, and live venues — contributes over £112 billion annually, employing approximately 1.9 million people (Night Time Industries Association, 2021). In cities like Manchester and Glasgow, club culture has driven urban regeneration, attracting young professionals and creatives, and supporting associated sectors such as fashion, design, and tech.

Across the Atlantic, the city of Montreal has also recognized the economic significance of its nightlife (MTL 24/24, 2022). Its nighttime economy has been shown to generate over CAD $1 billion annually, supporting more than 25,000 jobs. The study emphasized the role of electronic music and club events in driving both tourism and local economic activity, especially in neighborhoods like the Quartier des Spectacles and the Plateau. Montreal's branding as a culturally vibrant, open, and creative metropolis has been closely tied to its music and nightlife scene, including international events such as MUTEK and Igloofest.

Beyond economic output, club culture plays a strategic role in city branding. Cities that support vibrant nightlife often attract members of the so-called "creative class" — individuals in knowledge, technology, and cultural sectors — who prefer dynamic, tolerant, and expressive urban environments (Florida, 2002). These individuals are not only economically productive but also tend to be highly mobile, making lifestyle appeal a key lever of urban competitiveness (Peck, 2005).

Despite this, club culture often remains undercounted in official economic metrics (Zukin & Maguire, 2004), due to its informality, cash transactions, and marginal status in policy debates. For many, it remains seen as nuisance more than an asset. It is also vulnerable to displacement through gentrification, regulation, or cultural backlash — threatening its contribution to urban diversity and economic dynamism.

In sum, a growing body of research positions club culture as an important, if underappreciated, contributor to urban economic vitality — both directly through spending and jobs, and indirectly through its role in attracting and retaining talent.

2.2 Speaking of talent: The Economic Value of Expatriates for a City

The term *expatriate* comes from the Latin *expatriātus*, where *ex* means "out of" and *patriā* means "fatherland." At its root, the word describes a person who leaves their homeland to live abroad. In the international labor context, three main categories of migrant workers are commonly identified: **assigned expatriates**, **self-initiated expatriates**, and **immigrant workers**.

Historically, research on international workers has primarily focused on **assigned expatriates**—individuals who are sent to a foreign location by their employer (Bhaskar-Shrinivas, Harrison, Shaffer, & Luk, 2005). These assignments are usually sponsored by the company, which remains involved in the worker's relocation and professional responsibilities abroad.

However, the nature and purpose of international assignments have grown more complex in recent years. As a result, the traditional view of expatriation has evolved, giving rise to a variety of new roles and career paths for globally mobile professionals (Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, & Barry, 1997). These emerging types of expatriates have been described with terms such as **"interim managers"**, **"international itinerants"**, **"independent**

internationally mobile professionals", **"global nomads"**, and most prominently, **"self-initiated expatriates"**.

Self-initiated expatriates ("SIE") differ from assigned expatriates in a fundamental way: they choose to move abroad independently, without being transferred by an employer (Andresen, Biemann, & Pattie, 2012; Doherty, Richardson, & Thorn, 2013). These professionals relocate to countries of their choosing in search of job opportunities or entrepreneurial ventures. Rather than being dispatched by a company, they take the initiative themselves.

This group is increasingly significant, especially among professionals from Western countries. Research shows that about 65% of expatriates from these regions are self-initiated, while only 35% are company-assigned. More recent literature sometimes refers to SIEs simply as "migrants," reflecting the blurred lines between economic migration and professional mobility.

In the context of global urban competition, expatriates are more than just skilled migrants — they are high-value economic actors who **shape cities' productivity, creativity, and global connectivity** (Glaeser, Kolko, & Saiz, 2001). As cities increasingly compete not only for investment but for **human capital** (Lloyd, 2002), attracting and retaining expatriates has become a key urban strategy.

Expats as Economic Drivers

Expatriates — especially those working in tech, creative industries, finance, academia, or international NGOs — bring **scarce skills, international networks, and often high purchasing power**. Their presence boosts:

- **Local consumption and real estate markets** (due to higher disposable incomes)
- **Demand for international education, healthcare, and cultural services**
- **Innovation and entrepreneurship**, often acting as founders or enablers in local startup ecosystems

A study by the **OECD** found that skilled expatriates contribute disproportionately to **patent activity, firm creation**, and **cross-border knowledge transfer** in host cities (Agrawal, Kapur, McHale, & Oettl, 2011). Similarly, other studies highlight that cities with higher foreign-born populations tend to show **stronger innovation performance and GDP growth** (Hunt & Gauthier-Loiselle, 2010; Kerr & Lincoln, 2010; Peri, 2012; Alesina, Harnoss, & Rapoport, 2016).

Expatriates as Global Connectors

Expats also serve as **"global bridges"** — facilitating flows of information, talent, capital, and trade between their host cities and countries of origin (Bathelt, Malmberg, & Maskell,

2004). Their embeddedness in global professional and social networks can raise the **international visibility and reputation of a city**, which in turn attracts more business, tourists, and further skilled migrants.

In the context of Berlin, many expats are drawn from the **global creative class**, including **tech workers, artists, researchers, and remote professionals**. These individuals are not just passively residing in the city — they're **actively shaping its economic structure, creative industries, and digital economy**.

Urban Economic Development and Soft Power

From a policy perspective, attracting expatriates is seen as an investment in **long-term urban economic vitality**. Cities like Amsterdam, Lisbon, Montreal, and Berlin have embraced the **"talent magnet" model**, offering soft landing services, international schools, coworking hubs, and cultural infrastructure designed to appeal to **mobile knowledge workers**.

In this light, the value of expatriates extends beyond immediate fiscal contributions — it lies in their **multiplicative effects** on city growth, global positioning, and resilience in a knowledge-based economy. As globalization and remote work reconfigure urban dynamics, the ability to **attract high-value expatriates becomes a central pillar of economic strategy**.

