ADAMA MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY IN POZNAŃ
FACULTY OF SOCIOLOGY

Fiorenzo Fantuz

Globalization processes in Polish cities. Evidence from the narratives of foreigners in Kraków and Poznań.

Doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of
Prof. UAM dr. hab. Marek Nowak and Prof. UJ dr. hab. Paweł Kubicki

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Fiorenzo Fantuz

Procesy globalizacji w polskich miastach. Dowody z narracji cudzoziemców w Krakowie i Poznaniu.

Rozprawa doktorska napisana pod kierunkiem
Prof. UAM dr. hab. Marek Nowak and Prof. UJ dr. hab. Paweł Kubicki

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Introduction

Poland has undergone changes and transformations on an unprecedented scale in recent decades. The most acute transformations are evident in large cities, characterized by extensive internationalization. These developments are driven by globalization processes that increasingly impacted Polish urban areas, particularly after Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 (Churski and Kaczmarek 2022). When the social scientist approaches these phenomena, they come to their mind as a formidable chance to witness, research and understand social processes that might present themselves in configurations unobserved before. This was the very first impression I experienced when I started living change shifts in Poznań, in the autumn of 2019, working as an employee of an American transnational corporation. From the beginning, my knowledge of the new country of residence was being assembled mainly in that workplace, thanks to the specific social environment that was being shaped within the office and on social occasions outside of it, in the city. Poles and foreigners, from all over the world, interacted on a daily basis, in person and online, dealing with customers from all over the world too. Corporate life in a transnational office is certainly not new to social research. However, the office of a transactional corporation in a Polish city proved to be an invaluable place for observing new social dynamics, some of them, most likely, in their nascent state. A distinct cosmopolitan character, fueled by the sense of sharing similar experiences with individuals worldwide, provided an initial heuristic push to delve into the practical feasibility of carrying out research on these new dynamics. The hypothesis was that these dynamics could be observed beyond the walls of the corporate office, as they already were pervading the city, and were possibly present in other cities across the country as well. In spring 2020, restrictions were put in place to deal with the health emergency caused by the global Covid-19 pandemic, forcing employees to work remotely. At first glance, the new condition seemed to presuppose a reduction in interactions between colleagues and in the office, and therefore a reduction in the multi- and trans-national character of life in the workplace. Contrary to expectations, this did not happen, instead the virtual workspace materialized came within the confines of our homes. And with it the daily practices of transnational exchanges. Thus, a new type of awareness emerged: that the transformations observed were not temporary in nature, but presented themselves as new characteristics of social life, in the world and in Poland. From that moment on, a

research idea was spontaneously structured which then merged into my doctoral research project at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań UAM, of which this dissertation is one of the main outcomes.

The study presented in these pages is the result of long developed in-depth reflections and fieldwork attempts, carried out under the constant guidance of my two supervisors, Prof. UAM dr hab. Marek Nowak and Prof. UJ dr hab. Paweł Kubicki. Thanks to their supervision it was possible to investigate alternative research paths and outline theoretical possibilities. I could explore a wide range of topics with their assistance, which allowed me to experience a significant degree of freedom in my research endeavors. Moreover, collaborating with them broadened my outlook, helping me grasp the intricacies of the Polish academic sphere and empowering me to make autonomous choices. In deviation from the implications of the introductory statements above, the research project did not take the form of autoethnography, as it could have, precisely because the transnational work experience ended up at the moment of recruitment at the Doctoral School of Sciences Social UAM.

Throughout my doctoral studies, I have consistently conducted desk research, primarily centered on examining historical sources as well as sociocultural and economic studies. Furthermore, I have stayed informed on daily news from various outlets. Regular observation of the political, economic and social landscapes in Poland and worldwide has heightened my awareness that during these extraordinary times, the voices of ordinary people, our contemporaries seeking dignified lives and meaningful work, most of the time struggle to find avenues for expression. It is this very notion that prompted me to focus predominantly on the research participants - the individuals who are directly experiencing, embodying, and driving the changes we observe firsthand. By prioritizing their perspectives and experiences, I aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the lived realities and dynamics shaping our evolving world. It became evident that, despite the disruption of regular social interactions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, one of the most effective research strategies would involve meeting research participants in person and exploring their narratives through interviews. As such, the study undertakes an analysis of global and local changes, which inherently exhibit multiscalar dimensions, through an exploration of the narratives of individuals residing in large urban areas of Poland, who directly experience and participate in these transformations.

While preparing the research design, I realized that my approach walks a path similar to that of William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, particularly their work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, published between 1918 and 1920. This is not surprising, as their study represents a foundational moment in sociology, particularly in research on migration, social change and the adoption of qualitative research methods. Exactly for this reason, it is considered an essential part of every sociologist's education. The conceptual and methodological similarities are evident since the approach of these two scholars is rooted in individual narratives and autobiographical materials. In fact, Thomas and Znaniecki prioritized the voices of individuals as the primary source of insight into broader societal changes. Unfortunately, the limitations imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic made it impossible to fully develop a deeply biographical dimension in my research. I also found a similar approach in a work by Znaniecki, of which I was previously unaware[1]: *Czym jest dla ciebie miasto Poznań? (What is the city of Poznań to you?)* (1984), and, in particular, the essay *Miasto w świadomości jego obywateli. Z badań Polskiego Instytutu Socjologicznego nad miastem Poznaniem (The city in the consciousness of its Citizens: research by the Polish Sociological Institute on the city of Poznań)* (1931). This work is a precursor to much of the qualitative research conducted over the past century, aiming to understand how individuals perceive and experience urban life as it unfolds within the city - conceived as socially constructed spaces shaped by its inhabitants' interpretations and interactions.

Within contemporary literature, numerous sociological, anthropological, and political-economic studies predominantly focus on the sociocultural 'integration' of immigrants - a paradigm widely accepted *a priori,* but rarely subjected to critical scrutiny and exhibiting various formulations across nations. However, there remains a notable gap in research concerning the agency of individuals categorized as non-nationals within urban settings amidst globalization processes. The specificity of the present study is that it contributes in addressing this research gap by providing an originative analysis on the active participation of non-nationals (specifically individuals residing in large urban areas) in the development of globalization processes in the two Polish cities examined: Poznań and Kraków. Moreover, these two cities can be acknowledged as evident instances of *globalizing cities*. The expression globalizing refers to the process of

[1] This work appears to have been published only in Polish.

extending their economic, cultural, and social networks to a global level. This kind of cities are becoming more integrated into global economy, as they undergo swift transformations across various aspects of urban activities. And it's through delineating the link between the potential roles available to non-national residents within the multiscalar context of the globalizing Polish cities that the study displays its originative character.

The sequence of chapters that constitutes the study is designed to harmonize analytically different theoretical approaches, primarily from urban sociology and migration studies. These are two very extensive disciplinary fields that encompass a large number of diverse scientific "options" within them. Socioeconomic and social psychology research has also contributed to define the overall open theoretical approach of the research. In a broader methodological sense, efforts were made to maintain a balance of the adopted disciplinary approaches, aiming to conduct the analytical effort in structuring the research results within the framework of sociological knowledge production. In this sense, scientific contributions of a political, economic, anthropological, and psychological nature shape the basis for subsequent sociological analysis. While the study's methodology adopts a conventional empirical approach, in terms of theoretical argumentation, its aim is to engage in the critical debate that has emerged in migration studies in the past decades.

In the first two chapters I outline the theoretical aspects that broadly define the theoretical framework underlying the study. Chapter 1 exhibits a multifaceted structure, comprising four sections. In the first section, after pointing out the indeterminacy that underpins the theoretical weakness of migration studies, I draw upon the actualization of the assemblage theory advanced by realist philosopher Manuel DeLanda (2016, 2021), with the aim of providing an initial framing the major themes of the study, such as the scientific field of migration studies and the presence of non-nationals in modern urban contexts, in terms of social ontology. I do not perform a new ‘assemblage analysis’ because DeLanda has already extensively conducted this precisely in the part of his work that I referenced. I incorporate his analytical effort, while making use of assemblage theory in a descriptive manner, in a fashion similar to that of Saskia Sassen. (2006). In the second section, I delve into the terminology associated with the socio-political representations of migrants. The third section offers an overview of recent research contributions characterized by a distinct critical stance towards the predominant framing

of migratory phenomena solely within the confines of the national state. In the final segment of the chapter, I discuss briefly the theoretical and practical rationales compelling the adoption of a neo-positivistic approach.

In Chapter 2, I provide a summary of lines of research that have emerged as crucial advancements in understanding the intertwined phenomena of globalization, migration and urbanization, particularly in urban globalized/globalizing settings. These serve as consistent points of reference for subsequent collection and analysis of data. I explore the transformations observed in Polish cities, notably Kraków and Poznań, during recent decades. The examination adopts a perspective that merges insights from urban studies and economics. In this approach, I adopt a working definition of a globalizing city. Instead of constraining the scope of investigation with a rigid framework, I focus on recognizing the ongoing transformative processes that prompt the adoption of a procedural definition. Furthermore, within the spectrum of active or potential actors of these transformations (individuals, organizations, institutions), I prioritize non-nationals urban dwellers as the central focus of investigation. I argue that their increasing presence (stabilizing in the medium and long term), serves as a clear indicator of the globalization processes underway in Polish cities. And, as highlighted in the segment of the study dedicated to data analysis, they play an active role in shaping the sociocultural transformation of cities. In the chapter I specify the situated and multiscalar perspective of the study. While the primary focus of the study lies in examining individual non-national actors within the first three scales, it does include necessary consideration of the others. Further investigations will be required to comprehensively address the agency of individual actors at the state and global levels. In the concluding part of the chapter, I present a range of research themes that have contributed global migration studies with particular emphasis on migration-driven diversification and social identity.

In Chapter 3, I present the research question and provide a comprehensive outline of the relevant methodological choices pertaining to fieldwork, data collection methods, data construction and analysis. Data collection took place between February 2022 and March 2023. The persistence of disruptions due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the spreading consequences of the outbreak of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, demanded a stronger than usual effort in conducting face-to-face interviews with a total of 47 individuals - 23 in Poznań and 24 in Kraków - including 31 non-nationals and 16 Poles. In fact, to address the constraints imposed by individual movement limitations, 12

out of the 47 interviews were conducted online. In the initial months of interviewing, it became clear that it would be beneficial to incorporate interviews with non-national participants alongside those of individual key figures among Polish residents, who were deemed significant for their interactions with foreigners. This strategy aimed to give context and complement the narratives provided by foreigners. In the chapter, I elaborate on the analytical methodology employed. Drawing inspiration from Zerubavel's concept-driven sociology, I identify five 'sensitizing' concepts: anchoring, embedding, identification, cosmopolitization and citizenization. These concepts are strategically employed to structure analytical categories, which are subsequently applied to the empirical data.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the analysis of data and stands out as the distinctly originative component of the study. It includes the analytical-argumentative process conducted on the transcripts of the interviews, consistently focusing on the analytical categories established according to the process illustrated in the previous chapter. Theoretical underpinnings are leveraged heuristically to highlight patterns observed in the data and derive 'mid-range' theoretical constructs aligning with the research objectives. A typology of individual anchors (derived from the conceptualization of anchoring) and an analytical grid of globalizing attributes (derived from the literature on global and globalizing cities) serve as the analytical tools utilized for construction of themes operated along the chapter.

Chapter 5 provides the conclusions of the study by structuring the analysis findings in an analytical model that addresses the research question. The validity of the theoretical framework is assessed, as are the shortcomings and potential directions of future research.

Chapter 1 Reassessing migration

Evidence of migration is everywhere and seemingly we talk about migration every day. It is not a topic relegated to the specialized bureaucratic and scientific spheres. And we don't just talk about it at home, among friends or in small professional circles. We see new people coming to town from distant places around the world, we read about it online, in newspapers and magazines. We watch programs about migration on television and videos on the web. Social media content is often a display of migration related issues. For the political elites it is an unparalleled engine of mobilization.

It is virtually impossible to go back in time to pinpoint the exact starting event of these constant attentional focus and incessant public conversation. For example, BBC's current affairs documentary program *Panorama,* on March 25[2], 2024, aired and episode on the unprecedented increase of immigration to the United Kingdom. In the year ending December 2022, net migration was 745,000 (Office for National Statistics 2023), a huge number that exposed the ambivalent policies implemented by Tory governments, in power for 14 years, that promoted the inflow particularly of foreign student from all over the world. This program has been covering this topic for over six decades. The furthest back in time it addressed the issue was during an episode about restrictions on Irish immigration, which aired on November 20, 1961[3]. this exemplifies the enduring nature of migration as an ongoing concern in the contemporary world. Nevertheless, some scholars have endeavored to establish a precise moment signifying the onset of migratory movements within a specific nation-state. The renowned Italian sociologist Maurizio Barbagli (2008), for instance, draws attention to an incident on October 14, 1973, involving the deaths of three "illegal" immigrants who entered Italy via the Carso hills over Trieste with the intention of eventually reaching France.

The study of migration processes centered on Poland has, for decades, predominantly focused on emigration from the country. However, during the first decade of the Transition, it was already possible to observe "new migration processes apparent on its territory" (Iglicka 2001). As highlighted by Iglicka, these processes were

[2] *BBC One - Panorama, Immigration: The UK's record rise.* (2024, March 25). BBC. Retrieved April 9, 2024 from https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m001xpqk
[3] BBC Archive. (2023, December 18). *1961: Should Irish immigration to Britain be restricted? | Panorama | World of Work | BBC Archive* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KR-xyYf53yQ

“accompanying Poland’s slow shift in status from a country of emigration into a country of net immigration” and were placed, in the scholar's analysis, within the broader context of economic globalization. As late as 2018, the slowness of these processes and their low quantitative relevance allowed scholars to consider Poland interesting “as a case study of a place that has been considered a future ‘immigration country’” (White 2018).

In the absence of evidence pertaining to particular occurrences that may identify recognizable starting points of processes, other scholars have chosen to outline, albeit frequently through estimations, key aspects necessary for understanding the migratory phenomena affecting specific national communities. This is the approach adopted, for instance, by Marek Okólski in the article "*The Migration Transition in Poland*" (2021). This article, demographic in nature, is relevant for the social implications that it allows to infer. In it, the Polish economist confirms that, starting from the 2010s, characteristic phenomena of the so called second phase of migration transition are found in Poland. This is the phase in which a net positive migration occurs. Simply put, if official demographic statistics are relied upon, starting from 2016, in Poland immigration into the country exceeds emigration from the country. Okólski’s work obviously does not establish a start date for the overall migratory phenomena affecting Poland, but nevertheless provides contextual elements of the phenomena investigated by this study. In fact, Okólski expands his analysis beyond quantitative demographic data to suggest potential developments that might shape the migratory transition in Poland in the years to come. He does this by drawing upon Dassetto's (1990) theorization[4] describing three *sub-phases* within the second phase of the migration transition. Phase one is characterized by the inflow of marginalized workers from less-developed countries, while phase two sees the arrival of their family members, leading to settlement, acculturation and the “appearance in the neighbourhood” (Dassetto 1990). Phase three is marked by the long-term inclusion and integration of established immigrants. Okólski argues that the migratory processes that interest Poland will possibly develop dynamically and in line with Dassetto's (1990) *sub-phases,* as an “enormous increase in the influx of foreigners for temporary employment will transform into massive family migrations and the consequence will be intense adaptation processes”. Moreover, he predicts that Poland, as a Central European country,

[4] Okólski's attention to Dassetto's theorization is intriguing, particularly because another theory developed by Dasetto, in collaboration with Bastenier, termed *citizenization*, is a significant analytical aspect of the current study (see Chapters 3 and 4).

is among those furthest behind in the migration transition, consequently attracting immigrants from different countries compared to those in other parts of Europe. He then concludes that immigrants might exhibit “different patterns of adaptation, which will be embedded more in transnational spaces”.

Social science studies, such as the one briefly summarized above, often employ a linear argumentative logic, frequently drawing on analogy. Consequently, the argumentative significance of the scientific text is constructed incrementally through the accumulation of sub-topics. This type of text presupposes a hermeneutic interpretation, thanks to which a "text can only be understood as the sum of its parts” (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2023). While I acknowledge and adopt this approach, I am aware that it poses a challenge: key themes, conceptualizations and definitions are often only implied, rather than explicitly expressed, particularly in shorter texts, resulting in a lack of clarity. A scholar may operate under the assumption that the concepts employed in their work are generally understood within the scientific community, constituting shared knowledge. However, it is customary to leave this unverified, potentially resulting in misinterpretation or even misapprehension. Without delving into a comprehensive conceptual critique, I maintain that fundamental theoretical terms are used, in both theoretical and empirical works, with a high degree of indeterminacy. In saying this, I do not criticize the use of common language, which in fact is normally adopted in texts of an argumentative nature, not demonstrative (Cattani 1990). This state of affairs is, in my opinion, relevant (and I would even maintain that it is prevalent) in migration studies. Even today, we can agree with what Iglicka argued more than twenty years ago:

> Writing about international migration as it affects the territory of a given country is an extremely challenging and difficult task. It involves writing not only about the population flows from and into that country, but also about the country’s history, geography, economy, internal and external policies, issues surrounding immigrants’ integration or alienation, etc. Additionally, the theoretical background on migration is rather weak. […] Existing theories are biased to say the least. Since they haves sprung from the different disciplines of geography, sociology, economics and demographics, the stress has been put on different causes and factors in explaining this phenomenon. (Iglicka 2001)

Iglicka points to the fragmented nature of approaches we commonly encounter in articles and books on the subject. The challenges highlighted by the Polish scholar, particularly the theoretical limitations within migration studies, point to the need for a reassessment

of the field's theoretical orientations and research methodologies. Although this task exceeds the scope of the present work, the study seeks to provide a preliminary outline to contribute systematically to advancing knowledge on the subject.

Prior to engaging in the sociological analysis, and for the reasons stated above, in this study I address potential uncertainties regarding the production of knowledge about migration. I do this by first referring to Manuel DeLanda's current iteration of assemblage theory, a philosophical framework rich in epistemological implications for examining social processes. However, before delving into their exposition, I would like to specify that in relying on DeLanda's conceptualizations, I do not intend to turn questions that I consider to be of a distinctly sociological quality into philosophical ones. Rather, following the example of Saskia Sassen I use the concept assemblage in a descriptive sense. And expectedly, Sassen's 'global assemblages' (2006), constitute a theoretical reference for this work, as elaborated later in the text.

In his book *Assemblage Theory* (2016), DeLanda offers a "a materialist social ontology in which communities and organizations, cities and countries, are shown to be amenable to a treatment in terms of assemblages". In philosophy, social ontology deals with investigating the nature and formation of social realities, through the examination of concepts and categories such as relationships and roles, society, institutions and norms. These concepts are the basis of the understanding of social phenomena and allow us to frame social entities, understanding their ontological status and the principles that permit their existence and functioning. Therefore, social ontology provides a framework that through the comprehension of social life, also allows its analysis in a heuristic sense. Hence, what does the term assemblage mean? To start explaining, I quote the same passage from the *Anti-Oedipus* cited by DeLanda:

> What is an assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy'. It is never filiations which are important, but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind. (Deleuze and Guattari 1983)

An assemblage consists of components that are not uniform "either in nature or in origin" (DeLanda 2016), and they are linked together by the established relationships. They are "wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts" (DeLanda 2019).

This is clearly intelligible in the case of social phenomena, which do not constitute singular units, but are composed by several components that dynamically come together in configurations susceptible to change. To ontologically define a "social whole", DeLanda deems two concepts necessary. The first one is the concept of "*emergent properties*, the properties of a whole caused by the interactions between its parts." The second is the concept of "*relations of exteriority*[5] between parts", which indicates that the individual elements retain their autonomy, in such that the parts of said "emergent wholes" can "be detached from one whole and plugged into another one, entering into new interactions". These assumptions allow for the conceptualization of networks, organizations, and institutions as

> Social wholes […] that cannot be reduced to the persons that compose them, but that do not totalise them either, fusing them into a seamless whole in which their individuality is lost. (DeLanda 2016)

In these terms social wholes can be defined as assemblages. It is critical to understand the material and historical aspects of the contexts in which these social wholes emerge and operate. Analyzing specific combinations and dynamics of assemblages can be conducive of detailed understandings of social phenomena and factors of social change. The assemblage approach is productive in analytical terms because it directs attention to dynamic and contextual aspects. Furthermore, in recent work DeLanda (2019), characterizes the approach as nonreductionist, distinguishing it from those scientific approaches that engage on different levels of analysis (*micro-, meso-, macro-)* labelled as reductionist, as they focus on individual features or constituent parts at different scales. He does not intend that one type of approach supersedes another. Instead, he argues that, as the work of social scientist has revealed, such as Goffman (on social encounters), Weber (on institutional organization) and Tilly (on social justice movements), there is a "large number of intermediate levels between the micro and the macro". This analytical

[5] DeLanda warns that "The terms 'exteriority' and 'interiority' are misleading, since they suggest a spatial relation. We may accept the traditional terminology as long as we keep in mind that we are not invoking anything spatial: the relations among parts of the brain, for example, are relations of exteriority despite the fact that these parts are in the interior of the body." (2016)

stance has been integrated in the study, together with those of other scholars[6], forming an overall approach defined as 'multiscalar', as will be detailed in the next chapter.

Understandably, a synthetic overview of assemblage theory cannot encompass every aspect of it. In the context of this study, I argue that it is adequate to add a description of the distinction between material and expressive components of assemblages. This distinction is used to "properly apply the concept of assemblage to real cases", featuring persons and artifacts. Quite intuitively, material elements are physical objects and resources that exhibit a role in the arrangement of relationships that constitute the assemblage. For example, the characteristic architecture displayed by a city neighborhood illustrates material elements. On the other hand, expressive elements are non-material, symbolic and cultural. They are ideas and values, meanings and norms that are connected with the material components. Interestingly, DeLanda offers the example of the skyline of a city, "constituting a kind of visual signature of its territorial identity".

The two examples mentioned above underscore the Mexican-American philosopher's substantial focus on cities. And thanks to his formulation of a materialist social ontology, a synthetic (descriptive) conceptualization of cities capturing their specificities is conceivable.

> Cities are assemblages of people, networks, organizations, as well as of a variety of infrastructural components, from buildings and streets to conduits for matter and energy flows (DeLanda 2019)

Consequently, a definition of nation states is attainable too:

> Nation-states are assemblages of cities, the geographical regions organized by cities, and the provinces that several such regions form. (DeLanda 2019)

From a sociological standpoint, the potential operationalization that can be derived from these definitions is quite intuitive. For each of the two *definienda* (cities; nation-states) every *definiens* (for cities: people; networks; organizations; infrastructural components / for nation-states: cities; regions organized by cities; provinces) can be utilized as an indicator, that can be operationalized further in terms valid for the purpose of empirical research. I include these two operational definitions into the study, precisely for this reason, and also because I deem them beneficial in a heuristic sense.

[6] See Çaglar, A. and Glick Schiller (2018, 2023); Brenner (2019)

It is noteworthy to recall that assemblage theory is not an effort of a purely conceptual nature. Deleuze and Guattari, and DeLanda, adopt an interdisciplinary approach where insights are drawn from different research fields, such as natural sciences, art, architecture, sociology, anthropology and historiography. In fact, one of the most significant among DeLanda's borrowings is the narrative of the history of Western economies delineated by Fernand Braudel (also in the sense of historical critique of the formation of capitalism). He closely likens his analytical effort with that of Braudel:

> Although he does not use the concept of 'assemblage', he views social wholes as 'sets of sets', giving each differently scaled entity its own relative autonomy without fusing it with the others into a seamless whole. (DeLanda 2019)

Furthermore, the examination of historical processes, developed according to the criteria of "assemblage analysis" (defined as the assessment of ideal-typical correspondence), can be compared to Sassen's analytics in which history is considered "as a series of natural experiments" (Sassen 2006), unbinding the researcher from exclusively historiographical conventions.