2.3 Estimating the Economic Contribution of Expatriates to Berlin

Understanding the economic value of expatriates to a city requires translating population figures into quantifiable output. Economists typically employ several methodologies to estimate such contributions, ranging from macro-level GDP ratios to sector-specific or income-based models. Those methods include Gross Income-Based Estimation (or Earnings Approach), Multiplier-Based Input-Output Models, Fiscal Impact Assessment (or Taxation Models), and Sector-Specific Gross Value Added (GVA).

Yet the most widely adopted method in urban and labor economics is the **GDP Per Worker (Productivity) Approach** (Combes, Duranton, & Gobillon, 2012; Bettencourt, Lobo, Helbing, Kühnert, & West, 2007). The city's total gross domestic product (GDP) is divided by the number of employed individuals to estimate the average productivity of each worker. This method provides a standardized measure of output per economically active resident and is particularly useful for cross-city or cross-country comparisons. It is often considered superior to the earnings approach, which does not capture productivity or induced economic effects (e.g., spending, tax revenue, and offer a good tradeoff to the other more complex-to-implement approaches.

To assess expats' contribution to the economy, we must first identify the size of their population, and then their participation in the labour force.

According to Destatis (2025), Berlin is home to some **993,000 foreign-born nationals**, making up a sizable portion of its working-age population. Disaggregating Berlin's foreign-national population into more granular categories provides a clearer understanding of the city's migration landscape. For analytical purposes, we distinguish among three principal migrant types: (1) *economic migrants*, including expatriates (whether assigned or self-initiated), labor migrants, and entrepreneurs; (2) *students*, who may transition into the labor market but whose primary motive is educational; and (3) *non-economic migrants*, comprising asylum seekers, refugees, and individuals arriving through family reunification channels.

As reported by BAMF (2024a,b), Germany issued 72,400 new residence permits for employment-related migration in 2023, along with 58,775 for study or vocational training. In the same year, 108,500 permits were issued for family reunification, and 329,120 individuals submitted asylum applications. Although these figures are national, they offer a useful baseline. Summing employment (72,400) and entrepreneurial/self-employment permits (often included under Sections 18 and 21 of the German Residence Act) yields an economic migrant total of approximately 72,400. Education-related migration is counted separately, representing 58,775 individuals. Combined, family and asylum channels account for 437,620 migrants—a clear majority at the national level.

However, Berlin's profile diverges significantly from the national average. The city disproportionately attracts international students, highly mobile professionals, and entrepreneurs, largely due to its globalized labor market, vibrant startup scene, and numerous universities. While Berlin accounts for roughly 6.7% of Germany's total population, it draws a higher share of international students and expatriates relative to its size. Based on BAMF (2024a), roughly 24% of third-country nationals migrate for employment and another 24% for education. Adjusting these proportions upward to reflect Berlin's urban and cosmopolitan character, we conservatively estimate that **economic migrants** represent **35–40%**, **students** approximately **20–25%**, and **non-economic migrants** the remaining **35–45%** of Berlin's 993,000 foreign residents as of December 2023. For the purpose of this research, and in line with research that has considered expatriation as primarily economic-driven, as opposed to the broader term of migration, we considered "expatriates" to be any foreign-national who had migrated to Berlin for economic reasons, which would total up around 375 000 individuals.

These approximations are not without limitations. The Ausländerzentralregister (AZR) does not publicly provide breakdowns of residence status by motive at the city level. Furthermore, migration pathways may shift over time—students may seek employment after graduation, while humanitarian migrants may enter the labor force. Nevertheless, disaggregating these categories provides valuable insight into the drivers of international mobility in Berlin and allows for more targeted policymaking related to integration, labor market participation, and educational infrastructure.

According to official statistics, Berlin's regional GDP was approximately **€179 billion in 2023**. With around **2.1 million employed persons**, the **GDP per worker is therefore roughly €85,240**.

While the exact percentage of working expatriates in Berlin is not explicitly stated, a survey by InterNations (2021) found that 82% of expatriates worldwide work full-time. Official German statistics (Destatis 2022) however show that employment rates among people with a migration background are lower than these figures, with 62.4% of 15- to 64-year-olds with a migration background employed in 2021 (vs. 77.5% without migration background). This suggests that Berlin's economic migrants, who are more selective and often arrive with a job or strong labour-market attachment, are likely to have employment rates closer to the InterNations expat benchmark than to the broader migrant population average. In other words, for economic migrants (expatriates), the figure is thus likely to be closer to InterNation's estimate, as expats either move with a job already secured, might be looking to find one, or start their own business.

Assuming 82% of the 375,000 expats are employed (that is, about 307,500 workers), this implies that expatriates contribute approximately **€26 billion per year** (that is, 307,500 workers × €85,240**)**, or **about 15%** of Berlin's total GDP — a substantial proportion for a group that makes up roughly 8.2% of the region's 4.6 million population. These calculations suggest that Berlin's expatriate population is not only culturally influential but also economically essential. Even under conservative estimates[†], expats contribute a minimum of somewhere between **€12 billion (in wages alone) to €20 billion annually to the economy**, underscoring their central role in urban growth and resilience.

Future research could refine these figures by incorporating input-output multipliers for sectors like tech, arts, and tourism, where many expats are employed. Additionally, longitudinal data could assess how expats' contributions evolve over time with integration and career progression, including for students, a population we voluntarily leave out of our *expatriate* definition.

2.4 And What Exactly Drives Expatriates' Decisions to Move Abroad — and to a Particular City?

Given their economic importance, understanding the motivations of expats to relocate to a given city is of the utmost interest. In fact, highly skilled expatriates are **not constrained by borders** in the same way traditional migrants often are. Many of them hold **international education backgrounds**, work in **globally transferable sectors** (e.g., tech, finance, creative industries), and may already have lived in multiple countries. For these

[†] E.g., using the earnings approach: 307,500 working expatriates · average net income in Berlin of €3,200/month, which does not take into account the full economic value of their work but rather only their earnings; or considering Destatis's lowest migrants' employment rate bracket of 62.4%: 375,000 expats · 62.4% · €85,240.

"global nomads," the decision to relocate to a new city is shaped by a complex mix of **economic, professional, personal, and lifestyle factors**.

Economic and Professional Drivers

Salary level, job availability, and career growth remain essential — particularly for those in traditional expatriate roles with relocation packages or intra-company transfers (Chen & Rosenthal, 2008). Yet, as remote work becomes more common and the global gig economy expands, these purely economic drivers are **no longer sufficient to explain where people choose to live**.

Urban Attractiveness and Lifestyle Fit

An increasingly prominent stream of research emphasizes the role of **urban lifestyle**, cultural vibrancy, openness, and "fit" in city choice (Nathan & Lee, 2013). For many mobile professionals, this includes:

- **Cultural offerings** (arts, music, gastronomy)
- **Nightlife and creative scenes**
- **Openness to diversity and alternative lifestyles** (e.g., LGBTQ+ friendliness)
- **Public infrastructure and quality of life**

Studies show that these **non-economic, "soft" urban assets** are especially valued by **younger and more educated expatriates**, as well as those in **creative and knowledge-based sectors** (Nathan & Lee, 2013). Cities like Berlin, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and Barcelona have all benefited from this trend — attracting a disproportionately high number of "lifestyle migrants" who are **pulled by cultural magnetism rather than pushed by solely economic need**.

Identity, Autonomy, and Belonging

A growing body of work also highlights the role of **personal identity and self-actualization** in migration decisions. Many expats seek places where they can **"be themselves"**, build alternative life paths, and connect with like-minded individuals (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). This makes **city culture, subcultural openness, and nightlife** potent variables — especially for those who might feel alienated or constrained in more conservative environments.

Club culture, as part of this broader lifestyle environment, plays a dual symbolic and experiential role (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). It represents freedom, authenticity, and community for many — particularly, as stereotypes go, for those in younger, queer, or creative demographics. However, despite the cultural emphasis placed on clubbing in Berlin's identity and branding, its *quantitative* weight in the expatriate decision-making process has rarely been established. In particular, it remains unclear:

- To what extent club culture and other lifestyle-based factors (e.g., arts, diversity, social networks) actually weigh into expatriates' decisions to move to Berlin, relative to economic or infrastructural concerns, and their willingness to incite others to relocate there;
- Whether the importance of such lifestyle motivators differs between higher-income, or active, versus lower-income, or inactive, expatriates — i.e., is clubbing truly a mass attractor, or does it disproportionately appeal to younger, lower-earning, or student populations?
- And finally, if club culture plays a significant role in attracting expatriates, can part of their measurable economic contribution to Berlin be *attributed* to it — thus quantifying a portion of club culture's indirect economic impact?

These open questions form the basis for the present investigation. By surveying expatriates currently living in Berlin, this research aims to quantify the perceived importance of different relocation factors, compare perceptions across income groups, and estimate the indirect economic value of lifestyle culture — especially clubbing — in shaping expatriate migration and, by extension, urban economic vitality.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design and Objectives

To explore the research questions derived above from the literature, a **quantitative survey-based study** was conducted among expatriates living in Berlin. The aim was to assess the role of various dimensions — particularly lifestyle fit and club culture — in influencing their decision to relocate to the city.

3.2 Sample Description

The final sample consisted of **518 respondents** who self-identified as foreigners currently living in Berlin and having actively partaken in the decision to relocate to the city. The majority were **relatively long-term residents**, with an average time in the city of **100.8 months (~8.4 years)**, and a median stay of **7.5 years** — indicating a settled and well-integrated population rather than, say, short-term visitors or exchange students.

Among the survey participants, two thirds reported being currently employed. Those who were not working primarily consisted of students—either enrolled in university programs or learning German, thus not qualifying as expats in our survey—and individuals actively seeking employment. Within the working subgroup, the average reported net monthly income was approximately **€3,210**, placing them above Berlin's average income level (~€3,100/month) and aligning with profiles often associated with the global "creative class."

Educationally, the majority were highly qualified: **Master's degrees (46%)** and **Bachelor's degrees (32%)** were the most common, reflecting a well-educated expat population. Regarding professional sectors, respondents worked predominantly in **Entertainment, Arts, and Recreation**, **Computer and Electronics**, and **Advertising and Market Research**. A notable portion (29%) selected "None of the above," suggesting either freelance, entrepreneurship, or interdisciplinary roles that defy standard classification. These patterns reinforce the view that Berlin attracts not only global talent but also professionals drawn by cultural and creative vibrancy as much as economic opportunity.

Other Key demographics included:

- **Gender**: 52% identified as male, 41% as female, 7% as non-binary or preferred not to say.
- **Age range**: Mostly aged between 25–44, aligning with the core working-age population.
- **Income**: Over 40% reported earning **€3,000/month or more**,
- **Employment sectors**: Respondents were spread across **tech, creative industries, academia, and the service economy**, reflecting Berlin's expatriate labor composition.

These figures are broadly consistent with broader estimates of Berlin's expatriate population, with studies suggesting that Berlin's expats are **disproportionately educated, digitally skilled, and culturally oriented**, often drawn by the city's lifestyle, openness, and low-cost creative ecosystem.

3.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited using a **snowball sampling method** (Goodman, 1961). Initial contacts were identified through expatriate social media groups, local professional networks, coworking spaces, and cultural associations. Participants were encouraged to share the survey with other expats in their networks, creating a chain-referral effect (Heckathorn, 1997). This method is commonly used in migrant research when probabilistic sampling is unfeasible.

The survey was administered **online** using a secure platform (Qualtrics). Participation was voluntary and anonymous. The estimated average completion time was 9 minutes. No financial incentive was provided. Respondents were required to confirm current residence in Berlin to ensure data relevance.