I argue that framing migratory phenomena - and the migration studies field - by means of assemblage theory is a viable way of addressing the difficulties indicated by Iglicka (see above), This theoretical framework facilitates the integration of diverse disciplinary perspectives and contributions, offering a comprehensive analytical lens. Its interdisciplinary character turns out to be highly significant, since it consents the research effort to overcome, so to speak, boundaries dictated by close membership in epistemic communities, and leads to determinations that prove to be heuristically productive (as noted above with regard to potential operationalization). For instance, it permits to study 'global assemblages', again following Sassen's example, using a composite analytical approach that incorporates elements from sociology, economics, demography and law.

What do we think of when we think about migration

The social ontology devised according to assemblage theory, enables the demarcation of scientific practice domains:

> A scientific field can be modelled as the assemblage formed by a domain of objective phenomena, a community of practitioners, and the laboratory instruments and machines that allow the latter to interact with the former. (DeLanda 2016)

This modeling, derived from physics, can be analogically applied to other scientific fields. I argue it is pertinent to apply the model to the field of scholarly research that goes under the label of migration studies, particularly because this field is dealing with objective phenomena regarding human mobilities. The community of practitioners is intuitively identifiable as the whole of scholars, but also activists, public service employees, journalists and indeed migrants, who at a local and global level conduct research on migrations, contribute to policy-making, are active in the political spheres and share (or do not share, on the basis of critical debate) methods and techniques of knowledge production. The latter effectively constitute the "instruments and machines" shared by migration scholars. The field is notoriously multidisciplinary, and a prominent position is often held by social science scholars such as economists, demographers, sociologists, and anthropologists. Despite a relative ease in identifying the phenomena studied (movements of people, flows of migrants to and from a state, or a region, in the case of internal migrations), identifying the domain unambiguously may prove to be less intuitive than expected. To provide a clearer illustration, it may be beneficial to reconsider Okólski's article (2021), mentioned above. The article conceals an implicit content, which is the meaning of the generic term migration (though easily inferable and often taken granted). This tacit meaning is that migration essentially consists of demographic changes that affect a state. In the process of outlining the concept of migration transition, the author states that the expression has been assigned to "contents of varying scope (and sometimes even meaning), which is not conducive to unambiguous use". Nonetheless, he then clearly affirms that

> In the migration transition, the recovery of migration flows in the first phase involves increased emigration and, in the second, increased immigration, which leads to a change in the migration balance from negative to positive. (Okólski 2021)

Undeniably, it is confirmed that Poland is in the second phase, having reached a "positive migration balance"[7].

[7] Since 2018, according to Eurostat. See https://doi.org/10.2908/MIGR_NETMIGR Accessed December 19, 2024.

At this point, a question may arise: why is it expected to define migratory phenomena in statistical-demographic terms? One routinely provided answer, to begin with, is that applying demographic methods to population movements seems inherently coherent. However, in my opinion, it is a practice that has become uncritically customary in a fragmented field such as migration studies. This is possibly because, for a long period of time, it has allowed for a viable degree of intercommunication between scholars from different disciplines, as well as between the academic sphere and the public sphere. Furthermore, the adherence to the focus on the political-demographic aspects of migratory phenomena has political and historical reasons, which a segment of the scientific community has begun to critically investigate and contest, as explained below.

It is significant to accurately investigate the terminology. It is a fact that human mobility precedes the formation of what is recognized as the nation-state. The very first migrations were rather "transgenerational geographical expansions" of the *Homo Sapiens* species (Chelazzi 2016). Several episodes of pre-modern historical migrations can be identified. Shifting focus to the present, the phenomenon of migration can be approached through the definition provided by the International Organization for Migration. (IOM)[8], in their *Glossary on Migration*, that reads as follows:

> Migration
>
> The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State. (Sironi, Bauloz and Milen 2019).

The *Glossary*, is a product of legal theory and praxis that has been a solid reference in sociological inquiries (see, as an example, Ambrosini 2019), published with the expressed goal of fostering "correct use of migration terminology"[9]. The given definition of migration is not an isolated occurrence where the juridical-spatial reference is constituted by the state, whether the migratory movements involve at least two states, across a border, or only one, precisely in the case of internal migration. This stance is representative of the prevailing normative discursive practices in the public and academic spheres. For this

[8] IOM "is the leading intergovernmental organization in the field of migration [...]. IOM was born in 1951 out of the chaos and displacement of Western Europe following the Second World War. Mandated to help European governments to identify resettlement countries for the estimated 11 million people uprooted by the war, it arranged transport for nearly a million migrants during the 1950s, and responded to successive crises around the world. [...] After 65 years of global operations, IOM formally joined the United Nations system in 2016."
Retrieved February 14, 2021 from https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/about-iom/iom_snapshot_a4_en.pdf.

[9] Press release "IOM Releases Glossary on Migration to Foster Correct Use of Migration Terminology"
Retrieved February 14, 2021 from https://www.iom.int/news/iom-releases-glossary-migration-foster-correct-use-migration-terminology

reason, it evokes to mind the writings of Abdelmalek Sayad. The Franco-Algerian sociologist maintained that, despite being migration a universal process, it is “always discussed within the framework of the local unit and, insofar as we are concerned, within the framework of the nation-state” (2004). This is the opening statement of the examination that Sayad carried out of what he defined as "state thought", a mode of thinking that mirrors the structures of the state, drawing upon Bourdieu’s depiction of “bureaucratic field” (Bourdieu 1993). Sayad’s work centers on migration, nonetheless, he emphasizes that it is through the categories provided by “state thought” that we construct representations of social, economic, political and cultural life. According to the categorical boundaries reconstructed by Sayad, immigrants are resident "non-nationals", effectively separated from "nationals", who enjoy nationality 'by right'. As noted by Boudou (2023), Sayad's conceptualizations “paved the way” to the deconstruction of methodological nationalism “understood as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world”, as aptly summarized by Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002). Since the turn of the century, the criticism of methodological nationalism has been incorporated in the ‘working toolkit’ of social sciences, playing a fundamental role particularly in the work of Ulrich Beck (2000, 2016), who advocated substituting methodological nationalism with methodological cosmopolitanism, with the distinct aim of overcoming the categories of “state thought”. Precisely for this rationale, critical cosmopolitan sociology, as Beck’s critical approach has been characterized (see Bosco 2020), constitutes a fundamental reference of this research. Gerad Delanty (2006) has also detailed the direction of critical cosmopolitan sociology, which consist not only in a methodological approach to social processes, but also in an object of study: “to discern or make sense of social transformation by identifying new or emergent social realities.” An emergent social reality is what comes to mind when considering the roles played by non-nationals in Polish urban settings. In the following chapter, I examine the theoretical and empirical implications of this critical approach.

In the subsequent paragraphs, as I proceed with the reassessment of the theoretical framework for the study of migratory phenomena, I delve into the examination of terminology, drawing upon the work of scholars that substantiate a recent interdisciplinary research trend known as *critical migration studies*, that encompasses disciplines as sociology, geography, political science and cultural studies, among others.

As Adrian Favell brilliantly summarizes it (including his own insights), the understanding pursued by these scholars is articulated “on the politics of categorization imposed on the various mobile and migrant populations thrown up by the dynamics and crises of a global capitalism.” (2022a). The research projects that have given rise to this trend include investigations of power dynamics, policy-making, racialization, identity and the experiences and narratives of migrants. In line with the critical perspective on migratory processes, in this study I also focus on themes such as migrant identification and experiences. Consequently, the terminological review is logically followed by the presentation of specific scientific stances and findings that display significant theoretical relevance to the objectives of the study.

A recent, brilliant yet complex paper by two of these scholars allows for a critical framing of how conceptualizations connected to migration phenomena (often perceived as natural) were actually configured by specific historical and political developments. In their article *The economy of migration. Knowledge, accounting, and debt,* Willem Schinkel and Rogier van Reekum (2024) delineate a “genealogy of migration as a way of managing people in light of both colonial divides and questions of labor and race”. In doing so, the steps through which migration has come to be conceived as an "abstract phenomenon" composed of "net flows of 'migrants'" are reconstructed. They maintain that an essential moment is to be identified in Ravenstein’s articles *The Laws of Migration*[10] (1885, 1889), showing how, by charting population movements as *net flows* (between parishes), he identified "Currents of Migration", which found correspondence in processes of relocation of labor and families operated according to the developments of socioeconomic transformations such as industrialization. In doing so he attributed to the observed phenomenon (migration), dimensions beyond the empirical data under examination, similarly to other generic concepts "of social vision such as 'society'"[11]. Thinking in abstract terms about *net flows* and *relocations* opened the way to possible conceptualizations in search of scientific regularities. This is what the authors deem to be the “key invention” of Ravenstein, which was conducive then to configure migration processes in terms of ‘accounting’, as they meaningfully detail:

[10] Most probably containing the first representation of migration fluxes with arrows, see Bahoken (2023), cited by Schinkel and Rogier van Reekum.
[11] In the notion of *social vision* it can perceived a resonance with the concept of *reified generality* (such as ‘power’, ‘society’, ‘capital’, ‘labour’, ‘market’) that DeLanda (2016) opposes to individual emergent wholes, i.e. assemblages.

> Accounting consists of all the instances of visualization, identification, quantification, signification and imagination that allow the production of: (1) numerical tables of migrants to be compiled that are assumed to represent abstract processes of spatio-temporally specific forms of coming and going and of belonging, and that, as we argue, are always implicitly or explicitly offset against similar tables signifying the counterfactual scenario of 'no migration'; (2) discursive accounts of 'migration', including projections, conceptualizations, problematizations, and all the discursive forms of policing known as 'migration policy'. (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024)

Summarizing the authors' articulate exposition, it is evident that it is by looking at the empirical data of the "recordings of movements" that it is possible to visualize migration according to a logic of addition and subtraction of dislocations between territories. 'Visualizing' appears here to be a key element, both historically and currently, of the shared social configuration(s) of migratory processes. The article also gives an account of the process of standardization of the meaning of migration, citing cases that include the 1891 meeting of the International Statistical Institute and the 1924 International Conference on Emigration and Immigration in Rome. In this process of standardization, agencies are seen to strive to stabilize the representation of migration they provided, as they focused on monitoring its implications for the social reproduction of labor force. Another significative perspective that the authors add to their reconstruction of the "birth of 'migration'" is that they connect it to the demise of empire, a moment in history when European states started to become "receiving countries". Strikingly, European colonial settlers were never considered migrants. It is with the decline of empires that people from the colonized countries were "re-encountered" at the borders of European states as migrants, while the historical processes that structured relationships of domination and racialization, that have existed for centuries, were progressively "invisibilized" and forgotten. In this perspective the postcolonial world is conceived as "an ongoing effect of Euro-white coloniality", nonetheless acknowledging that migration might mean something different in different contexts. A further engaging theoretical development that the two authors propose as a further explanation of the birth of migration is that of the conceptualization of "migration as debt". Again, migration is portrayed as a product of historical and colonial contexts, that is configured in terms of accounting more than just movements of people. Following the end of imperial order, nation-states organized their national economies and introduced forms of control of populations movements, thus

restructuring relationship with the colonized countries. These strategies culminated in the establishment of a global system of 'migration management'[12].

> To record or register migration is to make a record of what the nation would be if the people marked as migrants were not present, and it is to simultaneously record what it costs the nation now that they are. In this oikonomia, migration is enacted as a form of debt. (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024)

Migration is consequently envisaged as a disruption (mostly in terms of economic value) to the hypothetical scenario of a nation with 'no migration'[13], thus incurring an opportunity cost for the nation-state (embodied by the native population). Indirect validation for this theoretical finding is found in the fact that, both in the public conversation and scholarly research, migration is frequently discussed in terms of costs (for the state, the city, the community). From this perspective, the debt is portrayed explicitly in terms of monetary value, as generated by the additional costs associated with the presence of the migrants. Moreover, the debt can be "indefinitely projected into the future", allowing the perpetuation of racialized categorizations, such as, for instance, the framing of 'second generation migrants" that can apply to individual that have no direct experience of migration. The debt is then characterized also in moral term, for example through the solicitation for an expression of gratitude that non-nationals often find themselves faced with (and indeed frequently expressed by the children of migrants). However, in discursive terms, migration as debt is not only categorized in negative ways.

In fact, the authors pinpoint a perception of desirability and rationality of migration, held by the natives, particularly in relation to expatriates and of labor migration programs, precisely

> Because these variants of migration are seen to repay, through a realization of potential value, the loss that they nonetheless have to have made. (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024)

This hints at specific forms of what may be referred to as differential treatment (of a positive kind) that a restricted number of 'categories of migrants' experience in host countries, connected with perceived potential value of their labor. Differential treatment which is unlikely to contribute to reducing systemic inequalities, if anything it may

[12] The authors unmistakably maintain that "post-imperial reordering of territories and the flows across them" and "birth of 'the economy' as a separate, nationally bounded sphere of production and consumption" are parallel processes (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024).
[13] The "*native scenario,* a scenario of an imagined untainted whiteness" (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024).

strengthen them or articulates them in different ways. The authors' observation is of great significance as it sets the stage for a comprehensive understanding of instances of positionality perceived and expressed by the participants in the current study.

The primary outcome of Schinkel and van Reekum's work is the explanation of intricacies of long-term socio-historical phenomena, in which the unveiling of the hidden codification of "'migrants' as people who might not have been here" constitutes the key element. Thus, new research possibilities open up, breaking away from an *oikonomia* of migration parameterized according to population management criteria, which while not immediately apparent, encompasses not only 'migrants' but includes also national natives, complementarily. In their conclusion, the authors make a compelling plea to the social scientific research community regarding knowledge production:

> A scientific refusal to repeat the colonial divisions of migration must start from the recognition that research methods must interrupt rather than repeat, must render experimental what often stubbornly appears to be natural. (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024)

Their call in not limited to the "decommissioning" of state categories alone, as they perpetuate the process of naturalizing migration, but rather aims to address the economy of migration as a whole. In fact, they advocate for nothing less than its destruction. The work of Schinkel and van Reekum stems from their radical perspective on migration studies, quite certainly one the most extreme in its goals and expressions, aimed at nothing less than dismantling the current research field.[14]

Although the theoretical strength of this radical normative position resonates strongly with my scientific education and training, I purposely avoided to uncritically adopt any theoretical or methodological framework during the conduction of the research. Caution arises from the recognition that the heuristic approach of this research stems from the primal fundamental questioning of firsthand everyday life experience in a new urban context. Consequently, I chose to approach my academic endeavor by problematizing every aspect of it, from research design to implementation. This allowed empirical research to take on a hybrid character. Similarly, the epistemological access point of the research could only be of a terminological kind, given the opacity of the terminology employed by migration scholars (as discussed earlier).

[14] In a previous paper, unmistakably titled *To decolonize migration studies means to dismantle it* (2023), Schinkel alone staunchly addressed his colleagues: "For sure, those who call themselves migration scholars, like the rest of us, have to eat, but why eat like a parasite? Why the imposition of, and on, those indebted as "migrants."

"People that might not have been here"

Given the focus of the research, i.e. non-nationals as actors of social change in Polish urban contexts, I contend that it is practicable to adopt the definition of migration provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as a working definition. This assertion is primarily supported by the consideration that, although it is a definition constructed in a framework of national categorization, a reasonable and sufficient degree of confirmation can be ascertained through empirical facts and data analysis (Gobo and Marcheselli 2023).[15] For instance, it is a fact that a person without Polish citizenship needs to be in possession of a passport (or an ID national document) to move from abroad to a city of the Polish state, according to what is prescribed by international bilateral or multilateral treaties, therefore between states. Treaties constitute the legal basis for the actions[16] of both the individuals (migratory movement) and the state apparatuses (state bureaucracy, city bureaucracy) involved in the migratory process of arrival and settlement.

The research is one of qualitative design. Nevertheless, the research was conceived in such a way as to allow its future development in a quantitative sense. Congruently, the key elements of the research (non-national individuals, cities) are delineated and operationalized using discursive modalities, all the while considering that techniques of operationalization are utilized in quantitative research with a significant level of formalization. I understand operationalization as the transformation of theoretical hypotheses into empirical research operations (Corbetta, 2003). Hence, in an analogical fashion, I transform theoretical hypotheses into empirical propositions. To put it simply, I work with categories that in the future may feasibly be 're-operationalized' as variables.

"Who Are These Foreigners Anyway?" is the question contained in the title of an interesting article by Asbrock et al. (2014), dealing with the psychology of prejudice related to the term 'foreigner'. The authors remind us that foreigners are no homogeneous

[15] In the study I adopt a cautious neo-positivist empirical approach, as I will illustrate at the end of the chapter. The caution is represented by the fact of not making "high" theoretical claims.
[16] This is an example of what Beck (2016) called *Handlungsräume*, "spaces of action", in this case produced by normative output of governmental legal entities.

group, and every host country has a specific history of immigration with specific groups of immigrants. What is most important, the "term foreigner is a social category that implies immigration and difference". Besides, in an influential article, Brubaker (2002) warns us against 'groupism': the tendency, detectable in social sciences, to "take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis"[17]. Taking these warnings into account, as well as the argument (i.e. degree of confirmation) in favor of the adoption of definition of migration proposed by IOM's *Glossary on Migration*, I maintain that it is possible to similarly adopt the definition of 'migrant'[18], that reads as follow:

> Migrant
> An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students. Note: At the international level, no universally accepted definition for 'migrant' exists. (Sironi, Bauloz and Milen 2019).

Yet, the definition of foreigner appears to be confined by criteria related to citizenship and nationality, thinning the broader meaning linked to symbolic characters, such as culture and identity, that the term has is common language:

> Foreigner
> A person in a State of which he is not a citizen or national.
> (Sironi, Bauloz and Milen 2019).

Maurizio Ambrosini, prominent Italian sociologist of migration, has commented the definitions provided by the United Nations and by IOM over the years (Ambrosini 2018, 2020). The terminology has been constantly updated, the comments by Ambrosini,

[17] In a footnote, Brubaker further specifies: "In this very general sense, groupism extends well beyond the domain of ethnicity, race and nationalism to include accounts of putative groups based on gender, sexuality, age, class, abledness, religion, minority status, and any kind of 'culture', as well as putative groups based on combinations of these categorical attributes."
[18] In positivist terms, the operational definition of the construct 'migrant'.

are still valid. According to Ambrosini, IOM's definition of 'migrant' is "blurred" and does not take into consideration:

> (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. [...] Legal status and the lack thereof are defined by the rules of the receiving country, which commonly refer to different dimensions such as residence and employment. (Ambrosini 2018)

In the past the UN and IOM considered migrant a person that left their country of origin for more than one year. It is meaningful that the definition of 'migrant' is nowadays accepted without a clear timeframe, being a reflection of the fluid and complex characters that migration processes have assumed in recent years (consider, for example, circular and temporary migration). In addition to this, it's worth noting that being the law of the receiving country the evidently cogent one (i.e. derived by generally accepted authority, the state), it significantly shapes the experience of international migration, which is therefore nationally situated (at least when the country of destination is reached, in legal terms). It is for these reasons that Ambrosini frames migrations as processes, having a "dynamic evolutionary[19]" character, and as systems of relationships. The study, seeking to be contextually situated, necessarily considers these factual aspects of the migratory experience. Ambrosini also points out that in common language, but also in some "legal regulations and institutional arrangements" only a part of foreigners living and working abroad are designated as immigrants (Ambrosini, 2011). This is the case of EU nationals, American and Japanese citizens. A paradoxical case is the legal term 'extracomunitari' (i.e., non-EU nationals), which, in common language, can still be applied to EU nationals from the most recently acceded countries, but has never been used to refer to American or Australian citizens. Ambrosini notices that this kind of representations have a fluid character and the perception of foreigners is changing. An interesting example is the one of Italian emigrants, that have almost completely lost the perceived status of immigrants.

The Italian scholar is generally more focused on the practical aspects of migration, while others have a more discursive take on the field. The straightforward remarks of Didier Bigo may help pinpointing core issues (not just terminological) connected with migration terminology. As he states:

[19] Translations from Polish, Italian and other languages into English, are mine.

> The incarnation of the figure may change, but the matrix grows stronger. In the mid-1920s, in France, the migrants were Polish and Italians, while now they are primarily Algerians or their children born in France. Migrant, as a term, is the way to designate someone as a threat to the core values of a country, a state, and has nothing to do with the legal terminology of foreigners. [...] Immigration is now problematized in Western countries in a way that is very different from the distinction between citizen and foreigner. It is not a legal status that is under discussion but a social image, concerning, to quote Erickson, the "social distribution of bad." (Bigo 2002)

Bigo is interested in unveiling the governmentality incorporated in the process of securitization of immigration, which may be not specifically central to this research. His interpretations prompt a focus on the 'politics of labeling" (Abdou and Zardo 2024) that lies beneath the creation and routinized usage of migration categories.

In public discourse and in private conversations an apparent dichotomy between migrant and expatriate often emerges. For a better understanding of the dichotomy, it is helpful to examine the arguments delivered on the issue by Sarah Kunz in her article *Expatriate, migrant? The social life of migration categories and the polyvalent mobility of race* (2020). Before I do so it is worth to recall the text of the definition of the entry 'Expatriate' provided in the *Glossary on Migration*:

> Expatriate
>
> A person who voluntarily renounces his or her nationality.
>
> Note: The term is also used colloquially to identify nationals who have taken up residence in a foreign country, such as employees of multinational companies or international civil servants. The definition provided above captures the way the term is used in some national legislation, where expatriation involves the voluntary renunciation of one's nationality or citizenship and thereby an absolute termination of all civil and political rights provided by such nationality or citizenship as of the date of such an act. Art. 15(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets forth the right of everyone to change nationality ((adopted 10 December 1948) UNGA Res 217(A)). (Sironi, Bauloz and Milen 2019).

On the one hand, the semantic field of the main definition is specifically legal, connected with nationality and citizenship. On the other hand, the second semantic field is very generically related to the fact of having a residence in a foreign country, while it appears clear that for anyone being defined as an expatriate entail not losing at all their nationality. These are contradicting semantic fields. It is known that the editors of the *Glossary*

focused primarily on the legal significance of the terminology. Yet, they were willing to acknowledge the presence of (indeed) alternative meanings in the colloquial discourse (and in the public one). This is an example of how much terminology is in a constant state of development, consequence of the ongoing processes of globalized migration. The line of reasoning proposed by Kunz, it is crucial for the research, as it enables the unravelling of intricacies categorization and naturalization of ongoing social inequalities. 'Expatriate' (and its abbreviated form 'expat') is considered a "contested term, as emphatically embraced by some as rejected by others", whereas the "category 'migrant', in turn, can have all the veneer of a self-evident and technical category, used habitually in academic, political and public debates". There is more beyond this apparent dichotomy. Apparent, because a growing number of scholars simply conceptualize 'expatriates' as 'migrants'. At the same time "those that understand themselves as 'expatriates' do not necessarily self-identify as migrants" (Rogaly and Taylor 2010 and Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014, cited in Kunz 2020). Kunz's work, based on recent ethnographic research in Nairobi and The Hague, explores:

> How the category 'migrant' is deployed in relation to the category 'expatriate'. Examining this relationship allows investigating both the politics of categorisation and these categories' intervention in political matters. [...] While usage of both categories is pervasive, their meaning is similarly elusive. Like the 'expatriate', the category 'migrant' emerges as polysemic, holding multiple meanings, malleable, restless and, as such, made to do political work. (Kunz 2020)

Interestingly, Kunz identifies polysemy as the main relevant characteristic of both phrases, which becomes evident when they are jointly examined. She considers the "plasticity", defined as semantic multiplicity and malleability, of both 'expatriate' and 'migrant' as it emerges in the interviews with respondents. In her words,

> Conceptual multiplicity enables a range of what might be called 'polysemic games', discursive operations on the terrain of polysemy that do political work. For instance, the migrant can silently morph from 'scientific notion' to 'folk notion traveling incognito' or 'zigzag' between technical and racialised meanings (Fields and Fields 2014). It can evoke different meanings simultaneously, in different combinations and with different valuations. (Kunz 200)

The author frequently mentioned "political work" is the one of categorization of migrants, a "symbolic ordering of movement and belonging" in terms of racialization, through the

social use of elusive categories. According to Kunz, it is their intertwined polysemy that constructs 'migrant' and 'expatriate' as signifiers apt to mobilize shifting meanings in "everyday politics of migration categories". Polysemy can be detected at individual level, and in the public discourse, especially in content conveyed by media outlets. Therefore, the categorization of migrants (and the consequent racialization of migration) can be determined by the representations shaped by media to the point that they differ substantially from statistical evidence. According to Kunz these larger dynamics have a direct influence on the "constructions of the 'expatriate' and the 'migrant', both by migrants and non-migrants". Drawing upon the material of her research, Kunz noticeably states:

> Even when the 'expatriate' is posited as a type of migrant, there is no agreement on what makes this type. In a non-linear, undetermined process, the 'expatriate' uneasily shifts between being a 'migrant' and being its Other. In this analysis, rather than 'expatriate' – 'migrant' distinction being worked as a neat racialised binary (though it can be that, too), racialisation works through these categories' strong polysemy, their partial and part-time overlap and the ambiguity that this space affords (Stoler 2016). It is as flexible signifiers 'expatriate' and 'migrant' frequently work together – variously as others, synonyms or sub-types – to reify historically constituted power relations and their associated inequalities. (Kunz 2020).