3.4 Measurement Instruments

Respondents were first asked to establish their migratory status (student, non-economic migrant, economic migrant / expatriate, or non-migrant) as well as what role they had played in migrating to Berlin (sole decider, shared decision, no participation in decision).

At this point, non-migrants and non-decision makers (less than 5% of respondents) were excluded from the survey.

Then, as a primer, we first asked respondents to write down up to 10 words they could spontaneously associate with the city of Berlin. Then, the quantitative survey was structured around four core categories of variables:

Decision Drivers: Respondents were asked to allocate a total of 100 points across seven dimensions — including economic opportunities, cost of living, cultural/lifestyle appeal, education, and infrastructure — according to the relative importance of each in their decision to relocate to Berlin. This method, known as *constant-sum scaling*, is a well-established technique in marketing and consumer behavior research for capturing relative preferences among multiple attributes (Green & Rao, 1971). It is especially useful in migration studies where individuals often weigh trade-offs among multiple push and pull factors.

Pre-Move Perceptions: A follow-up constant-sum question asked respondents to allocate 100 points among three contributing sub-dimensions of cultural/lifestyle appeal: cultural offerings (e.g., museums), lifestyle fit (including club culture), and social networks (e.g., having friends already living in Berlin). This allowed for a nuanced quantification of the elements shaping Berlin's lifestyle appeal *prior* to migration — a methodological gap in much of the current literature on lifestyle migration and urban attractivity (Green & Srinivasan, 1978).

Recommendation to others: Respondents also rated how likely they would be to recommend Berlin to someone like them across each of the same dimensions, using an 11-point Likert-type scale (0 = Not at all likely; 10 = Extremely likely). This approach is consistent with *Net Promoter Score* (NPS)-style items used in marketing and service quality literature to gauge satisfaction and behavioral intentions (Keiningham, Cooil, Andreassen, & Aksoy, 2007). In migration contexts, such scales have been used to measure city satisfaction and retention likelihood.

Sociodemographic Data: To enable segmentation and comparative analysis, the survey captured data on age, gender, monthly income, family structure, job sector, and length of time spent living in Berlin. Such variables are common controls in studies of migration drivers and urban integration.

The instrument was pre-tested with five expatriates of varying backgrounds to ensure clarity, face validity, and logical sequencing of questions — a recommended practice for improving survey reliability and reducing response bias. The final version was deployed online, consistent with approaches in hidden or geographically dispersed populations.

4. Results

This section presents the quantitative findings from our study, which investigates the role of lifestyle and club culture in expatriates' decisions to relocate to Berlin. Three core research questions guided our analysis: (1) How significant are lifestyle factors — including club culture — in expats' decisions to move to Berlin relative to more conventional economic or infrastructural considerations? (2) Do these priorities vary across employment or income status, challenging the common assumption that nightlife and cultural appeal are primarily the domain of younger or lower-earning populations? And (3) if club culture is indeed a meaningful attractor for economically active expats, what portion of Berlin's expatriate-driven economic output could be indirectly attributed to it?

4.1 The Relative Importance of Lifestyle Motivators in Relocation Decisions

To examine the first research question, respondents had been asked to allocate 100 points across seven domains representing common drivers for international relocation. These included: (1) Economic Opportunities and Employment, (2) Cost of Living and Housing, (3) Quality of Life, (4) Climate and Environment, (5) Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment, (6) Educational Opportunities, and (7) Transportation and Infrastructure.

Table 1 presents the average weighting assigned to each factor by all qualified respondents, both expats and other migrants. Notably, **Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment** was rated **second-highest**, with a mean weight of **22.7%**, behind only **Economic Opportunities and Employment (26.3%)**. Cost of Living followed at 14.5%, with Quality of Life (13.4%), and other categories attracting lower relative weights.

Table 1.
"If you were to estimate, what weight did each of the following have in your decision to move to Berlin?" (all qualified respondents)

Decision Driver	Average weight (%)
Economic Opportunities and Employment	26.3
Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment	22.7
Cost of Living and Housing	14.5
Quality of Life	13.4
Transportation and Infrastructure	8.5
Climate and Environment	7.3
Educational Opportunities	6.3

To delve deeper into what respondents associated with Berlin's "Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment," respondents were also asked to distribute 100 points among three subcomponents that shaped their perception of Berlin before moving:

1. **Cultural Offerings** (e.g., arts, theater, historical attractions)
2. **Lifestyle Fit** (e.g., club culture, diversity, LGBTQ+ friendliness)
3. **Social Networks** (e.g., friends or family already in Berlin)

Here, **Lifestyle Fit emerged as the dominant subcomponent**, attracting **an average of 48.1%** of the 100-point allocation, followed by Cultural Offerings (30.1%) and Social Networks (21.8%). In other words, much more than by its museums or orchestras, perception of Berlin's Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle environment was mainly driven by its clubs and the city's eclectic nightlife.

These findings suggest that **club culture and lifestyle appeal are not marginal influences**: they are central to how expats perceive Berlin and why they choose to move there, almost on par with conventional economic factors (Shapiro, 2006).

4.2 Do Lifestyle Priorities Vary according to Economic Activity?

The second research question explores, as the stereotypes go, whether club culture and other lifestyle-based motivators are disproportionately valued by lower-income or non-working expats — such as students — as opposed to those who are economically inactive. To answer this, responses for those who stated that they were **"Working"** were compared with those who declared not to be actively working, a group largely composed of students and job seekers.

Table 2.
Relocation Drivers by Employment Status

Decision Driver	Working Avg (%)	Non-Working Avg (%)	T test p-value
Economic Opportunities and Employment	26.8	24.5	n.s.
Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment	21.9	26.3	n.s.
Cost of Living and Housing	14.5	14.5	n.s.
Quality of Life	13.7	11.5	n.s.
Transportation and Infrastructure	8.8	6.3	n.s.
Climate and Environment	7.2	8.1	n.s.
Educational Opportunities	6.9	8.9	n.s.

Although non-working respondents assign slightly greater importance to Social and Cultural factors, the differences between groups were **not statistically significant** ($p > .10$ for Social, Cultural and. Lifestyle Environment). In addition, the p-values across all dimensions confirm that **working and non-working respondents assign similar relative importance to lifestyle-based motivators**, including club culture.

Table 3.
Perception Drivers of the Social, Cultural, and Lifesrtyle Environment,
by Employment Status

Dimension	Working Avg (%)	Non-Working Avg (%)	T test p-value
Cultural Offerings	34.8	23.0	p<.10
Lifestyle Fit	48.8	46.3	ns.
Social Networks	16.3	30.7	p<.10

As Table 3 shows, **Lifestyle Fit remains the top factor for both groups**, and differences between workers and non-workers **are not statistically significant**. If anything, working respondents slightly over-index on "Cultural Offerings," while non-workers place greater weight on "Social Networks," though these trends do not reach conventional significance level of p<.05.

These findings challenge the common stereotypical assumption that **club culture is primarily a draw for students or low-earning youth**. Even among higher-earning, economically active expatriates, **lifestyle fit and nightlife play a central role** in city attractiveness (Nathan & Lee, 2013). This reinforces the notion that lifestyle-related assets, including club culture, are **not niche but mainstream attractors** in the urban competition for global talent.

4.3 Quantifying Club Culture's Indirect Economic Contribution

To evaluate the final research question, we applied Berlin's estimated **expatriate economic output — €26 billion per year** — as a baseline. While this estimate reflects all expats' spending, investment, and productivity, we isolate the proportion that may be attributed to club culture by leveraging the weight assigned to **Lifestyle Fit** by working expatriates, namely **48.8%**, in assessing the city's Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment.

We multiply this **average weight of "Lifestyle Fit"** by the **overall weight of "Social, Cultural and Lifestyle Environment" as a driver of relocation decision towards Berlin (21.9%)**, creating a **composite impact estimate**:

Weighted contribution = 21.9% × 48.8% = ~10.7%

Therefore, if roughly 10.7% of the motivation to relocate is attributable to lifestyle fit factors, the indirect contribution of club culture to annual expat-driven economic activity can be estimated to be in the order of **€2.8 billion** (that is, 10.7% of €26 billion).

These conservative estimates assume that economic contribution is proportional to motivational weights. They represent a **credible and quantifiable impact range** of club

culture to Berlin's economy **via expatriates alone** — an impact that is **often overlooked in policy planning and urban development metrics**. And these estimates are to be considered, for the main part, over and above the direct economic impacts of club culture, which are estimated in terms of wages, tourism expenses, and the like.

Figure 1. Word Cloud of Berlin-Associated Words

4.4 Symbolic Associations with Berlin: Insights from Open-Ended Responses

To complement the structured survey questions, respondents were asked to name one or more words they most strongly associate with Berlin (see Figure 1). This open-ended query aimed to uncover the **symbolic, cultural, and emotional resonances** that the city evokes — dimensions often left unquantified in traditional migration or urban economics research.

A **word cloud** visualization of the most frequent responses revealed several prominent themes. Words such as **"freedom," "diversity," "nightlife," "art," "culture," "tech," "openness,"** and **"queer"** featured heavily, highlighting the perception of Berlin as a **progressive, expressive, and creative city**. These associations align with prior research that positions Berlin as a global node for the creative class, and a magnet for those seeking alternative lifestyles, cultural experimentation, and personal autonomy (Florida, 2003).

Interestingly, many of these terms echo the very components operationalized in the structured questions around **lifestyle fit and social-cultural appeal**, thus triangulating the data qualitatively. The symbolic power of Berlin appears to function not just as a backdrop

to rational migration decisions but as a **core part of its urban proposition** — especially to younger, mobile, and internationally-minded individuals.

This spontaneous language underscores the **emotive pull** of Berlin and reinforces the argument that city branding, club culture, and identity-aligned environments serve as meaningful, even decisive, attractors in expatriate mobility.

4.5 Likelihood to recommend relocating to Berlin according to dimensions

Finally, to further assess the importance of club culture to expatriates' decisions to move to Berlin and potentially also stay in Berlin, we asked respondents to rate (on a scale from 0 to 10) how likely they were to recommend the city to a good friend contemplating relocation. Each dimension assessed in Q10 — including economic opportunities, cost of living, infrastructure, and cultural/lifestyle appeal — was mirrored here to validate the alignment between motivations for moving and subsequent satisfaction with the city. These indicators also serve as proxies for long-term retention likelihood and for the **organic promotion of Berlin** as a global destination through word-of-mouth.

Overall, the highest-rated dimension was **"Lifestyle and Cultural Environment,"** with a **mean score of 9.09 out of 10**, a median of 9.0, and a narrow standard deviation of 1.23. This suggests not only near-universal satisfaction with this aspect of the city but also high consensus across the sample. The next highest rating was attributed to **"Quality of Life" (mean = 7.66)**, reinforcing the broader perception of Berlin as a livable and dynamic city.

In contrast, dimensions such as **"Job Opportunities"** (mean = 5.53) and **"Cost of Living"** (mean = 4.53) scored significantly lower. This discrepancy reveals a critical insight: while Berlin may not be perceived as a city of high economic opportunity or affordability by all expatriates, its **cultural richness, diversity, nightlife, and lifestyle openness** more than compensate for these deficits in the eyes of its international residents.

Of particular interest is the finding that **"Transportation and Infrastructure"** received a moderate satisfaction score (mean = 5.34), indicating functional adequacy but not exceptional appreciation. This further elevates the relative position of the city's cultural and lifestyle assets in shaping expatriates' positive evaluations.

Taken together, these results bolster the argument that **club culture and lifestyle fit are not merely symbolic attractions but tangible sources of satisfaction and advocacy**. The exceptionally high satisfaction rating for lifestyle dimensions — and their strong alignment with decision drivers discussed above — reinforce the idea that Berlin's global pull lies more in its **"feel" than in its financial allure** (Glaeser, Kolko, & Saiz, 2001).