Hence, critical assessments of discursive practices may lead to unveil racialization and boundary work[20] (Blokland 2017), hidden beneath "polysemic games".

In her most recent book, *Expatriate: Following a Migration Category (2023),* Kunz further elaborates on the themes of her research and provides historical examples of how expat categorization has evolved. Drawing on her research located in Kenya, the author explores how "category expatriate was used to translate colonial into postcolonial racialised inequality", outlining a genealogy of the category that parallels the one reconstructed by Willem Schinkel and Rogier van Reekum (see above). The author then highlights the role played by American IHRM international human resources management scholarship in structuring the expatriate category according to the needs established by the economic rise of the United States in the postcolonial world. This academic field, built around the category, sanctified "the asymmetrical power relations characterizing multinational business" simultaneously rendering the historical processes

[20] The drawing of boundaries which is constitutive of both personal and group identity, and of the community.

that shaped them invisible, ignoring their "imperial roots", through the construction of management knowledge. Kunz's work is also important precisely because it does not exhaust its critical force only towards, or against, the nation state. By focusing her attention on the politics of categorization, taking care not to fall into the pitfalls generated by a methodologically nationalist investigative perspective, the scholar prompts us to broaden our attention to other social actors who participate in the work of categorization, "such as multinational corporations (MNCs), labour intermediaries and service providers", that indeed "shape migration and its categories". It is precisely in the extended context of international business that emerges the social space in which the expatriate category is used. And it is within the same context that aspects like temporality and skills are used as categorical parameters in defining the expatriate as someone able to assert their own professional skills transnationally, in connection with the often-temporary organizational needs of international companies. Configured in this way, the term is therefore often replaced in common and academic use by synonymous expressions such as "'global talent', 'transient professionals', 'highly skilled' or 'professional migrants'". The identification of the expatriate with the transnational Western white professional remains prevalent, even though this terminology has recently faced criticism. This critique is partly due to the increasing presence of disadvantaged white migrants, highlighting social segmentation caused by economic inequalities.

The presence of Western migrants constitutes a possible focus of a research situated in two globalizing Polish cities, characterized by a remarkable socioeconomic development, corresponding to the economic expansion of the country over the last three decades. The terms "privileged" or "lifestyle" migration are used when researchers investigate the migration experiences of West European or North American nationals. Some interesting insights on the matter are presented in Catrin Lundström's book titled *White migrations: gender, whiteness and privilege in transnational migration* (2014). In the book, Lundström shows the results of her ethnographic research on Swedish women who emigrated to the US, Spain and Singapore. It is the occasion to reflect on migration performed by white persons from the global North[21]. The discursive take of the book is clear from the beginning:

[21] *En passant*, we may notice that the book is interesting also in consideration of processes of feminization of migration.

> The concept of white migration could be regarded as an oxymoron in that a migrant is rarely thought of as white, and white people tend not to be seen as 'migrants'. Rather, white subjects 'out of place' are more probably conflated with the position of a tourist, an expatriate, a mobile professional or just passing as a European or North American. (Lundström 2014)

These are the same dynamics of racialization in everyday life described by Kunz. Indeed, white people that find themselves "out of place", most certainly are referred to in a very ambiguous way (tourist/expatriate/mobile professional/ European national /North American national). Once again, polysemy is observed in action. Lundström adopts also inquiries derived from critical whiteness studies. In simple words, the author openly makes use of a transnational perspective to study white migration. In doing so, global dynamics of power become evident, as much as patterns of racial inequality, as part of the current phenomenon named "transnationalization of social inequality" (see also Faist 2019, 2021). Inequalities become manifest when, in the case of white persons:

> Transnational migration is accompanied by a 'taken-for-grantedness' of the right to mobility and access to 'foreign' places, which involves increased privileges and upward class mobility. The apparently contrasting images of the lifestyles of 'expatriate migrants' and 'migrant workers' may thus reinforce each other, in much the same way as oppression and privilege are intimately intertwined in any social process. (Lundström 2014)

It is in a dialectically constructed relationship between ambiguous and uncontested social categories that dynamics of power reproduction can be activated.

I argue that, unlike with the definitions of migration and migrant, the inherent unsettled polysemy of the term "expatriate" eludes a reasonable degree of empirical confirmation. Nonetheless, individuals may employ such category in their narratives (as I will show). For this reason, in the following chapters, I will limit my use of the term only to the cases in which it was used by the interviewees (consider whether to introduce the concept of self-identification here). Plainly said, expatriate is a category to be used cautiously when performing analysis.

Besides, it is apparent that the processes of categorization intersect with the questions of social identification and self-identification (Jenkins 2014). As Blokland (2017) noted, a pre-condition of both personal and social identity (she refers to community, specifically) is boundary work, which is performed in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

'Integration', a contested term

Since the research is situated in two Polish cities, the focus lies on examining non-nationals' migration experiences according to their own narratives, analyzing settlement strategies while moving beyond the still dominant framing of 'integration'. Integration is one of the most contested terms in migration studies (see, as a reference for other disputed terms, Zapata-Barrero, Jacobs and Kastoryano 2022). To discuss the arguments in favor of overcoming the concept of 'integration concept' In this segment I draw upon the its most recent critique, systematized by Adrian Favell (1998, 2022a, 2022b, 2022d). In recent years, the scholar has engaged in constant work of problematization of the concept itself, as well as of the instrumental political use (blatant or hidden), that has been made of it. Additionally, the concept is contextualized within the evolution of migration studies. Like other critical scholars, he outlines genealogies of 'integration', a "conservative concept" rooted in sociology, that alludes to an ideal-typical representation of a stable traditional society capable of incorporating change and innovation (2022d). Favell's starting point is a reflection of the ambiguous use that is made of the term, despite which 'integration' is configured as a "core component of a standard linear narrative about 'immigration" (a paradigm), which focuses primarily on migrants' movement across borders, settlement, and final attainment of citizenship. Its origin can be found in Durkheim' "consensus-based vision of society". In an empirical sense, 'integration' refers to the United States as a prototypical example of a country of immigration, that gave rise to several quantitative tools for measuring immigrant integration, which have spread from the American scientific sphere to the rest of the world. The degree of achievement of 'integration' by non-nationals has been assessed by means of idealized models built according to a Parsonian functionalist logic, measuring how much migrants have been integrating into the host society, typically ignoring how they, in turn, contributed to its transformation. Western European states then distinguished themselves for the use of the concept in political rhetoric of management of migratory flows. These were (and continue to be) predominantly nationalistic narratives that reshaped political and sociocultural attitudes, shelving supposedly better options of diversity management that had arisen within the multiculturalist approach during the 1990s. Multiculturalism has been unequivocally set aside since the beginning of the century, in the wake of events following the attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11,

2001. The integration model that has become predominant since then, particularly in Europe, is the French one, the unambiguous 'philosophy of integration' (Favell 1998), which was “elaborated as a complete neo-nationalist assertion of the continued powers of European nation-states to transform postcolonial and immigrant diversity into a single, unified society” (2022d). For Favell too, to “think in terms of integration is to think like a nation-state” (Scott 1998, quoted in Favell 2022d). He recognizes the “colonial tone” inherent to the concept (and therefore its imperial genealogy) and focuses primarily on the analysis of how 'integration' is central to the implementation of nation building strategies and the consolidation of nation state power structures. Moreover, the scholar critically states that “in many conventional forms of migration and ethnic studies, a covert racialization is smuggled into conceptions of integration” which he relates to “unexamined notion of ‘whiteness’ in conceptions of ‘native’ populations” (2022a). From these lines of reasoning, Favell, therefore, identifies various integration pathologies that challenge the supposed fairness of integrationist approaches. Two of them are particularly interesting for their implications in the scientific field. The first pathology is determined by the state statistical approach (counting migration flows) that produces a “minoritization” and “migranticization” of non-nationals “reproduced by scholars and which might seriously distort the social identity of many individuals lumped into these groups considered subject to ‘integration’” (2022d). The second pathology is a more complex one: to ‘integrate’, migrants are asked to conform to strict benchmarks, often enacted through citizenships tests, that can be so tough that even well educated ‘native’ citizens might fail. The requisite to constantly prove their aptness to become citizens can lead to a divisive logic of 'us' versus 'them', exacerbated by the explicit request to express gratitude towards the host society. To complicate matters further, a closer look to the points of reference for ‘integration’ measurements, reveals that the imagined ideal citizen is

> The person who ‘belongs’ most freely in our society, is in fact a free moving, mobile member of an elite, whose range of activities is unbounded if not global, and who can come and go as they please: taking all the benefits of national membership but also enjoying privileges anywhere and everywhere else. (Favell 2022d)

A strident distinction is constantly reinforced, between nationals who can enjoy a citizenship[22] that has become individualized and globalized and non-nationals who are permanently subject to stringent national standards. While the former freely enjoy the effects of denationalization generated by globalization processes, the latter find themselves forced to participate in ritualized nation building processes. Not surprisingly, a parallel can be drawn between the freedom of movement granted by membership in the (Western) national club and the nearly unrestricted mobility experienced by (Western) expatriates. As exemplified by respondents of the research, the possibilities offered by processes of denationalization may be strategically seized by non-nationals too. Favell's work is crucial precisely because it unequivocally uncovers the elements of white supremacy inherently contained in integration models upon which national policies have been implemented. Consequently, the scholar looks at the "prospects of a decolonial rethink of integration" (2022d) and affirms that in order to devise anti-racist politics, and I would include research agendas that transcend methodological nationalism, "decolonization must go hand in hand with de-nationalization". One of the possible directions that research can take is to investigate the denationalization processes observable in urban contexts. The beginning of this emphasis can be tracked back to the 1990s in works grouped together under the label of "transnational urbanism" (Smith 2001, cited by Favell), that framed mobilities and migrations as factors of political transformation both in sending and receiving urban contexts. Favell finally points at the recent "urban turn" in the work of Ayşe Çağlar and Nina Glick Schiller (2018), who studied the role of migrants, nationals and minorities in challenging urban regeneration project in medium-sized urban cities. Their research, focusing on actions taken at local and global levels, across multiple scales, stands as a significant empirical reference for the present study.

"Migrant is not a sociological category"

Currently, in Europe, migratory phenomena are predominantly framed in problematic terms, with implications for public perception, politics and, what is most important, the lives of people. It is a general shift in public perception that has been

[22] Sometime a double or even triple citizenship.

discernibly occurring since the turn of the century, prompting harsh political responses from states. An example of this is the formulation of the 'hostile environment policy' in 2012 by Theresa May, the then Home Secretary of the United Kingdom. As the developments of the Syrian civil war led to the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, migrants have become central figures in a range of political, economic, cultural, humanitarian and security issues, whose containment and management (by the state) are the main concerns expressed in the rhetoric of politicians and the media space. Critical migration scholars unambiguously stood up to the challenges posed by the crisis, notably the securitization of migration and the criminalization of migrants and humanitarian NGOs. They advocate for militant research, with an agenda against dehumanization and depoliticization. A representative group within this militant movement comprises scholars such as Claudia Aradau, Nicholas De Genova, Sandro Mezzadra, William Walters, Glenda Garelli and Martina Tazzioli. As it has been accurately portrayed, the theoretical framework of these scholars is a "Marxist-Foucauldian hybrid – governmentality as a mode of understanding neo-liberalism – and read through post-colonial and decolonial theory, with elements of feminist and queer theory." (Favell 2022a). Straightforward radical formulations, both theoretical and empirical, are presented in one of Tazzioli's books, *The making of migration* (2018), exploring how individuals are "racialized, governed, and labeled as 'migrants'", being targeted both as members of actual or potential groups, referred to as "temporary multiplicities", and as individuals, characterized in the book as "singularities." The 'making of migration' means that the outcome of the work of categorization is a reification of migration. The focus is on the material processes that involve technologies, production of knowledge, and policies to regulate (and control) life and "encapsulates the making of subjects" (Cremonesi et al. 2016, cited by Tazzioli). The material facts that Tazzioli investigates pertain to episodes of forced mobility, repression, violence (perpetrated by state police forces), and death, witnessed by the scholar in various settings, including Ventimiglia, Calais, Lesvos, Lampedusa, Choucha, as well as cities such as Rome, Athens, Berlin, Paris, and Tunis. Tazzioli's scientific goal is to rethink the processes of individualization and commodification of migrants, while

> not superimposing pre-fabricated conceits of subjectivity and not taking for granted "migrant" as a starting point of the analysis. Indeed, "migrant" is not a sociological category nor an identity; being labelled and governed as a migrant is the outcome of specific laws, racialised policies and administrative measures implemented by the states. (Tazzioli 2019)

Tazzioli inverts the traditional analytical gaze, initializing an epistemic perspective from below which frees the researcher from crystallized academic habits. The scholar can then think about migration instead of thinking like the state. Other scholars are likely to find this mode unfeasible, since thinking about the movement of people in terms of migration has almost exclusively involved state categories. However, the researcher directly deals with the facts on the ground, with the individuals and groups exposed to processes of "subjectivation" and (material) "subjection", and witnesses their objectification (which frames them as objects of knowledge), signifying that the processes that make migration are constitutively ambivalent since "migrants are both the subjects and objects" of the 'making of migration'[23], in the ways it is substantiated in the Mediterranean area and in other "places" of crisis. Among the most important findings of the book is the empirical observation that migrants, responding to constraints to which they are subjected on a daily basis, are able to "make and open up spaces (of liveability, of refuge, etc.) and generate unusual collective formations", through their movements, their presence, and also through the struggles they are forced to experience. Tazzioli not only refers to the agency of migrants, but also shows how the range of strategies and actions they devise extends beyond the dichotomy between agency and victimhood.

I argue that Tazzioli's contribution is important precisely because not only it structures a critique of research purposes and methods, but, mainly, reorganizes researcher's work around the reality of migrants' experience. Also, I derive a methodological approach that considers "'migration' as an analytical lens and, at the same time, as an object of study" allowing to strategically tackle the preconceptions of methodological nationalism. Moreover, as Tazzioli specifies:

> As an analytical lens, migration constitutes a contested terrain through which to rethink some of the central categories of political theory: among these, I take into account collective and individual subjects, and investigate how these articulate with temporality and political visibility. (Tazzioli 2019)

I maintain that a corresponding methodological attitude can be adopted in sociological research. Thus, a study that features migration understood also as an analytical lens can allow us to rethink categories of sociological theory, such as social visibility, for instance.

[23] Thus, "the *making of migration* retains an ambivalent meaning" (Tazzioli 2019).

Although Tazzioli's work does not focus specifically on terminology, her theoretical framework has a distinct heuristic value because it is conducive to a reflexive understanding of categories employed in sociological analysis.

Further theoretical implications

The theorizations reviewed in this chapter allow for a precise outlining of the theoretical orientation of this research. Thanks to Sayad's pioneering critical work, the arbitrary nature of the categorization of migratory phenomena that dominates public and academic discourse has been revealed. This categorization is the product of "state thought", which essentially constitutes a *top-down* theoretical perspective. These categories are not only applied cognitively to the interpretation of phenomena, but also assume an essential character because they are superimposed on the 'categorized' subjects - for example through the implementation of policies - producing actual effects on the lived experiences of individuals. Simply put, the individual is not observed exclusively in relation to the attributes produced by the migratory experience, for example, for the purposes of knowledge production. Rather, the individual becomes *tout-court*, exclusively a migrant. The superimposition of the category of 'migrant' is totalizing. I argue that continuing to apply categories in use for more than a century may be epistemologically inadequate to investigate modern phenomena, whose characteristics have not been found equal in previous planetary history, such as, for example, the extreme intensification of contemporary globalization processes. An evident confirmation of this inadequacy is provided by the repeated failures recorded at state level in attempts to control the flows of migrants arriving in different countries – a context in the dominant approach is precisely that of counting the 'net flows'. And it is interesting to note how academic research restrains itself to noting said failures without investigating their underlying causes. I argue that one of the limits of current academic research is represented by the fact of ignoring the constitutive elements of migratory phenomena. And, first of all, by not addressing the supposed protagonists of said phenomena - namely, individuals in movement. It is therefore not only a question of replacing methodological nationalism with methodological cosmopolitanism as proposed by Beck, thus avoiding "discursive accounts of migration" (Schinkel and van Reekum 2024), but also of

reversing the investigative perspective by proceeding from the bottom up. In this *bottom-up* perspective, sociological knowledge can be produced together with individuals who have migratory experiences, the starting point being their standpoints and worldviews. This reflexive reversal aligns closely with the approach proposed by Tazzioli in response to the emergency and liminal conditions experienced by the 'subjects' described in his work. Thus set up, research can free itself from presupposed assumptions structured along divisions between 'nationals' and 'non-nationals', 'citizens' and 'aliens', 'residents' and 'migrants' or 'newcomers'. In this way, a theoretical and empirical freedom of action emerges that allows researchers to go beyond rigid and undisputed categorical frameworks, which have until now been perceived (or promoted) as natural[24].

With the objective of analyzing Polish urban contexts while seeking to avoid a nationalist methodological framework, and drawing on the review of Polish sociological research on migration phenomena provided by Cieślińska et al. (2018), I have identified an analytical approach that is specifically defined by its foundation in the study of migration processes within both Polish and international contexts. This is the conceptual approach known as *anchoring* and advanced by Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska (2013, 2016, 2018b, 2020), which is:

> Situated between a sociological concept and a set of methodological tools in an epistemological approach to studying social processes in transnational spaces. It also corresponds to the postulates of research departing from the limitations of "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), in which social processes, not nation states, are the main lens of scientific inquiry.[25] (Cieślińska et al. 2018)

Therefore, thanks to the anchoring approach (whose main features I will detail at the end of chapter 2 and in Chapter 3) in the present study I adopt a bottom-up investigative perspective focused on transnational social process that serves as an initial stage in a broader investigation of the social transformations occurring in Polish cities, where globalization and migration intersect with economic growth and socio-political changes across various scales.

[24] In this sense, research on migration processes can also be extended to individuals who, although not experiencing migration, come into contact with migrant individuals and are therefore in an advantaged position to grasp emerging attributes.
[25] Own translation.

Thus far, I have outlined some theoretical and terminological conceptualizations that are embedded in the study. In Chapter 2, I will continue by discussing globalization and cities. The procedural aspects and the analytical work will then be addressed respectively in Chapter 3 and 4. I allocate the final segment of this chapter to explaining the epistemological approach suitable for carrying out research of this kind.

Cautious neo-positivist approach

During the preliminary stage of this research, I received cautionary advice from both expert scholars and junior colleagues, regarding the potential risks of investigating social phenomena that might be not clearly observable. It is intuitively understandable that the processes of social transformation resulting from the influence of migratory phenomena can be perceived in a nascent state, or they may be almost invisible. The apparent difficulty of documenting and empirically establishing links that connect processes that occur at a supranational global level with the individual and group experiences of migrants, therefore of a 'target' population difficult to define precisely, requires caution. At the same time, the necessity for formal scientific understanding arises from the awareness that underestimating or downplaying the significance of migratory phenomena, even transitory ones, taking place today in Polish cities constitutes an unjustifiable relinquishment in academic research. All this must be then reconciled with the reality of the current political-economic situation of the country, that compels its scientific community to produce knowledge that is effectively equipped to address the contemporary challenges posed by emerging global social processes. Undoubtedly, pinpointing an epistemological approach that can adequately address all these requirements in a consistent manner poses a challenge. The scientific methodology adopted for conducting the research is therefore grounded in an open and pragmatic neo-positivist approach. It is unnecessary to reiterate here all the features of neo-positivist epistemology. Rather, it is crucial to explicitly state that the study does not seek to establish *scientific laws*, a notion particularly questioned within social sciences, instead its objective is to investigate migratory phenomena with the aim of detecting *regularities* that allow for the formulation of empirical *generalizations* (Hempel 1952). As Gobo and Marcheselli aptly explain:

> Empirical generalisations are different from theoretical laws because the former have a limited field of validity. (Gobo and Marcheselli 2023)

Said field of validity is contained within the boundaries of the potential ascertainability of empirical regularities and is characterized by the presence of possible exceptions. Moreover, it would be impossible to pursue factual verifiability of phenomena, or their conclusive verifiability, as Ayer (2001) defined it, since said verifiability extends to the totality of the facts considered, in accordance with the neo-positivist verification principle. Nonetheless, it is possible to follow a feasible path to conduct social research, drawing on Ayer's distinction between verifiability in the "strong" and "weak" sense:

> A proposition is said to be verifiable, in the strong sense of the term, if, and only if, its truth could be conclusively established in experience. But it is verifiable, in the weak sense, if it is possible for experience to render it probable. (Ayer 1946)

Weak verifiability is congruent with the above-mentioned distinction between theories and generalizations, since generalizations do not require the formulation of laws in order to be verified. In fact, according to neo-positivist thought,

> Empirical generalisations only characterise the initial stages of a science; then when it develops, it produces laws that are used to understand hypothetical entities. (Gobo and Marcheselli 2023)

It is precisely in accordance with these guidelines that the study was conducted. This approach made it possible to capture the emerging attributes of the examined phenomena without the constraints inherent in rigid theoretical frameworks.

Chapter 2 Globalization and Cities

The task I have set for this chapter is to explore the conceptualizations formulated in social sciences to comprehend the processes of economic and sociopolitical globalization that have impacted the world since the late 20th century, in relation to social dynamics in cities worldwide, regionally and in Poland. From this multileveled viewpoint, migration and globalization appears to be coextensive phenomena that are interconnected. While determining direct causal relationships is challenging, it is possible to observe dynamics of constant, multiple and layered mutual significations (Veltri 2015).

Having been discussed for more than thirty years, the meaning associated with the term globalization remains today broadly consistent across the social sciences. It describes the (ever-growing) interdependence of the world's economies, cultures, and populations, whose main drivers are international trade in goods and services, technology, investment flows, migration, and information flows. It implies a sense of persisting cross-border dynamics. The public conversation regarding globalization reaches beyond academia, fueling enduring debates in both the media and public domain. It emerges as an explicit object of discussion and scientific research at the end of the Cold War, during a period when states began planning and implementing cooperation agreements that still exist today. One of these, probably the most cited examples is that of the creation of the WTO, of the World Trade organization, which began activities as an organization starting from 1995, following the Marrakech agreement of 1994. Globalization has been examined from a specific historical standpoint too, resulting in a profusion of scholarly works on dynamics of economic and political interdependence and cross-border interconnections that existed before the establishment of modern states, determining the emergence of 'first' or 'second' globalizations (see: Hopkins 2002; Bordo, Taylor, and Williamson 2007; Stearns 2010).