Moreover, because this question directly references recommendations to others, it speaks to Berlin's **reputation formation through peer-to-peer influence**. In a world where cities compete globally for mobile talent, this finding underscores the significance

of “soft power” variables such as cultural vibrancy and inclusive atmospheres in attracting and retaining skilled expatriates.

These insights echo previous academic findings that suggest club culture and artistic ecosystems act as powerful levers for city branding, economic regeneration, and expatriate engagement. Here, we find that **those levers also translate into lived satisfaction**, creating a virtuous cycle of attraction, endorsement, and retention — especially important in cities where hard economic variables may not be as competitive as in global financial hubs.

In conclusion, this last question acts as a **validation mechanism** within the study, demonstrating that the **same lifestyle and cultural variables that draw expatriates to Berlin also sustain their satisfaction post-relocation** — and are likely to be shared forward in informal global networks, further amplifying Berlin’s appeal to the next generation of movers.

4.6 Summary of Key Findings

1. **Social, Cultural, and Lifestyle Environment ranks among the top two motivators** for expatriates choosing Berlin, alongside economic opportunity.
2. Within that, **club culture and lifestyle fit are the strongest elements**, especially among working expats.
3. **Statistical testing shows no significant difference** in the prioritization of nightlife between workers and non-workers — suggesting club culture appeals broadly across socioeconomic segments.
4. Based on expat economic output, the **estimated indirect contribution of Berlin’s club culture to be around €2.8 billion annually**, illustrating its **tangible value** as a soft power asset in global urban competition.

These insights set the stage for a broader discussion about the strategic and under-recognized role of lifestyle assets — and club culture in particular — in shaping global cities' economic fortunes (Storper & Scott, 2009).

5. Discussion and Implications

5.1. The Overlooked Economic Power of Club Culture as a Magnet for Expats

This study set out to examine an often-intangible question: *What is the real economic value of club culture in a global city like Berlin?* While previous research has quantified the **direct economic output** of the nightlife sector (ticket sales, bar revenue, jobs) to be around €168 million annually; even considering the roughly 1/3 of visitors who travel to Berlin for its club culture translate into €1.5 billion annually injected in the tourism economy, our results suggest that this **is only part of the picture.**

What this research uncovers is that **club culture acts as a strategic attractor** for globally mobile, economically productive individuals — **expatriates** — whose very presence drives a city's labor force, consumer economy, innovation ecosystem, and international positioning (Hunt & Gauthier-Loiselle, 2010).

In our survey, expatriates attributed **on average 22.7%** of their decision to move to Berlin to the **social, cultural, and lifestyle environment**. And in the heads of expatriates, **48.1%** of that had to do with the **club culture and overall lifestyle fit they associated with the city**. This allows us to estimate the *indirect contribution* of club culture to the city's expatriate-driven economy. And that contribution appears to be 1.85 times that of tourism.

5.2 Policy and Managerial Implications: Berlin and Beyond

This study has revealed that lifestyle and cultural factors — particularly club culture, artistic vibrancy, and openness to diversity — play a decisive role in shaping expatriates' decisions to relocate to cities like Berlin. These findings carry strategic implications not only for Berlin's policymakers and institutions, but for any city aspiring to attract and retain globally mobile talent in the knowledge economy.

For urban policymakers, the message is clear: nightlife and cultural scenes are not fringe sectors or afterthoughts in urban development — they are foundational to a city's appeal among high-skill expatriates and the broader "creative class." In Berlin, club culture was not only a powerful attractor across income levels and professional backgrounds, but also a driver of overall satisfaction and urban advocacy. Other cities — whether established global metropolises or emerging tech hubs — should take note. As regulatory pressures, gentrification, and rising costs threaten these ecosystems, it is imperative to strike a balance between public safety and cultural preservation. Tools such as nighttime economy commissions, protected cultural zones, and inclusive zoning can play a vital role in safeguarding a city's intangible assets.

For city branding professionals and economic development agencies, these findings signal the need to recalibrate messaging strategies. Too often, cities focus on infrastructure, cost-of-living indexes, or business incentives in their international promotion campaigns. Yet this study suggests that what sets cities apart in the eyes of highly mobile expats is their *lifestyle promise* — cultural authenticity, diversity, vibrancy, and a sense of belonging. Berlin is a successful case in point, but other cities — including Lisbon, Montreal, Amsterdam, and Barcelona — have tapped into similar cultural dynamics to position themselves as global magnets for talent. The key is not to mimic global trends, but to amplify what makes each city locally distinct and culturally rich.

For employers and HR professionals, particularly in international firms, NGOs, and startups, this research highlights the growing importance of place-based factors in recruitment and retention. Global talent — especially younger professionals — are

making decisions based not only on salaries and career prospects, but on whether a city aligns with their values, lifestyle, and identity. Offering relocation packages is no longer enough. Smart employers will differentiate themselves by supporting their employees' integration into the local cultural fabric — providing connections to communities, creative spaces, and cultural activities. Some may even benefit from partnerships with local cultural institutions or venues to create curated experiences for incoming staff.

More broadly, **for national governments and global policy organizations**, these insights call for a more integrated approach to talent attraction strategies. Cities do not operate in isolation — they are nodes in an increasingly global network of talent flows. Investing in soft power assets like cultural openness, artistic innovation, and subcultural inclusion is not only good urban policy — it is good economic policy. Cities that fail to nurture these attributes risk becoming sterile, expensive, and unattractive to the very people who drive innovation and growth.

In conclusion, Berlin's case illustrates a broader truth: **urban culture is not just an outcome of economic vitality — it is a condition for it**. The more cities recognize this — and act accordingly — the more resilient, competitive, and globally connected they will become.