From a historiographical point of view, the conceptualizations of globalization find a distinguished precursor in the work of the French historian Fernand Braudel, in particular in the volumes that make up the trilogy *Civilization and capitalism :15th-18th century* (1981, 1982, 1984). Braudel's work is marked by an interdisciplinary approach and detailed analysis of long-term[26] historical structures intertwined with the economy,

[26] The historiographical approach called *longue durée*, employed by Braudel and other scholars of the Annales School, is briefly discussed further in the text.

geography, and, most intriguingly, social processes. His work is foundational not only for historical inquiry but also for sociology, anthropology, political science, human geography, and, of course, economics. Scholars such as Saskia Sassen (2006, 2007a), Arjun Appadurai (1996), and the aforementioned Manuel DeLanda, have drawn extensively from the theoretical repertoire and historical knowledge produced by the French historian to understand and interpret the transformative aspects of globalization, particularly the phenomena of socioeconomic interaction.

In the second volume of the trilogy, *The wheels of commerce*, Braudel, despite recognizing the scientific value of sociology, noted the incompleteness of definition of its object of study: society. For this reason, he chooses to adopt the mathematical term 'set', which indicates a collection of distinct elements that together form a group.

> I am perhaps using rather a grand word (in French the word for set is *ensemble*, which also means 'whole') to underline the obvious truth that everything under the sun is, and cannot escape being, social [...] If we use the expression 'set of sets' or *'ensemble des ensembles'*, does this not usefully remind us that any given social reality we may observe in isolation is itself contained in some greater set; that as a collection of variables, it requires and implies the existence of other collections of variables outside itself? (Braudel 1982, emphasis in original)

The operational purpose of framing social wholes in terms of sets is to facilitate their examination "split up into smaller sets for convenience of observation". Smaller sets then function as valid units of analysis, facilitating the observation of the emergence of social entities resulting from interactions at a smaller scale level (cf. DeLanda, 2019). Thanks to his dissection of the historical body of modern European economic development (i.e. capitalistic), Braudel laid the groundwork for comprehensive understanding and interpretation of the economic, social, and political relationships that drive transformations in societies, precisely enabling the analytical isolation of the various sets that compound a higher-level set, that "is in real life inextricably mingled with the others".

In his conceptual framework, cities are central, serving as hubs of what Braudel termed *world-economies.* While the *world economy* is "an expression applied to the whole world", a *world-economy* "only concerns a fragment of the world, an economically autonomous section of the planet"[27] (Braudel 1984). Therefore, the interpretative analysis

[27] For Braudel, Poland is to be considered the periphery, the "eastern boundary" of the seventeenth century European world-economy.

focuses on the spatial dimension of the economy (and, I add, of society), according to the jigsaw puzzle metaphor:

> Every world-economy is a sort of jigsaw puzzle, a juxtaposition of zones interconnected, but at different levels. (Braudel 1984).

Braudel defined those levels in terms of *core*, *middle zone*, and vast *periphery* that configure the spatial organization of each world-economy. For instance, Poland is to be considered the periphery, the "eastern boundary" of the seventeenth century European world-economy. The similarity with Wallerstein's World-Systems Analysis (1974, 2004) is explicit. And, after all, the influence of the Annales School on his work has been acknowledged by Wallerstein himself (2004).

Multiscalar approach

However, a specific significance of the Braudelian approach lies in the fact that the jigsaw puzzle metaphor applies to the partitions of the planetary economy constituted by *world-economies*, and in particular to the cities that constitute their central functioning mechanism (Braudel 1984). Moreover, it is possible to analogically extend this approach beyond the economic attributes of society and investigate the social and political transformative features of cities. Viewed from this angle, Braudel's work can be seen also as a forerunner to the "scalar explorations of the urban question" performed by Neil Brenner in his recent book, *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question* (2019). Brenner's investigative purpose is to question the theoretical frameworks produced by urban theory from the early 1990s, and identify the analytical elements that help understand how urban transformations have occurred in recent years, since the "geoeconomic crises" of the 1970s. The author examines how cities and urban spaces are conceptualized in terms of spatial scales: local, regional and global. He presents a "broad *problematique*" concerning how "worldwide capitalist restructuring" drives globalization processes and leads to changes in urban settings, reconfiguring urban governance. Understanding how these scales interact is strategic for comprehending the complexities of socioeconomic. This understanding can be achieved through the analytics generated around scaling/rescaling processes, which involve (capitalistic)

dynamics of reorganization affecting socioeconomic interactions, spatial arrangements and urban development. And it is precisely the spatial arrangements revolving around cities that Braudel (1984) has so clearly investigated. The question that Brenner poses is particularly clear:

> Might the Braudelian image of a jigsaw puzzle, with its haphazardly shaped pieces, its uneven contours, and its jagged interfaces, offer an alternative metaphorical reference point through which to envision emergent sociospatial transformations? (Brenner 2019)

Brenner responds affirmatively, embracing Pierre Veltz's "neo-Braudelian methodological perspective on our present moment of restructuring" in analyzing the contemporary '*archipelago economy'* (Veltz 1993, 1997). In this economic model includes relatively autonomous economic zones (clusters), comparable to islands in an archipelago, which are connected through commercial relations, communications and exchange of resources. Veltz also observed a form of '*metropolization'* in the European context, where decision-making centers, high-value production activities, and corporate headquarters are located in strategic metropolitan regions. These restructuring dynamics have also created divisions between winning and losing areas, producing:

> Various intranational divides between booming urban cores and declining manufacturing zones or depressed rural peripheries; intraregional divides between central city cores and their surrounding hinterlands; and intrametropolitan divides between wealthy or gentrified areas and disadvantaged, excluded neighborhoods or peri-urban settlements. (Brenner 2019)

In Brenner's historical-theoretical reconstruction, global urban evolution is intelligible because it manifests common characteristics shaped by the restructuring processes imposed by new forms of capitalist accumulation. By emphasizing the historically verifiable, persistent central role of cities, Brenner historicizes global city theory (see Mollenkopf and Castells 1991; Sassen 1991) as an "attempt to analyze the rescaled geographies of capitalist urbanization that have crystallized following the geoeconomic crises of the 1970s" (Brenner 2019). Before those crises, in the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth century, cities were more closely tied to national economies and controlled by the political authority of nation-states. The states also defined the geographic boundaries of interurban connections. This situation changes with the advent of globalization processes, structured by capitalist spatial reorganization that shapes new

urban hierarchies on a planetary scale, reestablishing cities' centrality. Global city scholars then maintains that the new configuration of world economy has its main driving force in cities and the metropolitan regions of which they constitute the centre. While affirming the interscalar character of the ever-changing global urbanization, Brenner seems to embrace the theoretical framework of global city theory. However, among the shortcomings of the theory he clearly mentions what he defines:

> 'Zero sum' conceptualization of geographical scale: the growing significance of one geographical scale is said to entail, by definition, the marginalization, fragmentation, or erosion of others. (Brenner 2019)

Contrary to this position, one of the peculiarities of the American scholar's theoretical conceptualizations, is the emphasis on the persistent yet evolving role or "national political-economic space" As a matter of fact, his critical effort functions as a constantly evolving, fully interscalar/multiscalar approach. The analytical weight assigned to the state scale is the result of a theoretical investigation committed in "deciphering emergent urban transformations" (Brenner 2019). An analogous approach is taken by the present study, which searches for new social configurations in Polish cities while keeping in mind the possible implications of all scales involved in urban transformations.

One prominent global city scholar, Saskia Sassen, stands out as she undoubtedly espouses a multiscalar approach that does not limit her "analytics" to the global scale. In her book *A Sociology of Globalization* (2007a), particularly in the chapter dedicated to local actors, Sassen recalls the cities of the past[28] that played a central role "at the intersection of processes with supraurban and even intercontinental scaling". The reference is, again, Braudel's work (1984). This observation, however, is made not to underline the modal continuity to be found in the political-economic role of cities, but, above all, to mark the difference with the current globalized era:

> What is different today is the coexistence of multiple networks and their intensity, complexity, and global span. Those features have served to increase the number of cities that are part of cross-border networks operating on often vast geographic scales. Under these conditions much of what we experience and represent as the local level turns out to be a microenvironment with global span. (Sassen 2007a)

[28] Ancient Athens and Rome, the cities of the Hanseatic League, Genoa, Venice, Baghdad, Cairo and Istanbul are mentioned.

This is a most concise and specific depiction of the globalized/globalizing characters determined by the relationships unfolding among the components of various sets. Indeed, a question arises: why have urban studies scholars tended to focus almost exclusively on one scale of the processes that have transformed urban contexts over the last three decades? While introductions of articles and books often acknowledge the multidimensionality and, to a lesser extent, the multiscalarity of urban phenomena, this broader perspective is often obscured in research narratives. Instead, it is likely thanks to her multiscalar approach that the American-Dutch scholar is able to capture the expansive movement of globalization, whose globalized and globalizing interconnections ensure that the network of cities involved expand accordingly. Simply put, the process taking place is not just reasserting the centrality of urban nodes, but it is also a radical transformation and reorganization of interscalar relations through rescaling processes, involving cities (and regions and states) that were previously disconnected.

Intensification

Historical research, urban studies, urban sociology[29] and what has been called the transdisciplinary field of global studies converge in having a stringent focus on cities. It may appear to be a simplistic observation, but the possibility cannot be excluded that this specific attention largely arises from the fact that social scientists are predominantly based in urban centers, where the universities they work for are located. However, I argue that in relation to the scientific focus on cities, an important characteristic is the *intensity* of globalization processes, as suggested by Sassen (see above). To illustrate my argument, it is useful to recall the definition of contemporary globalization presented by Held et al. in in the influential textbook *The global transformations reader. An introduction to the globalization debate* (Held and McGrew 2003). I can be thought as:

> A process (or set of processes[30]) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact - generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.

[29] It is well known that cities consistently have been the object of situated research programs for more than a century (see Park and Burgess 1925).
[30] The definition evokes Braudel's terminology "*set of sets*", which DeLanda also adopts.

> In this context, flows refer to the movements of physical artefacts, people, symbols, tokens and information across space and time, while networks refer to regularized or patterned interactions between independent agents, nodes of activity, or sites of power. (Held et al. 2003)

Methodologically, my study empirically combines (and operationalizes) this synthetic definition with the focus on urban contexts envisioned by Sassen (quoted above). It aims to analyze the characteristics attributed at the local level (the city, and other lower scales as discussed later) by social microconfigurations that exhibit global scope. In doing this, maintaining attention on the intensity of phenomena linked to globalization, especially on the intensity of global interconnectedness, proves be significant in a heuristic sense. Intensity is understood as the degree of strength or power with which a phenomenon manifests itself[31]. In statistics, intensity refers to numerical data that expresses the frequency with which an examined phenomenon occurs. In the (sub)field of urban sociology, it inevitably evokes the "intensification of nervous stimulation"[32] that Simmel described as a defining feature of urban life in the essay *The metropolis and the life of spirit* (Simmel 1903; Boy 2020). Conceptualizations and visualizations related to globalization are rendered precisely in terms of intensification, in relation to an increase of specific attributes. Some examples include: increase in international financial flows, often articulated in terms of foreign direct investment (FDI), the increase and global diffusion of the consumption of particular goods (i.e. smartphones), the increase and global dissemination of consumption of particular goods (e.g., smartphones), the increase in the usage of technologies (IT) and modes of communication, the increase[33] and diversification[34] of people's migratory patterns. An unsettling confirmation of the massive intensification of globalization processes was the extremely rapid spread of infections that caused the COVID-19 pandemic (Steger 2023). Giddens and Sutton (2021) also agree that "contemporary sociological debates are focused much more on the sheer pace and

[31] For instance, in physics, intensity may represent the power transferred per unit of area (W/m^2).
[32] "The psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality is the *intensification of nervous stimulation*, brought on by the rapid and constant change of external and internal sensations." (Simmel 1903, emphasis in original; Boy 2020). "Intensification of nervous stimulation" is one of the possible translations of the German "Steigerung des Nervenlebens" (Simmel 1957).
[33] In his constantly updated work Globalization. A very short introduction (2023), Steger confirms states that: "From 2001 to 2020, the proportion of the world's population living outside their birth country increased from 2.8 per cent to 3.6 per cent, its highest level on record. The number of international migrants reached 281 million in 2020, which represents an increase of over 100 million since 2000."
[34] The diversification of migratory patterns in contemporary societies is one the main focus of the research thread that goes under the academic label of *superdiversity*, whose initiator is Steven Vertovec, as discussed later in the chapter.

intensity of contemporary globalization" and that the concept of the "intensification of processes" constitutes the "central idea" that enables us to grasp the differences between the contemporary globalized condition and its historical precedents. The two English sociologists discreetly encourage a multidisciplinary approach in understanding contemporary globalization, suggesting that it is "better viewed as the coming together of political, social, cultural and economic factors." (Giddens and Sutton 2021). For instance, consider today's impressively massive use of communication technologies worldwide, fostered by their increased consumption individualization, that has made enormous amounts of (personal) data accessible not just to companies of the so-called platform capitalism (Srnicek 2016), but also to researchers. This availability potentially permits the exploration of emergent ways of social interaction[35]. It is interesting to notice that these processes, discussed in recent debates in terms of *datafication* or *big data*, are also interpreted as a "digital intensification of industrialism." (Lindgren 2022)

Discussing the intensification of processes serve as an empirical entry point into the theoretical framing of the various stages of evolution of cities towards a globalized condition. Before examining these theoretical aspects, however, it is opportune to focus on the characterization of the city as *global assemblage*, that was integrated into the research methodology and draws on the theoretical contribution of Sassen (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b). The conceptual framework of global assemblage is introduced by Sassen as a complex analytical approach[36] to understand the processes of globalization, including contradictory ones. At its basis is the empirically supported observation that the local, national and global scales are not in a relationship of exclusion, but rather interact and modify each other. Sassen analytics focuses on power dynamics[37] and consists of "three transhistorical components present in almost all societies", selected to examine "how they became assembled into different historical formations. […] These three components are territory, authority, and rights (TAR)" (Sassen 2008). Thanks to the examination of the evolution of the three components, Sassen manages to map the formation of four "new types of territoriality"[38] that are specialized global assemblages not confined solely to the global scale or the national scale, but constitute evident

[35] This empirical opportunity remains within the scope of future developments of this research.
[36] the term used by the author is 'analytics'.
[37] With a perspective thar comprises the "powerful" and the "powerless".
[38] Outcomes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

destabilizing factors for the latter. The four identified types of specialized global assemblages are:

> New jurisdictional geographies. […]
> Standardized global space for the operations of firms and markets […]
> Global network of financial centers […]
> Global networks of local activists and […] concrete and often place-specific social infrastructure of global civil society (Sassen 2008a)

In the first decade of the century, it became evident that the increase in the availability of digital communication technologies and the intensification of their individualized usage on a global scale (in a multiscalar sense) constituted a decisive factor in the emergence of these new "territorialities". Drawing from the study of "global electronic financial markets and global activist networks", the Dutch-American sociologist relates the rescaling processes that distinguish contemporary globalization to new organizational logics introduced by the expansion of digital networks and the "digitization of a broad array of economic and political activities"[39], which led to the creation of a "variety of global digital assemblages and novel spatio-temporal framings for social activity broadly understood" (Sassen 2006). Global assemblages enable the emergence of new types of social activities. This evolution leads Sassen to identify and recognize the primary importance of local actors in globalization phenomena. And this certainly derives from her approach that avoids what she dubs an "endogeneity trap"[40], common in the social sciences, which consists in examining a phenomenon by only considering its own attributes and not external factors. One of the types of assemblages (of TARs) whose formation she has managed to clearly identify is constituted by global networks of local activist. It can be hypothesized that the emergence of local actors in globalizing contexts is not limited to this type of network. In fact, according to Sassen:

[39] "When we speak of today's society as being digital, we don't very often mean to say that it just draws upon binary numerical operations. What we do tend to mean is that it has been transformed in a number of quite drastic ways, following the development of the early 'computing' machines into smart devices which have increasingly enabled large-scale networked connections, coordination, and communication in both automated and human-driven ways." Lindgren 2022). Large-scale networked communication is possibly the main idea that comes to mind when we think of digitization. Sassen refers to the broader scope of the digitized society we live in, which expands the range of possibilities for human activities.

[40] "A key proposition that has long guided my research is that we cannot understand the x - in this case globalization - by confining our study to the characteristics of the x - i.e., global processes and institutions. This type of confinement is a kind of endogeneity trap, one all too common in the social sciences and spectacularly so in the globalization literature." (Sassen 2006).

> Novel types of actors, initially often informal political or economic actors, can emerge in the processes through which these assemblages are constituted. These novel actors tend to be able to access cross-border domains once exclusive to older established actors, notably national states. (Sassen 2008b)

As a matter of fact, the quotes statement affirms the possibility for new local actors to access new spaces for action. Expectedly, Sassen also refers to the emergence of the role played by migrants in globalization phenomena in several works, although not providing a thorough analysis. *A Sociology of Globalization,* contains a clear section that delineates the potential contextual aspects of the framing of migrants in cities. The focus is on:

> The networks that connect cities across borders and can increasingly bypass national states. […] These networks constitute one of the critical global formations today, as they include a rapidly growing range of actors and activities, including such diverse cases as the global network of a firm's affiliates, transnational migrant networks, and international terrorist networks. This type of focus helps open up the analysis to the possibility that subnational levels might matter to the process of constituting global social forms. It gives us an analytic bridge between the global scale, still an elusive notion, and the more familiar concept of the local in terms of the city or the immigrant community, for example. (Sassen 2007a)

The example is both compelling and appropriate for the empirical stance adopted by the study. Drawing on and expanding the arguments proposed by Sassen, I argue that characterizing cities as global assemblages (subnational entities in interscalar relationship with other levels), and integrating the theoretical definitions of cities and nation-states as assemblages[41] with Sassen's identification of specialized types of global assemblages, "helps open up the analysis" of cities' global attributes. This can be achieved thanks to a productive research approach that empirically attests to the presence of the (emerging) elements producing global attributes and relationships. This approach appears to be fully implementable by reorienting the analytical focus (or broadening its scope). In fact, it is not just a matter of examining the activities and social relations established between actors located in globally connected cities, but also the activities and social relationships between actors *within* individual cities. Social activities and relationships that seem to have been overlooked by globalization literature, which appears to have focused mainly

[41] Cities as assemblages of people, networks, organizations and infrastructural components. Nation-states as assemblages of cities, geographical regions and provinces.

on capturing the 'connective' elements of processes without exploring the transformative effects on relationships between actors, and on other spatial scales beyond the global, such as individual, local, urban, regional, and state levels[42]. If it is the case that "complex assemblages can capture global social and political capital, and they can 'house' this capital" (Sassen 2007a), the possibility that this capital may manifest itself on an urban level cannot be disregarded.

Before progressing further, it is pertinent to briefly consider an assessment of Sassen's approach presented by Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth in the article *Assemblage urbanism and the challenges of critical urban theory* (2011). Discussing predominately a pair of theoretical papers by McFarlane (2011a, 2011b), Brenner and colleagues acknowledge that in response to contemporary spatial changes in urban contexts, urban scholars are mobilizing the concept of assemblage as the foundation of their theorization, deemed capable of capturing "sociomaterial transformations" (McFarlane, 2011a). Although the conceptualization has been used since the 1980s (for example, in urban planning), it is only with the new century that it has been "explicitly deployed as a major analytical tool for more-than-descriptive purposes in studies of cities and urban space." (Brenner, Madden and Wachsmuth 2011) In this respect, they consider assemblage analysis to be productive when it is "mobilized" alongside a wider array of theories and methods. In particular, consistent with their radical critical orientation, they believe that assemblage analysis can open new interpretative possibilities of capitalist urbanization by expanding the "*methodology* of urban political economy in new directions". After examining a considerable number of works, Brenner and colleagues establish three possible articulations between assemblage theory and urban political economy in Table 1, included below for clarity and completeness.

[42] This seems to confirm the fact that some scholars have indeed fallen into the endogeneity trap.

Table 1 Articulations of assemblage analysis and urban political economy

	Relation to urban political economy	Exemplary research foci	Representative authors
Level 1: empirical *Political economy of urban assemblages*	Assemblage is understood as a specific type of research object that can be analyzed through a political–economic framework and/or contextualized in relation to historically and geographically specific political–economic trends.	Technological networks within and among cities (e.g. electrical grids); intercity networks; assemblages of territory, authority and rights.	Graham and Marvin (2001); Sassen (2006); Ali and Keil (2010); Graham (2010)
Level 2: methodological *Assemblage as a methodological extension of urban political economy*	Assemblage (often in conjunction with the closely related concept of 'metabolism') is presented as a methodological orientation through which to investigate previously neglected dimensions of capitalist urbanization. The core concerns of critical urban political economy remain central, but are now extended into new realms of inquiry.	The production of socionatures; infrastructural disruption or collapse; flows of energy, value, substances, microbes, people, ideas.	Kaika (2005); Heynen *et al.* (2006); Bender (2010); Graham (2010); McFarlane (2011a)
Level 3: ontological *Assemblage as an 'alternative ontology for the city' (Farías, 2010, p. 13)*	Assemblage analysis displaces the investigation of capitalist urban development and the core concerns of urban political economy (e.g. the commodification of urban space, inequality and power relations, state intervention, polarization, uneven spatial development).	Urban materialities and infrastructures, including buildings, highways, artifacts, informal settlements, communications systems, traffic flows, inter-urban networks	Latour and Hermant (2006); Farías (2010); various contributions to Farías and Bender (2010); Smith (2010); McFarlane (2011a, 2011b)

Note. Reprinted from: "Assemblage urbanism and the challenges of critical urban theory", by N. Brenner, D.J. Madden, and D. Wachsmuth, 2011, *City*, 15(2).

The authors clearly state that among the identified 'articulations,' levels 1 ('empirical') and 2 ('methodological') constitute new possible theoretical developments aligned with political economy categorizations, which have proven productive. Instead, they express skepticism regarding level 3 ('ontological'), criticizing its overt objective to reconceptualize the "fundamental character of the (urban and non-urban) social world", without drawing upon any "theoretical framework attuned to the structuration of urban processes".

The article by Brenner and colleagues references Sassen's research (2006) that I discussed earlier, and this necessitate a (terminological) clarification. While my work aligns with the theoretical framework outlined above, drawing on the Dutch-American sociologist's work, it is not limited to the sole empirical articulation (level 1) of the assemblage approach. Indeed, I maintain that my approach can also be characterized as methodological (level 2), precisely because, due to its actively heuristic character, the study intends to "investigate previously neglected dimensions of capitalistic urbanization", with a research focus on individuals, as clearly stated in the table.

Moreover, the fact that I discuss social processes in terms of social ontology (see Chapter 1) should not automatically associate my work with level 3 (ontological), since, in fact, I do not undertake any reconceptualization that neglects the categories of political economy (one might say the opposite). In stating this I intend to prevent any possible misunderstanding. Finally, I would like to specify that my research, having an interdisciplinary character, does not limit its range of exploratory action to the sole field of "assemblage urbanism", not least because the field itself still appears to lack clearly defined "boundaries".

Research scalar focus

As previously mentioned, the focus of the research is on individual migrant actors who find new spaces for action (i.e., new 'sociomaterial' interactions and formations) opened up by globalization processes in urban contexts. To better apprehend the inter-scalar contexts in which actors of urban transformation operate, it is appropriate to focus on the concept of scale, which social sciences borrow from geography, in particular from human geography. It should be recognized that there are at least two different meanings of scale. The first meaning derives from technical drawing and cartography and refers to the *reduction scale*, i.e. the numerical ratio between the distances measured on the map and the real ones. The second meaning is plausibly conveyed by Herod in his monograph on the subject[43]:

> The term "scale" is used as a kind of shorthand to describe either an areal unit on the Earth's surface (as when studying a phenomenon "at the regional scale") or the extent of a process's or a phenomenon's geographical reach (as when suggesting that a particular process is "a regional" or "a national" one). (Herod 2011)

Therefore, scale is configured as a representational tool that bears spatial meanings and conveys spatial relationships. Predictably, Herod underlines the importance that the concept has acquired with the development of globalization studies. Moreover, he provides an extensive analysis of the debate on the conceptualization in recent decades, starting with the caveat that social scientists do not universally agree on the actual

[43] His book *Scale* is one of the most cited works on the matter, according to Google Scholar (see https://scholar.google.com/)

existence of scales. In the lack of adequate space to delve into this theoretical debate, I will limit myself to emphasizing two points. First, Herod cites the writings by Taylor (1981, 1982), Smith (1984/1990), and Giddens (1984)[44] to underline that these scholars propose a materialist understanding, that "there is a material basis to scales, that is to say, scales are socially produced and have real consequences for social life" (Herod 2011). It is the case of a materiality that is configured according to the demands of capitalist development[45]. Second, Herod acknowledges that various scalar theorizations over the years have focused on broadly hierarchical organization of different scales, encompassing "'the body', 'the urban', 'the regional', 'the national' and 'the global.'", which he himself adopts as the structure of his monograph. It is for this reason that he does not include in his discussion of the matter other possible scales, such as "'the household', 'the neighborhood', 'the continent', and 'the province'/'state'[46]" (Herod 2011). In particular, Herod's theoretical review of the body as a scale provide useful insights for empirical research. First of all, he conceives the body "as a geographical scale that exists within a hierarchy of scales." In doing so, he reaffirms the spatial character of the body, a material entity in space. Subsequently, he reminds us that the body has been discussed in humanities and social science in such a way that represents it as the foundational basis of all the other scales (for instance, family and community). One clarification is essential (if not obvious):

> The body as a scale is also very different from other scales of social organization such as the global or the national, for whereas these other scales are socially produced, bodies are both biological entities and social ones, with one's biological shape and size being very much shaped by social conditions. (Herod 2011)

Therefore, a potentially indissoluble interpretative dualism arises from the possibility to consider the body simultaneously as "body qua body" and "body qua scale", both socially produced and both contributing to the production of society. Herod argues that both the body and scale are tropes. As Jones notes, "scale itself is a representational trope, a way of framing political-spatiality that in turn has material effects" (1998, cited by Herod). Similarly, the body is often used to represent processes and relations. Another significant

[44] "The concept that geographical scales might be produced and reproduced as a result of people's everyday 'routinized social practices', although not explicitly explored by Giddens, nevertheless would subsequently be an important element in the ongoing theorization of scale and its nature" (Herod 2011)
[45] "For Taylor, the key questions were what roles various scales play under capitalism, for Smith they concerned how the various scales at which capitalism is organized came into existence." (Herod 2011)
[46] The administrative partitions of a national/federal state.

aspect is how the relationships between scales form the basis of the production of (social) relationships in an ambivalent dynamic, where each scale is simultaneously shaping and being shaped. This dynamic aspect is evident at the scale of the body, as effectively expressed by Harvey's words:

> Spatiotemporality[47] defined at one scale (that of 'globalization'[48] and al its associated meanings) intersects with bodies that function at a much more localized scale. (Harvey 2000, cited by Herod)

Herod's review does not include a thorough examination of the psychological aspects associated with the body as scale. Although referencing some psychoanalytic works, he focuses mainly on material aspects, such as the binary inside/outside (of the body), without exploring crucial psychological and social dimensions of individuals' lives, such as the mind, the self, personality, identity and interactions within the social world.

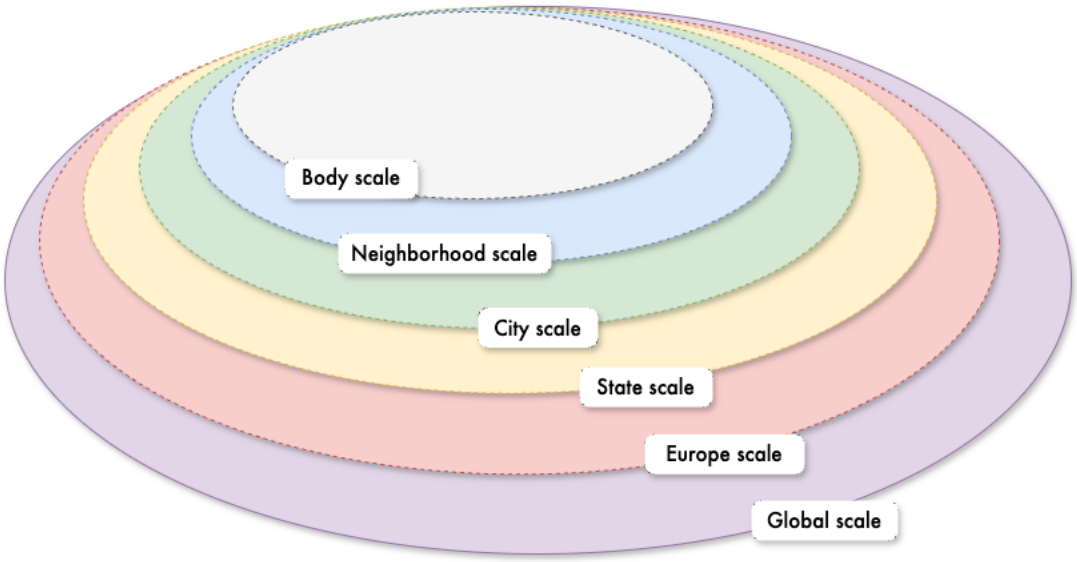
Scales of analysis

As one might anticipate, this research directs its analytical attention mainly towards the scales closest to that of the individual body. Accordingly, the empirical investigation is centered on individuals, and thus on the scale of the body, within urban contexts, addressing both the scales of the neighborhood[49] and the city. However, the focus remains distinctly multiscalar and interscalar. The analytical effort, therefore, consistently considers the interscalar intersections and multiscalar configurations of each individual scale, as exemplified by Harvey's words quoted above. The scales of analysis that define the scope of the research are: the body (or the individual perceptual) scale, the neighborhood scale, the city (or urban) scale, the state scale, the European scale, the global scale. They are visualized in *Figure 1*. It is crucial to reaffirm that the relationships between scales reach beyond geographic-spatial attributes. In this sense, the city not only

[47] The quote from Harvey also serves as a reminder that scales extend beyond spatial aspects; they are also configured in temporal terms as well.
[48] The text by Harvey following the quote above elucidates that the framing adopted by the author stems from his examination of the socio-historical evolution of (global) capitalistic arrangements: "*Translation across spatiotemporal scales is here accomplished by the intersection of two qualitatively different circulation processes, one of which is defined through the long historical geography of capital accumulation while the other depends upon the production and reproduction of the laboring body in a far more restricted space."* (Harvey 2000)
[49] As a working definition of neighborhood, I refer to the one articulated by Galster, which states: "Neighbourhood is the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses." (2011).

contains neighborhoods and people (spatial relations), it also concurs to shape to shape social, economic, political, and cultural relations. Furthermore, individual cities are not the sole 'containers' of bodies[50], as they necessarily represent only a fraction of the geographical space.

Figure 1 Scales of analysis



Note. The pattern of the figure is eccentric, conveying a sense of spatiality. Adapted from: "The latent globalization. Central European experiences on the example of Poznań and Kraków" by P. Kubicki, M. Nowak and F. Fantuz, forthcoming.

Spaces of action

The possibility for individuals to perform actions and develop practices in socially produced spaces is a notion commonly shared in sociology. For Bourdieu (2018), individuals are "at once biological beings and social agents who are constituted as such in and through their relation to a social space[51]". De Certeau (1984) contended that "spatial practices concern everyday tactics[52]" and that they "structure the determining conditions of social life". Lefebvre (1991) argued that "social space 'incorporates' social actions, the

[50] For this reason, and also because interscalar relationships are not limited to hierarchical spatial dimensions, the research adopts a non-hierarchical analytical approach.
[51] As Löw (2016) captured well: "*Bourdieu develops an action-theoretical approach that takes symbolic practices as well as economic practices into consideration as strategies used in competition for positions in social space.*"
[52] In short, De Certeau distinguished strategy devised by institutions from tactic, "a calculus" performed by individuals. In this research, instead, I take a different position by discussing the concept of strategy in relation to individuals, as the term conveys a reflexive effort assuming a wide range of possibilities and a more extended timeframe.

actions of subjects both individual and collective" and further posited that it "works (along with its concept) as a tool for the analysis society".

I argue individual social actors - individuals acting as social agents - are productively observable, meaning they can be understood and studied effectively, by examining their actions and practices at different scales: at the level of their bodies, within neighborhoods the broader contexts of urban environment. Furthermore, in this research, the observation of actions and practices must be informed by the detection of attributes induced by globalization processes, to structure a comprehensive analysis that may include all the scales involved. It is possible to better understand these investigative modalities[53] by referring to two conceptualizations developed by Ulrich Beck (2000, 2016): the *globalization of biography* and (*cosmopolitized) spaces of action*. Both constitute realistic interpretations of empirical evidence. It is easy to understand that the idea of globalization of biography refers to the fact that the personal lives of individuals are subject to the transformations induced by the broader processes of globalization, with repercussions on culture, identity, relationships and opportunities. Beck's words are more accessible than Harvey's (see above) and illuminate how intersections between different scales effectively unfold:

> Globalization of biography means that the world's oppositions occur not only out there but also in the centre of people's lives, in multicultural marriages and families, at work, in circles of friends, at school, in the cinema, at the supermarket cheese counter, in listening to music, eating the evening meal, making love, and so on. Although people do not will it and are not even aware of it, we all live more and more in a 'glocal' manner. (Beck 2000)

I would like to emphasize what Beck revealed with the final sentence of the citation above: he unmistakably clarified that individuals that act socially, thereby becoming social actors, participate in processes of (global) social transformation, even if they do so unconsciously or without intending to. This condition is inherent to the unfolding of the social phenomena investigated in the research, as I will elaborate on later. Beck formulated the second conceptualization, spaces of action (*Handlungsräume)*, in the writings collected in the posthumous book *The Metamorphosis of the world. How climate change is transforming our concept of the World*[54] (2016). It has a descriptive significance

[53] The reference to the work of Cohn (1996) is purely terminological, not methodological.
[54] The book is understandably incomplete. However, the exceptional editing work by Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, Beck's wife and a sociologist herself, allows us to grasp the latest developments in Beck's thought, moving towards a general rethinking of the scientific sociological approach.

equivalent to the first but a potentially much more extensive interpretative power. It is an actual interpretative instrument capable of revealing the dynamics of new social, political, cultural, and economic configurations brought about by global changes. It is reasonably possible that Beck considered globalization a *fait accompli*, or rather an inevitable[55] process in constant metamorphic evolution, which he referred to as "cosmopolitized reality" that "constitutes everybody's strategic lived reality". Beck signaled a shift from worldviews and social patterns rooted in nation-state-based thinking toward new social, political, economic and cultural arrangements that originate from and contribute to global transformations. And it is critical to emphasize that Beck understood that the processes of globalization and cosmopolitization[56] can unfold without the actors themselves necessarily perceiving them as such, as previously mentioned. However, actors have access to what Beck defined as:

> Cosmopolitized spaces of action, which need to be understood as not institutionalized in a national frame. They are not integrated, not limited and not exclusive. They include transnational, transborder resources for action, such as the differences between national judicial regimes, radical inequalities and cultural differences. (Beck, 2016)

It becomes evident that spaces of action are equipped with immaterial functional dimensions, such as legal regimes and cultural differences, which fundamentally configure them in terms of social space. However, their essential physical-spatial dimension should not be disregarded, as they spaces are determined by specific spatio-temporalities. Specific *here-and-now* contexts expressively determine the available resources, enabling social actors to identify potential repertoires of strategies and actions. Unlike practices, which are routinized, actions are then "reflexive, bridging and using transborder differences", exactly because they are "institutionalized in a national frame" (Beck 2016). Finally, for Beck, the globalized/cosmopolitized condition open up spaces of action for virtually everybody[57] ("for the first time in history") exactly because:

> They are not exclusive in the sense that only powerful economic, political and military actors can make use of them. Individual actors can also use cosmopolitized resources - depending on their social position and economic means. (Beck 2016)

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[55] He peremptorily stated that: "*Nobody can escape the global"* (Beck 2016)
[56] Beck described cosmopolitization as "internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies." (Beck 2002). An appraisal of the concept is provided in Chapter 3.
[57] As Beck stated: "From now on it is an active decision not to use the cosmopolitized spaces of action (or spaces of cosmopolitan resources for action)" (Beck 2016).

The strategic use of cosmopolitized spaces of action by social actors with migration experience, within the context of contemporary globalization, can thus be framed as one of the observational foci of the research. By examining the strategies implemented by migrant individuals, it is possible to determine which strategies yield transformative outcomes - those capable of producing and modifying the social contexts to which they belong. It is therefore necessary to review the global, globalized, and globalizing characteristics of urban contexts, specifically the cities that form the environments, the global assemblages where these cosmopolitanized spaces of action are embedded.

Global city, globalizing city, globalized urbanization

Prior to discussing the attributes that configure cities as spaces of globalization, it is prudent to try to prevent potential misunderstandings that may arise from the use of the terms *international* and *global*. In common language, the two words have at least partially overlapping meanings, and they are often used interchangeably. However, I propose to establish a significant distinction by adopting, by analogy, the "process-oriented approach" indicated by Dicken discussing the transformations of the world economy:

> *Globalization processes* are *qualitatively* different from internationalization processes. They involve not merely the geographical extension of economic activity across national boundaries but also the *functional* integration of such internationally dispersed activities. (Dicken 2003, emphasis in original)

It is rational to consider that processes that are not purely economic, such as social, political, and cultural transformations, are also global in kind and scope (not merely international), because they do not just occur across national borders, they do not simply replicate the same specific traits in different national contexts[58]. Instead, when these processes are functionally integrated on a global level and contribute directly to the transformations at hand, they enable (the overall process of) globalization to incorporate characters that are produced (or emerge) in different local contexts. Furthermore, although the "intensification of processes" is a key observable dynamic allowing an understanding of contemporary globalization (as discussed earlier), representing global

[58] In common language, this dynamic is often described in terms of *export,* borrowing from economic jargon again.

phenomena solely in quantitative terms (a theoretical stance) may lead to interpretative biases. It is arguably inadequate to confine analysis solely to measurements of the degree of some sort of global 'attainment'. Firstly, defining a sufficient level of attainment for any global attribute in relation to constantly evolving economic and social phenomena is inherently a complex task, if feasible[59]. If economic or demographic phenomena can be certainly operationalized in quantitative terms, social and cultural transformations may defy this kind of operationalization, especially if in the early stages of their development, requiring a qualitative interpretation of new emergent arrangements. In the following paragraphs, I undertake a concise review of significant theorizations proposed in the literature on global and globalizing cities

As discussed earlier, conceptualizations relating to globalization have been systematically developed in relation to the central role played by cities in the context of world economy, as outlined by Braudel (1984). This is also true for the development of global city theory (Friedmann and Wolff 1982; Friedmann 1986, 1995; Sassen 1991; Taylor, P. J. 2004; GaWC 2021, 2024) which frequently refers to the system of interurban connections of the pre-industrial era as a precursor to the globalized nature of contemporary urbanization. That is possibly why the initial choice of terminology by scholars to indicate their research object was *world city* (Geddes 1915; Hall 1966, Friedmann and Wolff 1982). However, at the end of the twentieth century, the term *global city* gained prominence, for its ability to denote "the specificity of the global as it gets structured in the contemporary city." (Sassen 2007a)[60] In the works of Friedmann (1986, 1995) and Sassen (1991, 2000) the main assumptions that constitute the global city 'paradigm' (Parnreiter 2013) can be identified, as structured on the manifest examples of three dominant cities: New York, London and Tokio (Sassen 1991). According to the

[59] A banal but useful example is provided by reference to the global cities 'par excellence', namely New York, Tokyo, and London, as identified by the literature on global cities (cf. Sassen 1991, 1996). To describe the degree of global importance achieved by these three cities on a global level, Sassen uses the parameter of concentration of global financial lending as a metric: *"*International bank lending grew from US$1.89 trillion in 1980 to US$6.24 trillion in 1991 -- a fivefold increase in a mere ten years. Three cities (New York, London and Tokyo) accounted for 42 percent of all such international lending in 1980 and for 41 percent in 1991 according to data from the Bank of International Settlements.*"* (Sassen 1996). It is intuitively understandable how this parameter constitutes a confirmation of the global condition of the three cities, precisely because it gives them an apical position. But if a quantitative indicator is used, how can it be answered the question of what its minimum value should be so that any city not part of the triad can also be considered global? Assumptions in this regard could be accused of arbitrariness.

[60] The complete passage by Sassen provides a thought-provoking read: "Choosing how to name a configuration has its own substantive rationality. Choosing the term *global city* […] was a knowing choice. It was an attempt to name a difference: the specificity of the global as it gets structured in the contemporary city. I did not choose the obvious alternative, *world city*, because it has precisely the opposite attribute: it refers to a type of city that we have seen over the centuries". (Sassen 2007a, emphasis in original) Nonetheless, the two expressions are widely used interchangeably. (cf. Brenner 2019).

paradigm, global cities are strategic centers for the management of the world economy where the command functions of its governance are concentrated, as are “high-level producer-service firms oriented to world markets”. Global cities are “major sites of production” of leading industries and show a high degree of global integration in their economies and “broader social structure”. In fact, they necessarily operate as part of a worldwide network of cities[61], driven by the organizational logic of cross-border division of labor. This global network has been fittingly termed the ‘world city archipelago’ (WCA) by Taylor (2004), a scholar who, in a research commitment spanning more than four decades, has consistently deepened our understanding of global urban connections. Moreover, Sassen's core understanding is that global cities are substantially (and structurally) different due to their unprecedented impact on international economy, social formations and urban contexts[62]. They create new spatial and politico-economic orders. They are places where labor becomes transnational, fostering international mobility and the development of translocal opportunities that transform communities, identities, and cultures over time. The rise of global cities has been connected to specific economic processes, among which two of the most important are the growing transformative role of transnational companies (TNCs) and the relative global decline in importance of mass production with Fordist characteristics, due to the restructuring of traditional manufacturing in light of the rise of capital value of immaterial modes of production, such as IT and services. Global cities “exhibit clear signs of deindustrialization” (Charnock 2024). Bassens and van Meeteren interpret global urban rescaling processes as the response that the global economy found to the 'Fordism crisis' of the 1970s:

> A decade of massive capital shortage […] had gradually been reversed as a consequence of the massive transnationalization of global financial capital flows […] enabling large Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to readjust their global capital outlay. (Bassens and van Meeteren 2015).

In the following decades, this transnationalization has found its focal point in cities that activate regional specialization, new industrial dynamics, and forms of technological and social innovation, becoming the locations where a post-Fordist growth model develops (Amin 2011).

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[61] “There is no such entity as a single global city.” (Sassen 2000)

[62] The first edition of Global City ends as follows: “It is this combination of a new industrial complex that dominates economic growth and the sociopolitical forms through which it is constituted and reproduced that is centered in major cities and contains the elements of a new type of city, the global city.” (Sassen 1991)

An important consequence of defining global cities in paradigmatic terms is that they primarily concern cities occupying apex positions in the hierarchies that inform global urban networks (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000). Nonetheless, social scientists have recognized that it is possible for relatively less important cities, which are less affected by information and financial flows or have a lower concentration of international financial assets, to exhibit emerging globalized characteristics. Unmistakably, Sassen stated that:

> Several cities also fulfill equivalent functions on the smaller geographic scales of both trans- and subnational regions. Furthermore, whether at the global or at the regional level, these cities must inevitably engage each other in fulfilling their functions, as the new forms of growth seen in these cities are a result of these networks of cities. (Sassen 2000)

It is towards these secondary cities, those occupying non-primary positions in the world city archipelago, that a strand of global city research has shifted its empirical focus since the beginning of the century, marking a reorientation "away from 'global cities' as such" (Ren and Keil 2018). Its research agenda is nearly identically "concerned with the role of cities in post-industrial society and the geographical transfer of value" (Bassens et al. 2023). However, the primary focus is on *globalizing cities*, as they are defined by Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen in their eponymous book (2000). In seeking answers to their primary research question - whether globalization leads to a new unique spatial order in all cities – the two scholars answer negatively, motivating their terminological choice as follows:

> *Globalizing cities* is thus the term we are using, to reflect two different points: that (almost) all cities are touched by the process of globalization and that involvement in that process is not a matter of being either at the top or the bottom of it, but rather of the nature and extent of influence of the process. We do *not*, by using the term, suggest that the nature of that involvement is uniform, and certainly not that all cities are converging on a single model of "globalized' city. (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000, emphasis in original)

Cities are globalizing because they are being transformed through direct functional involvement in globalization processes, primarily economic restructuring, spatio-political rescaling, and social change. More explicitly put: the globalization processes taking place in globalizing cities share common core elements[63] that can be observed in the processes

[63] That is, the same core set of sets.

of global city formation. Since the inception of world/global city research, its proponents have argued that the process of global city formation does not achieve the fulfilled realization of a Weberian 'ideal type', a theoretical assumption proposed by Friedmann and Wolff (1982), which is confirmed by Marcuse and van Kempen[64].

I am reluctant to share Brenner's position as he opts to use the terms 'global city' and 'globalizing city' interchangeably. Firstly, this can generate confusion. Moreover, the differential use of these terms enables a heuristic for understanding the trends underlying urban transformations. Indeed, Brenner himself states:

> The latter term [globalizing city] is arguably more precise insofar as it underscores that the cities in question are not a static "type" but are undergoing specific processes of transformation that require further specification with reference to the dynamics of "globalization". (Brenner 2019)

The required further specification alluded to by Brenner entails expanding the research scope to frame the empirical specificities of individual cities. Each city has its own pathway to become globalized and follows place-specific patterns of social change and urban restructuring (Ren and Keil 2018).

Human geographer John Rennie Short has summarized the empirical and theoretical implications resulting from the shift in research focus, represented in Table 2 as a dual list of topics reflecting possible theoretical ambivalences.

Table 2 From world city to globalizing city research

World city research	*Globalizing city research*
Measuring globalization	Measuring and deconstructing globalization
Globalization	Globalizing
Measures of world "cityness"	Processes of globalization
City as impacted	City as arena
Being global	Becoming global

Note. Reprinted from: "Global metropolitan. Globalizing cities in a capitalist world", by J. Rennie Short, 2004, Routledge.

[64] Marcuse and van Kempen clearly state that: *"*Whether a city is a 'globalizing city", cannot be answered by any simple measure on a linear scale of "more" or "less" globalized, ignoring the way in which it is integrated into globalization processes." (Marcuse and van Kempen 2000)

The list in the right column, titled 'Globalizing city research,' includes elements that connote aspects of the globalizing city in terms of the processuality of global city formation[65]. One particularly significant list item represents the globalizing city as an *arena*, which is a space of competition but also an area of public interest, activities and tensions. This characterization implies the presence of actors who utilize the city arena to exert both factual and symbolic agency. They are human actors, individuals and their organizations, that become visible in the urban arenas, as they act in the public sphere to access available resources and apply their strategies to contexts, pursuing frequently conflicting individual or social agendas. Those actors, who were kept behind the scene by the global city scholars (with few exceptions, the most notable being Saskia Sassen), now come to the front stage, especially at the local scales[66] (body, neighborhood, city). Global city research, particularly its political and economic configurations, has investigated phenomena that have clear social repercussions, but it has often overlooked the specific roles and agency of urban residents. On the other hand, research on globalizing cities offers a broader sociological perspective by highlighting processes in which people participate beyond mere political-economic dimensions. In the light of this, the concept of the globalizing city offers a reliable framework to investigate the cultural aspects of globalization, such as the rise in new cultural signs and artifacts not specific to the individual city being researched, but which contribute to the configuration of its globalized characters. Examples include the increase in transnational companies within the urban fabric, the proliferation of international/transnational restaurants (that may maintain a functional connection to the countries of origin, stimulating additional relations, for example in commerce and tourism) and the organization of new cultural events (e.g. festivals from "other cultures"). A specific sociological focus is therefore embedded in globalizing city research, although it remains empirically unexplored[67]. This focus is on the social transformations that emerge in the everyday life of people who

[65] In the literature, the synthetic expression "global city formation" is predominantly used for all different stages a city is in, given that the globalization processes at play are potentially the same.
[66] This does not make the researcher's task any easier if, as Rennie Short claims: *"*Making the theoretical and empirical connections between the global and the local has been one of the more difficult areas of globalization studies and global cities research.*"* (Rennie Short 2004)
[67] "World cities research as traditionally structured has tended to ignore the connection between global processes and local lives. The connections need to be made between the aggregate nature of most global cities research and the rich documentary evidence of urban ethnographies if we are to understand how different types of people get by in different ways in different cities across the world*."* (Rennie Short 2004).

participate in the processes of global city formation. Rennie Short indicates an ambivalent relationship whose embodiment is substantiated at the local scale, as follows:

> Returning to an analysis of globalization in terms of changes in scales and spaces, we may ask how individuals are at work in reconstructing the spaces of their lives and in turn, how the spaces of their lives are being changed by globalization processes.