5.3. Contributions to Theory and Literature

This study makes several meaningful contributions to the academic literature at the intersection of urban studies, economic geography, cultural sociology, and migration research. While rooted in the case of Berlin, its theoretical implications extend to broader debates about how culture, lifestyle, and symbolic capital intersect with economic behavior in global cities.

First, this research provides a bridge between cultural studies and economic geography. Seminal works in club culture have emphasized the symbolic, affective, and subcultural dimensions of nightlife and urban creative expression. These studies have rightly positioned club culture as a site of identity formation, resistance, and community. However, they have rarely attempted to quantify its broader economic influence, particularly in terms of how it shapes the decision-making of skilled migrants. This study addresses that gap by connecting the qualitative richness of cultural theory to measurable economic behaviors, offering evidence that nightlife and related lifestyle factors directly influence expatriate location decisions, and by extension, urban economic outcomes.

Second, our findings provide an empirical operationalization of key concepts from the "creative class" literature. One influential framework emphasized the role of urban tolerance, openness, and cultural dynamism in attracting knowledge-based professionals. While this theory has been foundational, critiques have pointed to a lack of precision in measuring which aspects of "creative city" life actually motivate migration and settlement. By isolating and quantifying components such as club culture, diversity, and

artistic offerings in the relocation decisions of expatriates, this study lends empirical weight to lifestyle-based theories of urban attraction — and gives a sharper resolution to what "vibrant" or "cool" cities actually offer their residents.

Third, the research contributes to the evolving literature on expatriation and urban migration by reframing how we understand expatriates' economic roles. Much of the scholarship in this domain focuses on either the economic contributions of expats (e.g., productivity, entrepreneurship, or innovation outcomes), or on their challenges in integration and adaptation (e.g., cultural shock, housing, or workplace issues). Less explored, however, are the *initial motivations* behind their location choices and how these reflect broader shifts in urban economic composition. By foregrounding the role of lifestyle fit — particularly around nightlife, social networks, and diversity — this study emphasizes that expats do not merely *enter* a city and adapt; they select cities that align with their values and aspirations. In doing so, they act as agents of selective urban economic gravity, concentrating demand and capital in cities that offer cultural congruence.

In sum, this research provides a multidimensional contribution: it quantifies previously undermeasured lifestyle drivers of urban migration, sharpens the mechanisms underlying creative class theory, and reframes expatriates as both cultural consumers and economic amplifiers whose preferences shape city trajectories. Future research can build on these insights by further disaggregating lifestyle motivations across expat subgroups (e.g., by age, nationality, or profession) and exploring how cities can strategically align urban development with the cultural priorities of mobile global citizens.

5.4. Limitations and Future Research

While this study offers novel insights into the relationship between lifestyle motivations—particularly club culture—and expatriate decision-making, several limitations must be acknowledged.

First, the sampling strategy relied on non-probabilistic, snowball recruitment techniques. While the final sample is reasonably robust and diverse, it cannot be considered representative of all expatriates living in Berlin or similar global cities. Participants were self-selected and likely skew toward more digitally connected and culturally engaged individuals, which may have introduced selection bias. As a result, generalizations beyond this specific sample should be made cautiously.

Second, the study captures *self-reported motivations and perceptions* rather than longitudinal behavioral patterns or economic transactions. Although participants were asked to distribute weights across different decision-making dimensions and assess satisfaction levels, these measures rely on introspection and recall, and may be subject to various forms of bias (e.g., rationalization or post-hoc justification). Moreover,

motivations at the time of migration may have evolved since the move, but the study design does not allow us to capture that temporal dimension.

Third, the operationalization of "club culture" and lifestyle fit, while grounded in existing literature, remains broad. Future studies could disaggregate these concepts more finely to distinguish between nightlife-related attractions (e.g., underground clubs, LGBTQ+ venues, festivals) and other forms of cultural engagement (e.g., galleries, theater, gastronomy). This would allow for more granular insights into which subcomponents of lifestyle actually drive urban migration.

Building on these limitations, several avenues for future research are recommended:

- **Cross-city comparative studies** could replicate this methodology in other global cultural hubs (e.g., Lisbon, Amsterdam, Montreal, Seoul) to assess the transferability and specificity of findings. Do expatriates in other "creative cities" weigh lifestyle similarly to those in Berlin?
- **Longitudinal designs** could track expatriates' motivations and satisfaction over time, thereby examining how initial expectations align with lived experience, and how this alignment (or misalignment) influences duration of stay, economic activity, and community engagement.
- **Mixed-method research** could integrate quantitative data (e.g., tax records, residency permits, club attendance, consumption data) with qualitative interviews to triangulate findings and deepen our understanding of cultural motivations in economic behavior.
- **Subcultural identity and affective belonging** merit closer investigation. For many expatriates, particularly those identifying with LGBTQ+, artistic, or alternative communities, the cultural and emotional resonance of a city may play an outsized role in location choice. Future research could explore how such identity-based attachments intersect with economic decisions and urban policy outcomes.

By addressing these limitations and extending the inquiry, future research can further clarify the strategic role that culture—and nightlife in particular—plays in shaping the economic futures of global cities.

References

Alesina, A., Harnoss, J., & Rapoport, H. (2016). Birthplace diversity and economic prosperity. *Journal of Economic Growth, 21*(2), 101–138. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10887-016-9127-6

Agrawal, A., Kapur, D., McHale, J., & Oettl, A. (2011). Brain drain or brain bank? The impact of skilled emigration on poor-country innovation. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 69(1), 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2010.06.003

Andresen, M. & Biemann, T. & Pattie, M. (2012). What makes them move abroad? Reviewing and exploring differences between self-initiated and assigned expatriates.