New globalized/cosmopolitized spaces of action emerge in the global city as much in the globalizing city, as globalization processes expand to the global level the "range of opportunities and lifestyles available to different individuals." (Rennie Short 2004). Although it may seem obvious, it is beneficial to clarify that the differences among individuals referred to by Rennie Short concern not only their social position, level of education, income, and so on, but also their origin and individual journey, specifically whether they are "native" nationals or non-nationals. Remarkably, world/global city research has, from the beginning, made explicit the relationship between global city formation and the movements of people, consistently including migrations.

Friedmann pointed to the attractiveness of world cities, although not explicitly, in the fifth thesis of his *The World City Hypothesis*:

> World cities are points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants. (Friedmann 1986)

Manuel Castells, who famously wrote that "the global city is not a place, but a process" (2010), similarly describes the attractive mechanism by which changes in the global labor market concentrate attractive and innovative jobs in cities that are connected through global networks, a phenomenon that is constitutive of the process of global city formation:

> Since jobs are appealing globally, these metropolitan regions also become the hubs for immigration. They develop as multi-ethnic places and establish global connections not only at the level of functional and economic interactions, but at the level of interpersonal relations - the networks of cultures, and the networks of people, analytically captured by the concept of transnationalism from below. (Castells 2010)

Castells establishes a coherent link, amenable to empirical investigation, between the processes of globalization, global city formation and the role of migration. This relationship is activated "at the level of interpersonal relations" between migrants and

'native' residents, fostering efforts of placemaking that equip local urban contexts with globally relevant connections.

Sassen has frequently explored the causal relationships between global phenomena, their impacts on individuals and global city formation. She interprets immigration as a key "constitutive process of globalization" which is "largely embedded in major cities" (Sassen 2002), where a persistent concentration of migrants can be observed. Sassen emphasizes the grounding of individuals' globalized lives in the urban arena, maintaining that:

> [Global] cities help people experience themselves as part of global non-state networks as they live their daily lives. They enact some version of the global in the micro-spaces of daily life rather than on some putative global stage. (Sassen 2004)

As mentioned earlier, Sassen's decades-long investigation has focused predominantly on political and economic issues, with specific attention to power dynamics. She has examined global networks that are established by women, anti-capitalist activists, anti-trafficking activists and migrants. Her work opens up the possibility to explore agency of migrants beyond their role of political subjects in the global networks, because it is precisely due to their actions across multiple scales that agency and roles that hold specific relevance to local levels (such as the body, the neighborhood, and the city) can be inferred. The city, as an assemblage (of people, networks, organizations and infrastructural components), represents the physical place and social space that set the stage of their socio-political strategic enactment.

Michael Peter Smith, the 'standard bearer' of transnational urbanism (2001, 2005), advances an intriguing theoretical stance, stating the necessity of deconstructing previous *evolutionary* "representations of globalization". (2017)[68] He offers a systematization of globalization as a contested project composed of "social practices 'from below'[69], 'in-between', and 'above'." Analysis of the transnational relations linking cities requires the merging of "the methods of political economy and transnational ethnography", so that an "agency-oriented" approach can be applied in urban research. At its core, this is the methodological approach of transnational urbanism. Implemented

[68] Smith indicates three of these of representations: "The time-space compression theory of David Harvey (1989), the global city discourse pioneered by Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991), and the various "postmodernist" narratives of geographers Michael Dear (1986) and Ed Soja (1989) and anthropologists Arjun Appadurai (1991, 1996) and George Marcus (1989)." (Smith 2017)

[69] It is likely that Castells referred to Smith's theoretical framework with the expression 'transnationalism from below', as quoted above."

by Smith himself, it primarily involves examining the political claims put forwards by "transnational migrants, entrepreneurs, political activists and institutions" that emerge in transnational spaces at the city level. The relevance of Smith's approach lies in conceiving a feasible composite methodology that enables the analytical integration of spatially distant scales, primarily the city and the global. Indeed, as will be discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter and the chapters that follow, a similar approach, bringing together relevant aspects of the political-economic integration of globalizing cities with an empirical ethnographic perspective, has been consistently pursue throughout the study.

Doreen Massey, renowned British geographer, presented a theoretical-empirical approach that corresponds closely with this research on individual actors in globalizing urban context. She conducted extensive research on globalization and comprehensively discussed London as global city *par excellence*, whose "brilliance" rest on the social reproduction guaranteed by labor migration[70] (Massey 2007). She challenged static notions of places and tried to understand the features that configure their uniqueness, recognizable even when places are involved in globalizing processes. Moreover, places are not only defined by their (presumed) boundaries but also by their connections, whether with nearby places or even with the outside world. Uniqueness does not mean immobility, as "the specificity of place is continually reproduced" (Massey 1991). Massey was arguably one of the social scholars who made the most meticulous effort to detect the specificity of urban places. Drawing from extensive firsthand experience gained through direct engagement with the spatio-social realities investigated over a long period of time, she recognized, in the context of the global city of London, the social formation of a "global sense of space". Consistently, her conceptualization is centered on social relations, as she describes:

> What gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus. (Massey 1991)

Indeed, it is in a city as distinctly global as London that it is possible to detect and reveal that in the interscalar relationship between the local and global scales, the global does not

[70] "The brilliance of today's London, and the wider south-eastern region, is, then, dependent for its ordinary, daily, social reproduction on an array of workers from the rest of the world. This in-migration is indeed part of what contributes to the multicultural characteristics of the city." (Massey 2007)

necessarily have the upper hand in determining the functional direction of processes. Instead, it becomes evident that local space, defined as social space, configures itself as a globalized/cosmopolitan space of action that cannot elude individual agency. In this sense:

> Understanding the specificity of place may best be approached through an analysis, first, of the particularity of the social interactions which intersect at that location and of what people make of them in their interpretations and in their lives and, second, of the fact that the meeting of those social relations at that location in itself produces new effects, new social processes. (Massey 1994b)

In this passage, there is a possible reference to Sassen's stance on the emergence of new global actors (including migrants) situated within local contexts, the "novel types of actors" that appear in global assemblages (see above). The reference became then explicit in the chapter of the book *World city* (2007) meaningfully titled *Grounding the global,* in which Massey acknowledged that the argument that the global can be "produced in local places" is one that "has been made forcefully by Sassen". The same passage also resonates with the phenomenological concept of the *life-world,* the social and material world that individuals construct through their everyday interactions. Reading Massey's words, it can be inferred that the agency of situated individuals is reflexive, as they rely on their own interpretations of social interactions at a particular location. Moreover, the specificity of place (and, by inference, of local scales), shaped by the social interactions that animate it, is clearly identified as the originative context of new social processes that can assume attributes derived from other scales involved. Arguably, these new possible social processes may manifest themselves in a nascent (or emergent) state within globalizing cities.

It is convenient at this point to provide clarification regarding the use of the term *globalized* made in this study. I indicate as globalized phenomena, facts, artifacts, and sociocultural content that exhibit attributes emerged as outcomes of globalization processes. These attributes are evident and ascribable to all analysis scales presented in the text. To give an extremely simple example, the purchase of global products (produced and sold in different nations around the world) via a global e-commerce platform (of which there are several international examples) is a globalized action. It goes without saying that each globalization (sub-)process produces specific global characteristics. Consider communication technologies and the globalized nature of the sociocultural and

political-economic usages made of them as a result of the process of global mediatization of societies.

I would also like to clarify the use of the adjective globalized in relation to urban processes, drawing inspiration from the article *From global cities to globalized urbanization*, by Brenner and Keil (2014), which provides a brief historical and methodological overview of the theorizations that have contributed to consolidate the research focus on globalizing cities in urban studies. The main argumentative point of the article is that a planetary urbanization[71] can be identified as a global urban system organized not in a single hierarchy, but rather composed of multiple, interlocking interurban networks. This system is the product of capitalist economic restructuring, which took on distinctive characteristics following the crisis of the Fordist model in the 1970s. Urban researcher have dedicated their efforts to analyzing "emergent forms of globalized urbanization and their impacts upon social, political and economic dynamics". Initially, the focus was on the strategic interconnectedness of cities, primarily in the global North, with regard to flows and concentration of capital, labor, and information. Subsequently, there has been a broadening of the scope of research beyond merely economic, financial, and political aspects to explore how cities distributed across the entire planet contribute to the formation and functioning of global networks. Planetary urbanization is not a mere epiphenomenon, a collateral symptom of contemporary globalization processes. Instead, it is configured at the same time as a substantial constitutive component and a material representation of globalization. Simply put, cities are globalized because they patently exhibit attributes that arise from global relationships. These attributes do not have a fixed character in time and space[72]. Moreover, as globalization processes lack explicit 'arrival points', globalized attributes are not measurable on an 'attainment' scale[73]. Globalized characters are being recognized in local urban settlements exactly because the latter are equipped with (new) "forms of global connectivity". A globalizing city can exhibit attributes 'already' globalized in the early

[71] "*The combined demographic, economic, socio-technological, material-metabolic and sociocultural processes of urbanization have resulted in the formation of a globalized network of spatially concentrated human settlements and infrastructural configurations in which major dimensions of modern capitalism are at once concentrated, reproduced and contested."* (Brenner and Keil 2014)

[72] Rennie Short interestingly maintains that: "*Cities are not so much becoming globalized, as being continually reglobalized*." (2004)

[73] For the same reason we could say that a globalized city may retain a dynamic globalizing character.

stages of its transformation process. However, the actual connection to one or more interurban networks depends on the specific inherent dynamics of those networks.

At this stage, I argue that it is productive to review the history and evolution of Polish cities, as it helps to understand the specific, locally rooted dynamics and cultural contexts that shape their place in globalizing processes. As underlined by Robinson, Western urban studies often universalize their own local experience, while "writers on cities outside the West are routinely expected to frame their contributions within the theoretical terms and concerns of Western scholars" (Robinson 2002). This can be avoided by focusing on localness. It is possible to acknowledge the specific trajectories of Polish cities, as they are largely determined by historical events and cultural processes, such as, for example, the shifting of political borders or the transformations of the post-socialist transition.

Polish cities

Official statistical evidence shows that Polish society is ethnically homogeneous. According to the Polish *National Population and Housing Census 2021*, 98,8% of the citizens of Poland declare themselves as Polish. Besides, less than 1% of the total population is represented by long-term or permanent foreign residents (Główny Urząd Statystyczny 2023a). Poland is also known as a country of emigration. Nevertheless, particularly in the past decade, Polish society has been affected by increasing immigration, fostered by the demand for migrant labour, in a process dubbed by scholars "migratory transition" (Kaczmarczyk and Massey 2019; Okólski 2021). Since 2016, Poland has become a country on net positive immigration (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2017). The features of ongoing international migration targeting Poland as country of destination (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2020), compelled this study to maintain a broader focus on global migratory processes. I argue that Poland possesses characteristics of global connectivity and attractiveness, apparent in some of its major urban centers.

To understand the complex evolution of the country in relation to this, it is strategic to review its history with a focus on the evolution of its cities. Polish history has characteristics of uniqueness precisely in relation to its urban development, which may

be consistently understood thanks to long-term (*longue durée)* perspective (see Braudel 1975, 1982, 1984; Wallerstein 2004). This is one of the key assumptions that it is possible to derive from the work of Paweł Kubicki *Wynajdywanie miejskości. Polska kwestia miejska z perspektywy długiego trwania (Inventing urbanity: the Polish urban question from a long-term perspective)* (2016), that provides a comprehensive reconstruction of Polish urban development up to the 21st century. In the introduction to the book, the scholar states that, together with Christianity, urbanity was one of the main 'mechanisms' that allowed the process of Europeanization to take place. Kubicki defines urbanity as a set of attitudes and values characteristic of the urban civilization of the West, including pluralism, self-government, citizenship, innovation and reflexivity. The category of urbanity is dialectically intertwined with the city. Kubicki maintains that both the city and urbanity are complex phenomena subject to long-term processes. The reference is to the theoretical approach called *longue durée*, a French expression that literally means 'long duration', established by historians associated with the Annales School, such as Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel (see above) and Jacques Le Goff. This approach recognizes the relevance of enduring structures that persist across ages and shape political, economic, and social changes, influencing the formation of cultural norms. Kubicki maintains that although both the city and urbanity were formed in the past, they continue to influence present-day reality. They are integral parts of enduring structures, and this provides a valid reason to apply a long-term perspective to their study, which in turn is beneficial for understanding the development of cities through history. Therefore, the scholar structures his book around the argumentative dyad of city and urbanity, two phenomena that are considered constitutive of Western Civilization. Kubicki further argues that urbanity in the West was shaped predominantly by the bourgeoisie (middle class), which developed urbanity's attributes to delineate its own class identity. The *longue durée* analysis of the development of Western cities cannot be directly applied to Polish cities, primarily for their peripherical position and also because the process of shaping urbanity differs due to the political, economic, and social marginalization of the Polish bourgeoisie. The history of Polish cities is marked by numerous wars, material destruction, population loss, changes in state sovereignty and even the forced transfer of inhabitants due to border changes, all of which obstructed the development of both the city and urbanity. Kubicki describes this evolution as a series of ebbs and flows in the process of Poland's urbanization, drawing an analogy to the "tidal

theory of Europe" described by William Henry Parker and utilized by Norman Davies (2002, as quoted in Kubicki 2016). According to this theory, the borders of the European continent alternately recede and advance. While Davies uses this concept to discuss the Europeanization of Russia, Kubicki argues that the metaphor can be extended to European peripheries, including Poland, where aspects of Europeanness, developed through cities and urbanity, have alternately 'leaked into' and 'flowed out of' Polish cities. Nonetheless, similarities and regularities can be observed, such as patterns of urban development that can be traced back to the Middle Ages[74].

After the period of urban decline following the collapse of the Roman Empire, cities began to experience a time of political, social, and economic revitalization. The early stages of urbanization[75] in Poland were connected to the process of Christianization. With the baptism of Poland in 966[76], the country started its integration into the Western political and cultural sphere. Trade routes were established, connecting Polish cities with the rest of Europe, therefore incorporating them into the European urban network. The extension of the Magdeburg Law in the 13th century provided a framework for self-governance and economic development in Polish cities, which experienced a period of significant urban growth. The implementation of the German Town Law and the resulting autonomy of cities were crucial in fostering a sense of civic identity and developing urbanity in Poland. During the reign of Kazimierz, the Great (1333-1370) there was a notable strengthening and prosperity of the cities that

> […] played a leading role in the cultural life of the country, and the middle class were among the main creators and recipients - "consumers" - of cultural goods. (Bogucka and Samsonowicz 1986, quoted in Kubicki 2016)

As Kubicki explains, thanks to the development of medieval cities, the Polish bourgeoisie was becoming a leading force on the scale of the country, aware of its power. However, its aspiration to become a political subject in competition with the nobility (*szlachta*) was curtailed at the end of the 15th century when, at the beginning of its maximum prosperity, it was excluded from the Sejm's[77] deliberations and, as a result, from decisions concerning the conduct of the state. Cities like Gdańsk and Kraków became important trade centers,

[74] The historical reconstruction presented in this section is based on Kubicki's *Wynajdywanie miejskości* (2016), which can be referred to for further details
[75] Polish urbanization was delayed compared to Western Europe, where cities were (re)built upon the remnants of Roman urban centers.
[76] The reference is to the conversion of first ruler of the Polish state, Mieszko I, and his court to the Christian Religion.
[77] The Polish parliament.

connecting the country to the Hanseatic League and other trade networks, integrating the Polish urban network into the European economic space.

The Renaissance period that followed is considered Poland's golden urban age. The peak of urbanization occurred between the late 16th century and the early 17th century, coinciding with a period of maximum prosperity in the country, with an economy comparable to that of other Western and Central European countries (excluding the Netherlands and Northern Italy). Inland and maritime trade flourished and new town charters continued to be granted. It was a time when Polish cities became centers of innovation and intellectual and artistic production, attracting scholars, architects, and artists from across Europe. According to historians, the urban population accounted for approximately 20-25% of the total population (see Davies 2010; Wyczański 1973, quoted in Kubicki 2016). However, aside from Gdańsk, the largest Polish city at the end of the 16th century with around 35,000 inhabitants, Polish cities were relatively small compared to Western ones. Toruń, Kraków, and Elbląg populations ranged from 10,000 to 20,000. Poznań had 8,000 inhabitants, Lublin and Warsaw had over 4,000 (Bogucka and Samsonowicz 1986).

After the Union of Lublin (1569), the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, also known as the First Polish Republic (*I Rzeczpospolita Polska),* became the largest country in Europe. In the East of the country, particularly, long distances between cities slowed their economic integration and hampered the formation of a national market. Therefore, the uneven level of urbanization obstructed the development of a cohesive urban network. Due to this fragmentation, the urban bourgeoisie was unable to ensure a further expansion of its own political, social and cultural role, nor could it develop a shared urban identity. The Commonwealth was marked by ethnic diversity and by a shift in the power structure of the state towards the consolidation of the hegemonic role of nobility (*szlachta*), which controlled the Sejm and limited the power of the monarchy. The nobility also progressively subjugated the peasantry, in that form of exploitation and limitation of personal rights which has been defined as "second serfdom". The exploitation of the peasantry and the imposition of trade restrictions led to the economic growth of manorial estates, which were in the hands of the nobility. A rural economy progressively replaced urban markets and entrepreneurship, which had previously grown thanks to personal freedom and innovation. Poland became a major grain supplier to Western Europe. The trade of grains and other agricultural products reinforced the rural character of the Polish

economy, to the detriment of the competitiveness of Polish urban centers. This was particularly evident when compared to their Western counterparts, which were advancing along paths of industrialization and further urbanization. Moreover, based on subsequent legal acts that limited the rights of city inhabitants and favored the nobility, the First Polish Republic evolved into a state with a distinct gentry-peasantry[78] structure. This structure was formalized in 1573 with the establishment of the so-called 'Golden Liberty' (*Złota Wolność*), a system in which the nobility elected the king, controlled the Sejm, and even had the right to initiate a legal rebellion against the monarch. Polish society developed two different cultural models[79], based on the social strata of gentry and peasantry. The two social strata were intertwined in shaping national identity, sharing a common belief in the superiority of rural life over urban life, and a hostility towards urban society and industrial culture. This sentiment was so strong that scholars have described a "foreignness of urban culture in Polish nationalism" (Galent and Kubicki 2012). This perspective was reinforced by the fact that, at this time, cities were predominantly multiethnic, with numerous minorities (German, Jewish, etc.) making up the majority of urban inhabitants, which contributed to the weakening of the urban bourgeoisie (Nowak, 2020). These factors, combined with growing political instability within the state, triggered a prolonged decline in Polish cities and, consequently, the deterioration of the Polish economy in the late Renaissance and early modern periods. As Józef Chałasiński stated:

> The entire 17th century and the mid-18th century were a period of Poland's rapid drifting away from Europe in all areas. (Chałasiński 1997, quoted in Kubicki 2016)

This means that Poland's long decline not only affected the network of cities and the civic and entrepreneurial forms developed there but also caused the entire country to diverge significantly from Western Europe in terms of social and economic development. The divergence was also evident in the state political structure too, marked by so-called refeudalization, and in the diminished participation of the country in European culture. Moreover, During the 17th century the Polish cities experienced a series of disastrous wars, particularly the Swedish invasion (known as the Deluge), which devastated,

[78] With the peasants in a state of submission.
[79] Particularly interesting is the formation of a class identity by the nobility. In the 16th century, the Sarmatian identity emerged, based on the belief that the Polish nobility descended from the ancient Iranian nomadic people known as the Sarmatians. This identity became a central feature of Polish political culture, used by the nobility to consolidate and preserve its privileges in competition with the central power of the monarchy.

pillaged and depopulated urban centers (rural areas were also heavily damaged) that were reduced in size and importance. During the 18th century, the further weakened Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became subject to the influence of foreign powers, heavily conditioning the political life of the state.

The collapse of the First Republic occurred with the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century (1795), when it ceased to exist as an independent nation, and its territory was divided among Prussia, Russia, and Austria. As can be anticipated, this marked the decisive blow to the Polish urban system. From that point onward, the development of Polish cities would depend on the policies of the occupying powers. In cities under Prussian occupation, such as Poznań, processes of infrastructure development and industrialization were set in motion. In contrast, cities under Russian and Austrian rule, such as Kraków, were neglected or subjected to policies that hindered their growth. During the 19th century, the Industrial Revolution spread across continental Europe, altering the fabric of cities. This process also impacted Polish cities, although with significant differences across the various partitions. Outstanding was the rapid industrialization and urbanization of Łódź, beginning in 1820 in the Russian partition. Within a few decades, Łódź became a metropolis, a major center of textile manufacturing, and earned the epithet "Polish Manchester". Throughout this time, the long struggle to regain sovereignty, lost as a result of the partitions, monopolized the Polish Intelligentsia, composed mainly of members of the gentry (Chałasiński 1946). Polish Intelligentsia idealized the myth of the lost idyllic past, symbolized by the manor house surrounded by rural landscape. One consequence of this idealization was that urban culture themes and values (pluralism, self-governance, rationality) were ousted form the prevailing cultural model and cities struggled to become centers at the helm of capitalistic accumulation and industrial development, as it happened for cities in Western Europe.

The 20th century was an extremely turbulent time worldwide. It was especially brutal for Poland, which endured devastation and rebirth. In 1918 Poland regained independence, which was lost again in 1939 with the German aggression that marked the beginning of World War II. The country's population was decimated[80] and the urban areas paid the highest price for the chaos generated by the war, especially the major centers of

[80] According to the estimates of the report *Poland's population loss caused by Germany during the Second World War* by Konrad Wnęk (2023), the confirmed losses of Poles residing in urban areas of the Core Lands of the country (see definition in the report) due to the conflict amount to 2,017,548, while in rural areas of the same Core Lands the number of victims is estimated to be 498,751.

the Second Republic. Warsaw, the heart of the country's political and cultural life, was almost completely destroyed after the 1944 Uprising with a loss of 700,000 inhabitants. 228,480 inhabitants of Łódź were killed (Wnęk 2023). The extreme loss of urban dwellers is one aspect of a multidimensional process that altered dramatically the character of Polish cities, a process described as the 'ruralization' of Polish cities by Galent and Kubicki (2012). With the establishment of the communist regime under the Polish People's Republic (*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*, PRL) post-war planned industrialization triggered extensive urbanization, which masses of 'peasant-workers', who became the dominant demographic of cities. Nearly half million Eastern Poles moved from the lost Eastern Lands (*Kresy*) move into the emptied ex-German cities in the acquired Western Lands. They found themselves doubly alienated because they were people of rural origin that had to live in cities with evident German characteristics, which they perceived as alien. Finally, post-war reconstruction was managed mainly by building large concrete housing estates, disconnected from city centers and from each other, where forms of urban culture had no possibility to thrive.

With the end of the communist regime, the democratic transition that began in 1989, and the socioeconomic transition to the capitalist mode of production and accumulation, the opportunities of urban renewal and the resumption of the role of Polish cities as centers of commerce, tourism and culture were reestablished. The metropolises of the country, such as Warsaw, Gdańsk, Kraków and Poznań began attracting significant national and foreign investments. The renewal of historical centers began[81], as well as the development of new infrastructures and the emergence of a lively urban cultural life. However, the turning point for the country was the EU accession of 2004, which further accelerated the political, socioeconomic and cultural processes already underway. A crucial role was played by EU funding that enabled a rapid infrastructural modernization and improved the quality of life in cities. Ever since, the country has become increasingly involved in global economic and financial processes, exhibiting evident characters of Europeanization and globalization.

Several Polish researchers have studied the wide-ranging processes that occurred in Polish cities since 1989 (see, among others: Burszta and Fatyga, 2010; Kubicki 2016, 2017, 2020a; White, Grabowska, Kaczmarczyk and Slany, 2018). For the purposes of this

[81] With the obvious exception of Warsaw, where the city center - almost completely destroyed during the Second World War - was reconstructed in the immediate post-war period.

research, the most relevant are those interdependent phenomena that have "created all of the structural changes that have brought about the redefinition of the role of the city and urban culture in Poland" (Galent and Kubicki, 2012), such as the growth of a new urban middle class, the experience of new urban movements, migration, new forms of production and consumption (i.e. mediatization and digital/symbolic economy), European integration, globalization.

New urban actors in contemporary Polish cities

In examining the cultural aspects of these phenomena in the present day, I refer once more to the work of Kubicki. According to him, Polish cities are currently experiencing a renaissance (Kubicki 2016), much like many cities around the world, which since the end of the 20th century have experienced an increase in investment and interest (and a surge in their attractiveness). Today, Warsaw is a global city and a major financial center. Kraków holds a solid position in the world's cultural and tourist circuits and is characterized by a recent development in the IT and business services sector. Cities such as Wrocław, Poznań and Gdańsk have been experiencing economic growth for decades, which places them firmly in the European urban network. Today's urban renaissance marks a shift in the restructuring of cities as centers of socioeconomic development and cultural innovation. They now attract young and eccentric talents - the 'creative class' identified by Richard Florida (2012) - who increase the cultural and intellectual capital of their chosen cities and, in turn, become drivers of urban development. In fact:

> Creativity and urbanity operate on the basis of dialectical dependence: urbanity becomes a magnet attracting talented people, who in turn, with their talent and work, co-create the uniqueness of the city. (Kubicki 2016)

Unfortunately, urban renaissance presents significant challenges, including gentrification, social inequality, and the pressure exerted by rapid urbanization on the urban fabric. Deindustrialization and the reconversion of industrial sites and districts have radically changed the character of certain city areas, such as the Manufaktura site in Łódź or the Zabłocie district in Kraków, whether or not renewal projects have been implemented. The hasty developments of the urban fabric indeed constitute both one of

the most evident transformative processes at play in Polish cities and one of the most interesting recent research foci. Providing an insightful example of the latter is a recent article by Morawska, Anielska, Gądecki, and Afeltowicz, titled *Changes in Urban Fabric – A Cause or a Result of an Innovation District?* (2024), which compares two neighborhoods of Kraków and Poznań - Zabłocie and Jeżyce, respectively. Zabłocie and Jeżyce are examined as examples of Naturally Occurring Innovation Districts (NOIDs) that emerge within urban fabric in a "bottom-up manner", in contrast to Planned Innovation Districts (PIDs).

Finally, despite the urban renaissance, the legacy of the communist-era built environment - such as large residential complexes (Blokowiska), exemplified by the area commonly known as Betonia in northern Poznań - will continue to influence the development of Polish cities.

Of particular interest to this research is Kubicki's analysis of the reinvention of urban identities in the post-communist era. Kubicki refers to this process with the general term "invented urbanity" (Kubicki 2016), arguing that the collapse of communism created a cultural "vacuum" that has given city dwellers the freedom to (attempt to) define new forms of urbanity, now free from the ideological and, importantly, economic limitations of the past. What emerges from Kubicki's analysis is that the way in which Polish cities sought to reinvent themselves drew on local traditions, new interpretations of the cities' individual histories (often with a reevaluation of their multi-ethnic pasts), and global trends. In this process, a major role has been played by new urban elites who endorsed narratives of urbanity that promote innovation, creativity, and cultural diversity. A strong emphasis was also placed on economic growth and cultural capital, which led to the marginalization of issues such as housing and employment. A significant insight is that cities like Kraków, Wrocław, and Gdańsk have sought to reshape their narratives of urban identity and urbanity in ways that resonate with both local and global audiences, drawing on their historical legacies, particularly through cultural events and promotional campaigns. Kubicki identifies two new types of actors involved in the production of urbanity: the new bourgeoisie (*nowi mieszczanie*) and urban movements. The new bourgeoisie is the new urban middle class emerged in Polish cities in the post-communist era. It includes entrepreneurs, professional and educated individuals involved in cultural production, benefiting from the economic transition and sociocultural changes that occurred after 1989. Its formation was made possible by the erosion of old Polish

sociocultural patterns. Moreover, the process of European integration together with Poles' increased mobility experiences of migration, allowed cities to become melting pots of new cultural patterns sensitive to global trends. The urbanity and urban identities developed by the new bourgeoisie are shaped by both local and global influences, adopting elements of global urban culture represented by specific modes of cultural consumption and lifestyle, and promoting creativity and diversity. The new bourgeoisie is a cultural hybrid precisely because contemporary culture is hybrid (Kubicki 2011, 2016). Thanks to its role in promoting new narratives of urbanity, therefore of invented urbanity that creatively reinterprets local traditions, Thanks to its role as a promoter of new urban narratives, and its creative reinterpretation of local traditions, the new bourgeoisie plays a key role in the renewal of Polish cities. This role takes on political characteristics, as the urbanity shaped by the new bourgeoisie is characterized by civic commitment, social justice, and environmental sustainability, promoting inclusive forms of urban governance. For this reason, we find the members of the new bourgeoisie among the activists of urban movements. In recent works Kubicki (2020a, 2020b) has analyzed the emergence and development of urban movements in Poland, as have other Polish researchers such as Domaradzka (2021), Kowalewski (2016), Pluciński and Nowak (2017), Polanska (2016, 2018) and Sowada (2019). Polish urban movements started to be active around 2007-2008, later than urban movements of other European countries. They have evolved from the level of isolated local grassroots initiatives to organizations with national structures[82]. Socially they are made up of "well-educated middle class, professionals: urbanists, academics, artists, journalists." Their importance as social actors is determined by the fact that they have managed to "create and impose their own narratives[83] about the city and urbanity" (Kubicki 2020b). This is evident with regard to issues such as housing, public space, cultural diversity and environmental conservation. Urban movements emerged as a response to issues connected to urban crises and globalization, in opposition to neoliberal urban policies, which are considered responsible for the chaotic spatial planning and, most importantly, for the increase in social inequalities in urban settings. Currently, the main problem facing social movements is that their narratives have become mainstream and are no longer distinguishable from

[82] The Urban Movements Congress (Kongres Ruchów Miejskich, KRM), established in Poznań in 2011, is the umbrella organization of Polish urban movements.
[83] An official element of these narratives is contained in the document Urban Theses (Tezy Miejskie), see https://kongresruchowmiejskich.pl/urban-theses

those of politicians in power. The latter have adopted the language of urban movements, which paradoxically means that their success in influencing urban policies, risks obscuring their role. Nevertheless, their ability to actively invent urbanity, which characterized the first phase of their development, and their success in integrating their vision into the broader collective perception of the city, is a confirmation of the transformative role that urban movements have played in the recent development of Polish cities. In his works, Kubicki (2020a, 2020b) provides an account of the transformative work of inventing urbanity through the accounts shared by his respondents - leaders of urban organizations - that constitute narratives of agency and structure (cf. Grzymała-Kazłowska and O'Farrell 2023). In a description provided by an activist, inventing urbanity is clearly a process that involves learning and sharing culture:

> And so it began in Gdańsk, we slowly began to discover the tools of participation and set up such a group of people from the cultural circles and architects, and we did such activities as were also done in other cities at that time, such as walks, historical-architectural walks, or reading the city through literature, through art, well, there was a lot of it in our country, which really fueled such a trend for urban activism (RM01). (Kubicki 2020b)

The effort to bring about change indeed required the capacity to invent and innovate, as the same respondent claimed:

> We went [to the City Hall] for the consultation of the local plan with the authorities – announced according to the law - and the officials are completely lost because someone had actually arrived. They had to organize for us a room, because people completely did not use such participatory tools even that was introduced in 1997, and that was 2007 (RM01). (Kubicki 2020b)

These are examples of narratives of agentic moments (Zilberstein et al. 2024) that transform structure. Simply put, according to the activists' narratives, urban movements have been able to bring about transformation in Polish cities.

According to Kubicki's analysis, the initiatives and achievements of Polish urban movements, predominantly composed of the urban middle class, confirm that in Polish cities new social actors - both individuals and organizations - can access available resources and creatively promote and implement innovations. These efforts contribute to inventing urbanity and transforming cities.

Nowi mieszkańcy

Together with Kubicki, Polish social researchers have turned their attention to the significant social changes brought about by new urban actors. A well-known example of scholarly interest in new city dwellers (arriving from outside the city) is the book *Obcy w mieście. Migracja do współczesnej Warszawy (Strangers in the City. Migration to Contemporary Warsaw)* by Magdalena Łukasiuk (2007), in which the author carefully details the process of internal migration from various regions of Poland to Warsaw after the collapse of the communist system. The economic transition made the capital a primary destination, especially for students and young people drawn by new opportunities for professional development. Expanding their focus on contemporary urban dynamics, Polish scholars have introduced new urban settlers with migratory pathways as a subject of academic research and socio-political debate, along with other themes, such as urban citizenship. This widening academic attention has been documented in the recent article *Obywatelstwo miejskie – kto mieszka w polskich miastach, jakie ma prawa?* (*Urban citizenship – who lives in Polish cities, and what rights do they have?*), authored by Kowalewski, Kubicki, Pędziwiatr and Nowak (2024). The article, published in *Rozwój Regionalny i Polityka Regionalna* (*Regional Development and Regional Policy*), includes the transcript of a panel discussion organized by the Polish Sociological Association (*Polskie Towarzystwo Socjologiczne*). The discussion by the four scholars is organized into three parts, focusing on the concept of urban citizenship, the scale of the phenomenon of 'new residents' (*nowi mieszkańcy*) and the potential 'dilemmas' associated with the emerging new forms of cities. Kowalewski observes that the concept of urban citizenship configures a kind of status and the rights associated with that status[84], such as, for instance, access to public services. In substantive terms then, urban citizenship configures political, economic, and sociocultural practices and identities. The way urban citizenship is framed in the discussion, within the Polish context, and summarized by Kubicki in two possible configurations. The first is formal-legal and involves the registration of individuals as residents and their inclusion on the city's electoral rolls. The second is informal and "depends on very individual resources-capital - social, cultural - on how those people who move to a given city become part of that city" (Kowalewski et al. 2024, own translation).

[84] „Obywatelstwo miejskie jest rodzajem statusu i powiązanych z tym statusem praw." (Kowalewski et al. 2024)

Consequently, the category of 'new residents' (*nowi mieszkańcy*) arises in the discussion, with the panel of scholars identifying two main subgroups in Polish cities: students and migrants/refugees. Unfortunately, establishing the actual size of this category is practically impossible due to the systematic evasion of the obligation to register new residents. In discussing the cases of Kraków and Poznań, scholars estimate the real size of both cities, according to official statistics. They state that the population of Kraków is approximately 800,000 inhabitants. To these must be added 400/500,000 'invisible residents' who are not registered and thus not included in official statistics), bringing the estimated population to at least 1.2 million. Among these, there are about 130,000 students, of which at least 100,000 are out-of-town students and a 10,000 are international students[85]. Only 10% of students live in dormitories. The rest rely on the housing market and are not included in the official statistics. Moreover, at the time of the discussion, Kraków had almost 100,000 registered foreigners, over 60,000 of whom were Ukrainians. In Poznań, which officially has about 540,000 inhabitants, the student population is approximately 100,000, suggesting that the potential size of the 'invisibles' is even greater. The share of 'invisible' foreigners living in Poznań is not discussed[86]. Estimates of new citizens in Kraków reveal the impactful fact that they might constitute up to 20% of the city's actual population. This state of affairs leads to a reflection on the present and future repercussions of the presence of new citizens, especially considering the speed at which the phenomenon is unfolding. In fact, Pędziwiatr specifies that, according to data from OWiM[87] (Obserwatorium Wielokulturowości i Migracji - Observatory of Multiculturalism and Migration) in Kraków, while 'economic' migrants numbered around 30,000 in 2019 (the year OWiM began operations), they are around 60,000 in 2024. The scholars argue that the presence of foreigners will bring about changes in both economic and political-social terms. For example, it is possible to foresee the development of political representation by the largest segment of the migrant population present in the cities, the Ukrainian one[88]. Similar developments will significantly impact

[85] 9,000 according to official statistics (Kowalewski et al. 2024)
[86] At the outbreak of war in Ukraine, the City of Poznań estimated that over 100 thousand Ukrainians were living in Poznań and its surroundings. Cf. https://www.poznan.pl/mim/wortals/en/en/news,9560/poznan-stands-with-ukraine,177221.html
[87] Konrad Pędziwiatr is the coordinator of OWiM.
[88] As a confirmation of the analysis presented by the panel of scholars, it is worth remembering that during the 2024 local election campaign, the Poland-Ukraine Institute Foundation (Fundacja Instytut Polska–Ukraina) organized the event *Multicultural Kraków: the first presidential debate on migration in Poland (Wielokulturowy Kraków: pierwsza debata prezydencka o migracji w Polsce)*. Held on March 18, 2024, and broadcast online in Polish, Ukrainian, and English, the debate featured candidates for the position of Kraków City Mayor. Cf.:

urban governance and necessitate the creation of adequate social policies to address the progressive "institutionalization of migration policy at the city level". The Open Kraków program, is mentioned as positive example of such public policies, designed to integrate and include migrants at the urban level, akin to similar initiatives developed in Gdańsk, Lublin, Wrocław, and Warsaw. The particular significance of broadening the research agenda, both for the field of urban sociology and for this specific research, is highlighted by Nowak:

> Migrants and refugees are introducing new cultural contexts that change our perception of the city. It is worth noting that Polish cities for a long time after World War II were associated with a very homogeneous vision of the urban community. This time the vision is very clearly a thing of the past and a completely new one appears, which we must properly think about.[89] (Kowalewski et al. 2024)

Acknowledging that the contexts associated with migrants are also observably economic and socio-political in character, I argue that these dynamics are not isolated phenomena but are instead integral to the long-term societal process (of epochal change) shaping Polish society as a whole, whose roots can be analytically traced back to the transformative Transition of the 1990s. I propose to use the term *new residents with migratory pathways* to describe non-national individuals whose presence is not incidental but transformative, as they bring with them new modes of social interaction. While these dynamics echo aspects of Poland's historical urban demography, they also introduce entirely new and, to some extent, unforeseen potentials, shaped by the specific characteristics of the Polish context, yet resonating with broader global trends. The influence of *new residents with migratory pathways* on urban contexts may parallel the paths of urban movements and the new bourgeoisie, actively reconfiguring social spaces, cultural frameworks and also economic opportunities. However, their diverse backgrounds and experiences introduce new transnational dimensions to urban social interactions. As they navigate and contribute to urban life - generating intersections of global and local dynamics and localizing broader trends of urban transformation - they are positioned to experience and reimagine local urban identities, through hybrid forms of settlement and belonging, informed in both their places of origin and the dynamics of

https://www.facebook.com/events/919735399639671/?checkpoint_src=any. See also the Foundation's webpage https://uainkrakow.pl.

[89] Own translation.

their new urban environments. Anchored in this perspective, I hypothesize that *new residents with migratory pathways*, are becoming increasingly pivotal in Polish cities, and may activate themselves, individually or through organizations, to take on the role - whether conscious or unconscious - of social actors capable of bringing about (or influencing) the transformation of urban contexts. In Chapter 4, I test this hypothesis by analyzing the narratives and strategies of agency contained in the accounts of non-nationals.

Poznań and Kraków, two Polish globalizing cities

Seeking to achieve a more comprehensive description and a deeper understanding of recent social developments in Polish urban contexts, I took a deliberate approach in refining the research design. Drawing upon literature on global city and globalizing city discussed earlier (Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Sassen 1991, 2004, 2006; Marcuse and van Kempen 2000; Massey 2007; Ren and Keil 2018; Brenner, 2019), I have selected the cities of Kraków and Poznań as the study's primary settings to ensure coherence with the research framework. I contend that the transformations these two Polish cities are undergoing - though they are not the only ones, as similar evolutions can be observed, for instance, in Wrocław and Gdańsk - can be framed as the globalizing city stage, a dynamic phase characterized by a set of changes within the broader process of global city formation. This stage can be analyzed and understood in relation to the larger processes of globalization, while carefully highlighting the specificities of the Polish cities under examination. To detect and locate the globalizing features of the two Polish cities, I draw on Brenner's "alternative vision of urban studies" which offers, in his own world, a "reconceptualization of capitalist urbanization as a process that includes the moments of city building and city *un*building, as well as the production and ongoing transformation of a multiscalar, territorially variegated urban fabric." (Brenner 2019) At the same time, I posit that Brenner's reconfiguration can be heuristically in accordance with Beck's theory of the *metamorphosis of the world* (2016), within which the German sociologist developed the conceptualization of cosmopolitized spaces of action. Integrating the two approaches provide a robust theoretical framework to the research. Focusing on the globalizing stage of cities can supposedly highlight the relations "between geoeconomic

restructuring and the remaking of urban space" (Brenner 2019). In fact, while global cities (or world cities) such as London, New York and Tokyo, are metropolises playing top roles as centers of political power (Hall, 1966), spatial nodes of economic flows (also historically, see Braudel, 1984) or even as "winner-takes-all cities" (Florida, Mellander and King, 2021), globalizing cities are in a dynamic process of continuous transformation, reflecting in this the features of globalization. According to the categorization provided by Wallerstein's world-systems analysis (Wallerstein 2004), the position of globalizing cities in the world economy is frequently described as semi-peripheral or peripheral. If the semi-peripheral position of the two Central European cities of Poznań and Kraków is postulated, it is necessary to consider specific historical, politico-economic and sociocultural features of the globalization processes occurring in Poland. In fact, the scale of the globalizing city allows a productive examination of the sociocultural specificities of Polish cities, which have been a massive change in their social structure. They passed from a multi-ethnic condition (early twentieth century) to a mono-cultural one (after WWII). Today, the global migratory processes open new possibilities to the return of multicultural environment and practices.

Well-founded reasons lead to the choice of Kraków and Poznań as both the settings and the objects of the study. According to recent evidence, their voivodeships (Małopolska and Wielkopolska) are the two with the largest number of migrants after the voivodeship of Warsaw (Pędziwiatr, Stonawski and Brzozowski, 2021) This is evidence that directly confirm the capacity of the two cities to attract foreign workers. Historical evolution then makes the two cities comparable in terms of global functional integration. Kraków has been a centre of power and cultural production and is developing as a hub of international Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) and tourism. Poznań maintains the features of its past as a continental trade node, revived since the 1920s with the status of a major business centre, thanks to the Poznań International Fair, and also becoming, in the present days, a fast-developing international BPO hub. These advances in the process of global city formation have attracted, together with foreign labor and direct investment, the attention of scholars who have described them as "symptoms" of globalization (Wdowicka 2011), and have consistently included the two cities in several global cities' classifications and rankings (see, as an example, Kamiya and Pengfei, 2019).

The positions of globalizing cities in recurrent international rankings change as a function of their inclusion in global flows of capital, services, technology, and people, as

well as their status as nodes in interurban networks. These rankings place the cities examined on the map of global interurban networks, although it remains to be established how they can be used as analytical tools. Nonetheless, some of these rankings can be considered useful because they allow us to gain an overall idea of global urban connectivity. The rankings are produced by a variety of entities, including academic research groups, private economic consultancy agencies, service agencies, and publishing companies. It is certainly mandatory mentioning, the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network based in the Geography Department at Loughborough University (UK), founded by Peter J. Taylor in 1998. Along with the founder, renowned social scientists from diverse disciplines are affiliated with the network, including, for instance, David Bassens, whose work I discussed above. The research activity of the pioneering network focuses on the external relations between world cities in the context of globalization. This approach is intended to be a step forward compared to most research that focuses on the internal structures of individual cities. To achieve this, the researchers involved have developed methodologies for the creation of "inter-city" data that can be used for the "analysis of world city relations and hierarchical tendencies", which are mainly based on data obtained from the advanced producer service sector (Beaverstock et al. 2000). Although researchers intended to broaden the range of data sources used, for example by incorporating airline data (Derudder and Witlox 2005) or including climate change in the scope of the research, the main reference for the analysis of cities' connectivity remains the advanced producer service sector. From 2000 to 2024, nine rankings titled *The World According to GaWC* (2000, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2018, 2020, 2024) were published, where cities are "ordered in terms of their *Global Network Connectivity*, aka their contribution to facilitating corporate globalization." (GaWC 2021, emphasis in original). Table 3 (below) organizes the categorizations that were developed to describe cities' connectivity. Cities are grouped together into three tiers of importance—α (Alpha), β (Beta), and γ (Gamma)—and a fourth class relating to the lack of world city status but including cities with a sufficient level of service.

Table 3 Levels of world city network integration

alpha++ cities	In all analyses, London and New York stand out as clearly more integrated than all other cities and constitute their own high level of integration
alpha+ cities	Other highly integrated cities that complement London and New York, largely filling in advanced service needs for the Pacific Asia
alpha & alpha- cities	Very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy
beta level cities	These are important world cities that are instrumental in linking their region or state into the world economy
gamma level cities	These can be world cities linking smaller regions or states into the world economy, or important world cities whose major global capacity is not in advanced producer services
cities with sufficiency of services	These are cities that are not world cities as defined here but they have sufficient services so as not to be overly dependent on world cities. Two specialized categories of city are common at this level of integration: smaller capital cities, and traditional centers of manufacturing regions

Note. Cities are assessed in terms of their advanced producer services using the interlocking network model (see Taylor 2001). Indirect measures of flows are derived to compute a city's network connectivity. This measures a city's integration into the world city network. Adapted from: "The world according to GaWC", 2024, online resource.

Cities are arranged in decreasing order of connectivity within their respective tiers, as shown in Table 4 (below), reproducing the latest published ranking, entitled *The World According to GaWC 2024.* A representation of the level of global integration of each individual city is thus obtained.