International Journal of Human Resource Management, 26(7), 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2012.669780

BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) (2024a). Migrationsbericht 2023. Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat. https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Forschung/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2023.pdf

BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) (2024b). Asylgeschäftsstatistik 2023. https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Statistik/Asylgeschaeftsstatistik/2023/asylgeschaeftsstatistik-2023.pdf

Bathelt, H., Malmberg, A., & Maskell, P. (2004). Clusters and knowledge: Local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(1), 31–56. https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph469oa

Benson, M., & O'Reilly, K. (2009). Migration and the search for a better way of life: A critical exploration of lifestyle migration. *The Sociological Review*, 57(4), 608–625. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2009.01864.x

Bettencourt, L. M. A., Lobo, J., Helbing, D., Kühnert, C., & West, G. B. (2007). Growth, innovation, scaling, and the pace of life in cities. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 104(17), 7301–7306. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0610172104

Bhaskar-Shrinivas, P., Harrison, D. A., Shaffer, M. A., & Luk, D. M. (2005). Input-based and time-based models of international adjustment: Meta-analytic evidence and theoretical extensions. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(2), 257–281. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2005.16928400

Chatterton, P., & Hollands, R. (2002). Theorising urban playscapes: Producing, regulating and consuming youthful nightlife city spaces. *Urban Studies*, 39(1), 95–116. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980220099096

Chen, Y., & Rosenthal, S. S. (2008). Local amenities and life-cycle migration: Do people move for jobs or fun*? Journal of Urban Economics*, 64(3), 519–537. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2008.05.005

Combes, P.-P., Duranton, G., & Gobillon, L. (2012). The productivity advantages of large cities: Distinguishing agglomeration from firm selection. *Econometrica*, 80(6), 2543–2594. https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA8442

Damm, S., & Drevenstedt, L. (2019). *Club culture Berlin*. Clubcommission Berlin. [Retrieved from https://www.clubcommission.de/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2019/10/club-culture-study.pdf]

Destatis - Statistisches Bundesamt. (2022). Integrationsindikatoren 2005–2021 (Mikrozensus) [Data set]. Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). (summarized in: Landesbetrieb Information und Technik Nordrhein-Westfalen. Erwerbstätigenquote der Personen mit Migrationshintergrund, indicator 8.5.c). Retrieved from https://www.nachhaltigkeitsindikatoren.nrw.de/c/erwerbstaetigenquote-der-personen-mit-migrationshintergrund

Destatis - Statistisches Bundesamt (2025). Foreign population by Länder – Berlin. [April]. https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/Tables/foreign-population-laender.html

Doherty, N., Richardson, J., & Thorn, K. (2013). Self-initiated expatriation and self-initiated expatriates: Clarification of the research stream. *Career Development International*, 18(1), 97–112. https://doi.org/10.1108/13620431311305971

Florida, R. (2002). The economic geography of talent. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 92(4), 743–755. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8306.00314

Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. *City & Community*, 2(1), 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6040.00034

Glaeser, E. L., Kolko, J., & Saiz, A. (2001). Consumer city. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 1(1), 27–50. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/1.1.27

Goodman, L. A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 32(1), 148–170. https://doi.org/10.1214/aoms/1177705148

Green, P. E., & Rao, V. R. (1971). Conjoint measurement—For quantifying judgmental data. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 8(3), 355–363. https://doi.org/10.2307/3149575

Green, P. E., & Srinivasan, V. (1978). Conjoint analysis in consumer research: Issues and outlook. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 5(2), 103–123. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2489001

Heckathorn, D. D. (1997). Respondent-driven sampling: A new approach to the study of hidden populations. *Social Problems*, 44(2), 174–199. https://doi.org/10.2307/3096941

Hunt, J., & Gauthier-Loiselle, M. (2010). How much does immigration boost innovation? *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 2(2), 31–56. https://doi.org/10.1257/mac.2.2.31

Inkson, K., Arthur, M. B., Pringle, J., & Barry, S. (1997). Expatriate assignment versus overseas experience: Contrasting models of international human resource development. *Journal of World Business*, 32(4), 351–368. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1090-9516(97)90017-1

InterNations. (2021). *Expat Insider 2021: The Future of Working Abroad.* InterNations. https://cms.in-cdn.net/sites/default/files/2021-09/Expat-Insider-2021_The-Future-Of-Working-Abroad_0.pdf

Keiningham, T. L., Cooil, B., Andreassen, T. W., & Aksoy, L. (2007). A longitudinal examination of Net Promoter and firm revenue growth. *Journal of Marketing*, 71(3), 39–51. https://doi.org/10.1509/jmkg.71.3.039

Kerr, W. R., & Lincoln, W. F. (2010). The supply side of innovation: H-1B visa reforms and U.S. ethnic invention. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 28(3), 473–508. https://doi.org/10.1086/651934

Lloyd, R. (2002). Neo-Bohemia: Art and neighborhood redevelopment in Chicago. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24(5), 517–532. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9906.00141

MTL 24/24 (2022), Montréal Ville 24 heures: Rapport économique sur la nuit socioculturelle de la métropole, Ville de Montréal.

Nathan, M., & Lee, N. (2013). Cultural diversity, innovation, and entrepreneurship: Firm-level evidence from London. *Economic Geography*, 89(4), 367–394. https://doi.org/10.1111/ecge.12016

Night Time Industries Association. (2021). Late-Night Economy Report: UK. Night Time Industries Association. https://ntia.co.uk/late-night-economy-report-puts-nightclubs-on-government-agenda/

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740–770. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00620.x

Peri, G. (2012). The effect of immigration on productivity: Evidence from U.S. states. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 94(1), 348–358. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41349180

Pratt, A. C. (2008). Creative cities: The cultural industries and the creative class. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(2), 107–117. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0467.2008.00281.x

Shapiro, J. M. (2006). Smart cities: Quality of life, productivity, and the growth effects of human capital. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 88(2), 324–335. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40042998

Storper, M., & Scott, A. J. (2009). Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 9(2), 147–167. https://doi.org/10.1093/jeg/lbn052

Zukin, S., & Maguire, J. S. (2004). Consumers and consumption. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 173–197. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110553