Table 4 The World According to GaWC 2024[90]

Alpha++	Alpha	Alpha-
• London • New York	• Seoul • Milan • Toronto • Frankfurt • Chicago • Jakarta • Sao Paulo • Mexico City • Mumbai • Madrid • Warsaw • Guangzhou • Istanbul • Amsterdam • Bangkok • Los Angeles • Kuala Lumpur	• Luxembourg • Taipei • Shenzhen • Brussels • Zurich • Buenos Aires • Melbourne • San Francisco • Riyadh • Santiago • Düsseldorf • Stockholm • Washington DC • Vienna • Lisbon • Munich • Dublin • Houston • Berlin • Johannesburg • Boston • New Delhi
Alpha+		
• Hong Kong • Beijing • Singapore • Shanghai • Paris • Dubai • Tokyo • Sydney		

Beta+	Beta	Beta-
• Bogota • Ho Chi Minh City • Rome • Bangalore • Budapest • Athens • Hamburg • Doha • Chengdu • Miami • Tianjin • Dallas • Atlanta (GA) • Auckland • Barcelona • Hangzhou • Bucharest • Lima • Montreal • Prague	• Chongqing • Tel Aviv • Brisbane • Cairo • Hanoi • Nanjing • Oslo • Perth • Abu Dhabi • Copenhagen • Manama • Wuhan • Manila • Xiamen • Nairobi • Kiev • Geneva • Jinan • Calgary • Zhengzhou • Shenyang • Dalian • Suzhou	• Qingdao • Casablanca • Changsha • Beirut • Port Louis • Denver • Lagos • Belgrade • Montevideo • Vancouver • Seattle • Manchester • Sofia • Bratislava • Rio de Janeiro • Lyon • Xi'an • Helsinki • Kunming • Zagreb • Nicosia • Karachi • Caracas • Hefei • Stuttgart • Panama City • Chennai • Philadelphia

Gamma+	Gamma	Gamma-
• Tunis • Fuzhou • Guatemala City • Hyderabad • Cape Town • Dhaka • Porto • Austin • San Diego • Minneapolis • Antwerp • Almaty • Amman • Santo Domingo • Rotterdam • Adelaide • Lahore • Colombo • Taiyuan • Kuwait City	• Monterrey • Osaka • Haikou • Tbilisi • Tampa • Tirana • Quito • Nashville • Islamabad • Kampala • San Salvador • Muscat • Phnom Penh • Birmingham (UK) • Pune • Ningbo • Harbin • San Jose (CA) • Bologna • San José (Costa Rica) • Ahmedabad • Bristol • Tegucigalpa • Riga • Detroit	• Poznan • Labuan • Charlotte • Pittsburgh • Valencia (Spain) • Edinburgh • Jeddah • Turin • Katowice • Baku • Penang • Dar es Salaam • Wellington • Managua • Cleveland • Nanchang • Changchun • Cali • St Louis • Ljubljana • Baltimore • Bilbao • Marseille • Surabaya • Accra

High Sufficiency	Sufficiency
• Izmir • Harare • Maputo • Vilnius • Macao • Gothenburg • Raleigh • Queretaro • Glasgow • Zhuhai • Phoenix • Dakar • Cincinnati • Skopje • Kansas City • Limassol • La Paz • Leeds • Guayaquil • Hartford • Belfast • Indianapolis • Algiers • Shijiazhuang • Lusaka • Guadalajara	• Strasbourg • Columbus • Ankara • Johor Bahru • Ottawa • Wroclaw • Urumqi • Christchurch • Douala • Tashkent • Lausanne • Málaga • Wuxi • George Town (Cayman Islands) • Salt Lake City • Tallinn • Nantes • Medellin • Edmonton • Utrecht • Taichung • Campinas • Lille • Abuja • Yangon • Krakow

Note. Adapted from: "The world according to GaWC", 2024, online resource.

[90] Table 4 has been cropped due to space constraints. The cities following Kraków in the 'Sufficiency' tier are: Jacksonville, Southampton, San Antonio, Belo Horizonte, Leipzig, Newcastle, Naples, Curitiba, Luanda, Abidjan, Milwaukee, Nassau, Gaborone, Puebla, Toulouse, Brasilia, Podgorica, Kaohsiung, Bern, Porto Alegre, Malmö, Des Moines, Guiyang, Nice, Tijuana, Nanning, Canberra, Nürnberg, Port of Spain, Cordoba, Sarajevo, Foshan, Bordeaux, Florence, Oklahoma City, Astana, Genoa, Nagoya, Lanzhou, Durban, Dongguan, Portland, San Juan, Bergen, Yerevan, Richmond, Santa Cruz, Asuncion, Sacramento, Cebu, Hohhot, Cologne, The Hague, Birmingham (AL), Las Vegas, Ciudad Juarez, Winnipeg, Orlando, Windhoek, Hannover, Louisville, Aberdeen, Liege, Liverpool, Basel, Tulsa, Mannheim, Palo Alto, San Pedro Sula, Seville, Recife, Alexandria, Moscow, Vientiane, Tangshan, Ulan Bator, Salvador, Memphis, Yinchuan, Linz, Calcutta, Halifax, San Luis Potosí, Barranquilla, Libreville, Lodz, Hamilton, Dresden, Arhus, Baoding, Wenzhou, Blantyre, Nottingham.

In Figure 2 (below), the graphic representations of the α, β, and γ tiers have been assembled to visualize the actual global distribution of interurban networks. By superimposing the images of these three levels, it is possible to gain insight into the interlocking nature of the networks.

Figure 2 Global connectivity of world cities in α, β and γ tiers

Note. Adapted from. "Mapping Connectedness of Global Cities. α, β and γ tiers", by S. Carta and M. Gonzalez, 2010, online resource.

Looking at *The World According to GaWC 2024* (GaWC 2024), some observations can be made regarding Polish cities. There are six of them: Łódź, Katowice, Kraków, Poznań, Warsaw, Wrocław. According to the data collected, Warsaw is undoubtedly a global city, classified as an *alpha-* city, while the other five cities fall between tier γ (Katowice, Poznań,) and the class *sufficiency* (Kraków, Wrocław Łódź). It is then particularly interesting for the study to observe the relative positions of Polish cities in the last three editions of the ranking - 2016, 2018, 2020 and 2024[91] - as summarized in Table 5 (below).

[91] The GaWC rankings for 2016, 2018, 2020 and 2024 (GaWC 2024) were chosen because they overlap with the period during which Poland consolidated itself as a country of net immigration.

Table 5 Polish cities in GaWC rankings 2016; 2018; 2020; 2024

cities	tier in 2016	tier in 2018	tier in 2020	tier in 2024
Łódź	sufficiency	sufficiency	sufficiency	sufficiency
Katowice	sufficiency	sufficiency	gamma -	gamma -
Kraków	high sufficiency	sufficiency	high sufficiency	sufficiency
Poznań	high sufficiency	gamma -	gamma -	gamma -
Warsaw	alpha	alpha	alpha -	alpha
Wrocław	gamma -	gamma -	gamma	sufficiency

Based on a broad interpretation of the GaWC categorization[92], I argue that it is possible to hypothesize that cities in the γ tier and the *sufficiency* class are undergoing transformation processes related to their global connectivity, thereby manifesting attributes of globalizing cities. This hypothesis is further supported by the observation that the positions of individual cities are not fixed but mobile, with possible reversals (or setbacks), as seen with Kraków and Wrocław, or leaps forward, as in the case of Katowice.

I find direct confirmation of the globalizing dynamism of Polish second cities in the chapter titled *Eastern European Cities*, authored by the late Polish scholar Marek Bańczyk[93]. This chapter is part of *Global urban analysis. A survey of cities in globalization*, a collective work claiming to be the largest and most comprehensive study of world cities ever conducted, edited by Peter J. Taylor and others (Taylor et al., 2011). Bańczyk discussed the role of Warsaw as a major link between Central Eastern European (CEE) largest economy and the world, fueled by significant foreign investment during prominence of in the connectivity a period of economic growth. This gives the capital of Poland a prominence in terms of global connectivity, a fact supported by data. Another state capital, Budapest, historically important during the Communist era and the

[92] The reliability of GaWC rankings is determined by the transparency with which the data is created and the methodological rigor underlying the research carried out by networks. Theoretical works and research results are made constantly available on the network's website, at https://www.lboro.ac.uk/microsites/geography/gawc/

[93] Bańczyk obtained his academic qualifications from universities in Poznań.

Habsburg Empire, remains a key city, and is ranked third behind Prague. Interestingly, Bańczyk maintained that the rise of "challenger" non-capital cities like Kraków, Wrocław, and Poznań marked a significant shift in Central Eastern Europe's urban network. These cities' emerging roles in the global economy indicated the formation of new economic nodes. This analysis was confirmed by data categorized as 'traditional globalism' indicating "relative concentration of connections to New York and London" (Bańczyk 2011). Bańczyk proposed two possible explanations of the observed extension of global city networks in Poland, outside of Warsaw. First one could be the country's size and business profile, which is claimed to be comparable to Spain, making it possible to develop new economic nodes beyond its capital. The second reason is based on the unexpected observation that the "growing global connectivity of Poland's challenger cities", which are becoming nodes of interurban networks, is based on non-hierarchical, cooperative patterns of exchange rather than competition. Bańczyk this interpreted as the "very core mechanism of city networks", in a reference to Taylor (2007), and hypothesized a "positive association" with the increase in Warsaw's global connectivity, with a "stream of processes newly attracted by Warsaw" that might have been transformed into new flows to the challenger cities. One passage in the chapter is particularly interesting:

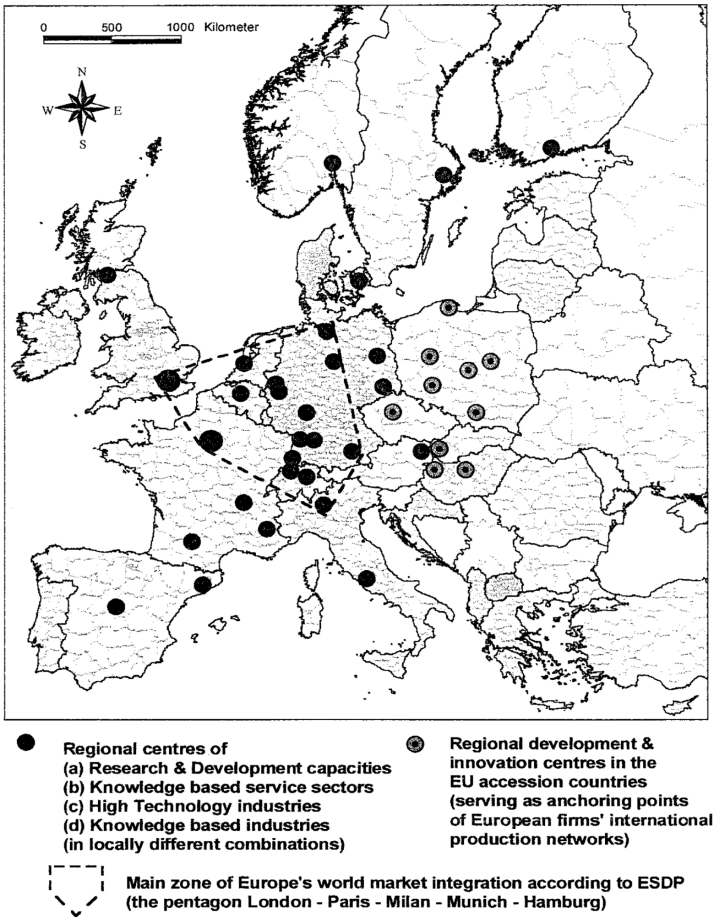
> Since the last connectivity analysis in 2004, two new Polish challenger cities appeared (Poznań and Wrocław) and greatly improved the score of the existing one. (Bańczyk 2011)

The period of time analyzed is distant in time, but this passage helps us to indirectly grasp the dynamic globalizing aspect of the processes that the three Polish cities began to undergo following their accession to the European Union on May 1, 2004. The significance of Bańczyk's contribution is evident in his own words: since then, "challenger cities such as Poznań or Kraków are now at least on the map" of global interurban networks.

The internationally recognized scholar that literally put Polish cities on the map of global intercity networks is Stefan Krätke, who also collaborated with the GaWC research network. Krätke is the author of several fundamental articles in which he explored the effects of the enlargement of the European Union on continental interurban networks, while maintaining a global analytical perspective. One of Krätke's main research interests resides on what he calls "regional development and innovation centres"

(Figure 3, below), and in his research he has particularly investigated the German-Polish border area, which “roughly comprises the area eastwards of the Berlin metropolitan region and westwards of the urban agglomeration of Poznań” (Krätke and Borst (2007). Krätke acknowledges that development centers have a regional dimension, which is a characteristic of the European economic space. Furthermore, he asserts that these centers are the "most important geographical nodes of transnational economic relations" (Krätke 2002). In Poland, the regions of Warsaw (Mazowieckie), Poznań (Wielkopolskie), Wrocław (Dolnośląskie), Kraków (Małopolskie), Gdańsk (Pomorskie) and Łódź (Łódzkie) are identified as development and innovation centers. The German scholar states that the enlargement of the European Union significantly boosted the economic development of both Western and Eastern regions, particularly through enhanced "cooperation and interlinking."

Figure 3 Regional economic development and innovation centers in Europe.



Note. Reprinted from: “The regional impact of EU eastern enlargement, A view from Germany”, by S. Krätke, 2002, *European Planning Studies.*

This phenomenon has been observed in relation to the capital cities of the back then newly acceded countries. Even before 2004, Krätke hypothesized that "in the case of Poland with its polycentric system of regions we can also expect positive impacts on further economically strong regions like Poznań" (Krätke 2002). Krätke's study of the German-Polish border area more than twenty years ago is particularly noteworthy, as it retrospectively confirms the long-term (*longue durée*) globalizing dimensions of Poznań. Krätke provides an illuminating empirical example of the supranational interurban connectivity of Poznań:

> New economic interlinks between West and East-Central Europe are empirically characterized by a predominance of 'leapfrogging' effects: thus the structurally strong Polish region of Poznan (Wielkopolskie), today has more economic links to the region of Milan (Lombardia) or to the structurally strong German region of Baden-Württemberg than to the geographically near Eastern part of Brandenburg (in the German–Polish border region) (Krätke 2002)

There are other interesting insights provided by Krätke's research. One of these is that, not only it is a specificity of Poland to present an urban network composed by "structurally strong large urban agglomerations", but also that some of them, such as Poznań and Wrocław, "reveal an above-average economic achievement and dynamics" (Krätke 2007). Another important observation is that Polish "major urban agglomerations are the preferential target regions for foreign direct investment", which are mainly directed towards research-intensive industrial sectors (Krätke 2007), while labor-intensive businesses receive the lowest share of foreign investment. In such a context, it can be hypothesized that foreign direct investment plays a potential role as a factor in the transition to a post-Fordist economy, a process regularly attributed to globalization.

It is important to acknowledge that, within the Polish academic context, the debate on the globalizing characteristics of cities - and more broadly, on the global city - has been marginal over the last two decades. Studies in this area have primarily focused on the country capital, Warsaw. Some of the research addressing these themes originates from The Centre for European Regional and Local Studies (EUROREG), based in the

University of Warsaw[94], carried out by authors such as Kukliński (2000), Gorzelak (2009) and Jałowiecki (2009), Gorzelak and Smętkowski (2012). Research addressing the globalizing elements of Polish cities - although predominantly of a geo-economic nature in this case as well was conducted by researchers based at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, such as Parysek (2007) and Wodwicka (2011, 2017). Parysek's analysis focuses on the globalizing urban development of the Polish capital, Warsaw, as well as Prague and Budapest. Wdowicka's study presented in *Miasta w globalnej sieci korporacji transnarodowych (Cities in the Global Network of Transnational Corporations)* (2017) concerns the entire global network of cities where transnational corporations operate. Wdowicka, however, in the last chapter of the book, offers a limited confirmation of the globalizing economic character of other Polish metropolises, as she explains:

> When it comes to the place of Polish cities in the global network of transnational corporations, it should be noted that the corporations' activities are concentrated in Warsaw, which is characterized by the highest level of investment attractiveness and global networking. Only the largest Polish urban centres are able to cope with international competition in terms of attracting the world's largest transnational corporations, offering access to high-quality human capital, enabling cooperation with local entities, including research institutions and universities, and at the same time ensuring lower (than in Western Europe) labour costs. The most attractive centers for transnational corporations include: (apart from the capital) Kraków, Katowice, Poznań, Wrocław and Łodź. (Wodwicka 2017).

To conclude the examination in this section, it is possible to acknowledge the most recent globalizing developments in Poznań and Kraków by considering one of the many city rankings produced by private agencies. To maintain a logical connection with the research mentioned above, I have selected the European Cities and Regions of the Future 2024 ranking (fDi Intelligence 2024), created by fDi Intelligence, a division of the London-based Financial Times Group (FT Group), which specializes in foreign direct investment services. The fact that this ranking is limited to European cities might initially appear like a limitation in terms of its global relevance. However, a shift in perspective is required. The ranking is intended not only for European investors but for investors from around the world. In this way, it constitutes a measurement of the level of investment attractiveness of the individual cities and regions examined. As stated in the methodology

[94] See: https://www.euroreg.uw.edu.pl/en/

section of the ranking report, "data was collected for 509 locations (330 cities, 141 regions and 38 LEPs)", under five categories: *economic potential* (21 data points), *human capital and lifestyle* (18 data points), *cost effectiveness* (14 data points), *connectivity* (14 data points) and *business friendliness* (15 data points), for a total of 82 data points[95]. The description of data points in given in Table 6 (below).

Table 6 fDi Intelligence. European Cities and Regions of the Future 2024. Data points

ECONOMIC POTENTIAL
- Population growth rate
- Unemployment rate (%)
- Inflation
- GDP (PPP current intl $) (millions)
- GDP per capita (PPP current intl $)
- GDP Forecast (average annual growth rate, %) (2021-2026)
- GDP average annual growth rate (%)
- Outward FDI (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Outward FDI per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Inward FDI (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Inward FDI per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Nominal growth in inward FDI projects per 100,000 people (October 2012 – September 2017) vs (October 2018 – September 2023)
- Inward FDI in R&D and DDT per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Inward FDI in advanced manufacturing per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Number of mega projects by jobs (over 1000 jobs)
- Number of mega projects by capex (over $100m) (H2 2018 – H1 2023) per 100,000 people
- Number of mega projects by capex (over $100m)
- Number of mega projects by jobs (over 1000 jobs) (H2 2018 – H1 2023) per 100,000 people
- Capital expenditure on R&D projects ($) (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Number of patents 2013 – 2022
- Number of patents per 100,000 people 2013 - 2022

HUMAN CAPITAL AND LIFESTYLE
- Labour force participation rate, total (% of total population ages 15+) (modelled ILO estimate)
- Secondary educational attainment
- Tertiary educational attainment
- Education expenditure (% of GDP)
- Number of students
- Number of students per 100,000 people
- Number of higher education institutions
- Number of higher education institutions per 100,000 people
- Number of IB Schools
- Number of Top 500 Universities
- Overqualification rates by economic activity
- Life expectancy
- Social Progress Index
- Human Development Index
- Number of physicians per 1000 people
- Ease of finding skilled employees
- Number of business schools in Global MBA rankings
- Literacy rate

COST EFFECTIVENESS
- Average annual salary ($) for a semi-skilled worker
- Average annual salary ($) for a skilled worker
- Annual rent for prime Grade A office space ($ per sq m)
- Annual rent for prime Grade A industrial space ($ per sq m)
- 4*/5* hotel in city centre ($ per night)
- Minimum wage ($)
- Bank overhead costs, % of total assets
- Household consumption: price levels in 2022
- Cost of Living Index
- Petrol prices ($)
- Cost of electricity ($ per kwH)
- Corporation tax rate (%)
- VAT/ common indirect tax rate (%)
- Tax as % of GDP

CONNECTIVITY
- Upload speed (mb/s)
- Download speed (mb/s)
- Mobile Connectivity Index
- Number of airports within 80 km of the city
- Number of international destinations served
- Distance to nearest international airport (km)
- Number of ports within 100km (medium +)
- Logistics performance index
- Network Readiness Index
- Environmental Performance Index
- LPI Infrastructure Score
- Average commute time
- Rail network
- Companies in the transportation sector per 100,000 people

BUSINESS FRIENDLINESS
- Total number of companies within the knowledge-based sector 2023
- Proportion of companies within the knowledge-based sector 2023
- Total number of companies within the knowledge-based sector 2023 (per 100,000 people)
- Number of jobs created by all inward FDI (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Number of jobs created by all inward FDI per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Number of expansion/colocation projects per 100,000 people (H2 2018 – H1 2023)
- Fragile States Index
- Number of top 1000 World Banks
- Corporation tax rate (%)
- Enterprise Conditions Index (Legatum Institute)
- Index of Economic Freedom
- Corruption Perception Index
- Investment Environment Index (Legatum)
- Safety and Security Index (Legatum Institute)
- Credit rating

Note. Reprinted from: "European Cities and Regions of the Future 2024", by fDi Intelligence, 2024, The Financial Times Ltd.

To categorize cities, both the population of the city and that of the so-called larger urban zone (LUZ) were taken into account. The cities of our interest, Kraków and Poznań, therefore fall into the *Large Cities* category, having a population over 500,000 and a LUZ of over 1 million. Table 7 (below) presents the top ten ranked cities (winners) in the *Large Cities* category.

[95] Locations scored up to a maximum of 10 points for each data point.

Table 7 fDi Intelligence. European Cities and Regions of the Future 2024.

Winners: Large European cities

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — OVERALL

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
2	Hamburg	Germany
3	Düsseldorf	Germany
4	Kraków	Poland
5	Cologne	Germany
6	Rotterdam	Netherlands
7	Poznań	Poland
8	Manchester	UK
9	Stuttgart	Germany
10	Antwerp	Belgium

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — CONNECTIVITY

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Rotterdam	Netherlands
2	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
3	Hamburg	Germany
4	Liverpool	UK
5	Glasgow	UK
6	Düsseldorf	Germany
7	Antwerp	Belgium
8	Cologne	Germany
9	Manchester	UK
10	Marseille	France

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — HUMAN CAPITAL AND LIFESTYLE

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Kraków	Poland
2	Hamburg	Germany
3	Poznań	Poland
4	Gothenburg	Sweden
5	Cologne	Germany
6	Lyon	France
7	Belgrade	Serbia
8	Rotterdam	Netherlands
9	Stuttgart	Germany
10	Dresden	Germany

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
2	Hamburg	Germany
3	Düsseldorf	Germany
4	Cologne	Germany
5	Stuttgart	Germany
6	Kraków	Poland
7	Manchester	UK
8	Antwerp	Belgium
9	Rotterdam	Netherlands
10	Gothenburg	Sweden

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — BUSINESS FRIENDLINESS

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Kraków	Poland
2	Poznań	Poland
3	Frankfurt am Main	Germany
4	Düsseldorf	Germany
5	Manchester	UK
6	Hamburg	Germany
7	Rotterdam	Netherlands
8	Belgrade	Serbia
9	Cologne	Germany
10	Glasgow	UK

TOP 10 LARGE EUROPEAN CITIES OF THE FUTURE 2024 — COST EFFECTIVENESS

RANK	CITY	COUNTRY
1	Antalya	Turkey
2	Konya	Turkey
3	Manisa	Turkey
4	Odessa	Ukraine
5	Mersin	Turkey
6	Adana	Turkey
7	Izmir	Turkey
8	Bursa	Turkey
9	Belgrade	Serbia
10	Katowice	Poland

Note. Reprinted from: "European Cities and Regions of the Future 2024", by fDi Intelligence, 2024, The Financial Times Ltd.

When examining the rankings of the *Large Cities* category, the overwhelming predominance of the German urban system in generating attractiveness for foreign investment is evident. However, the most interesting finding is the presence of the two cities analyzed in my study, Kraków and Poznań, which makes Poland the second most represented country in the *Large Cities - Overall* ranking, that integrates all 82 data

points. This is especially noteworthy considering the different economic weights[96] of the two countries. However, it is this "second place" that suggests Krätke's observation about the ability of Polish second cities to achieve "above-average" economic performance is still confirmed. Kraków is in fact the first city to follow the top five in the economic potential category, which are all German. Kraków and Poznań are both in the top positions in the categories of *human capital and lifestyle* (first and third, respectively) and *business friendliness* (first and second, respectively), highlighting the substantial sociocultural and economic potential that these two cities have accumulated over the decades. The ranking prepared by fDi Intelligence, which employs a robust and transparent methodology (a rarity among reports produced by private entities), is obviously not intended for academic purposes. However, considering that it is produced annually for the immediate use of economic operators and institutional entities in their development plans, it can be assigned operational cognitive value, with a low margin of error. In fact, the fDi Intelligence ranking highlights the high dynamism in mobilizing available resources, which has become an substantial characteristic of Kraków and Poznań. Moreover, this dynamism appears to be effectively integrating with global processes of interurban connectivity.

Migration and globalization

Konrad Pędziwiatr (2022) noted that the dominant theoretical perspective in the analysis of contemporary migrations is globalization, most often understood as the intensification of global relations that bind distant places, leading to a kind of "shrinking of the world" and making the "social world one. Consequently, contemporary scientific analyses of global migrations focus on its simultaneous impact on an increasing number of countries and the growing diversity of migrants in terms of their economic, social, and cultural statuses. In this section, I aim to present a selection of research strands that have problematized the study of global migrations in a globalizing/globalized perspective, particularly with a reference to migration driven diversification and social identity.

[96] In terms of current GDP, the ratio between Germany and Poland is roughly 5 to 1. Cf. GDP (current US$), World Bank Open Data, retrieved July 18, 2024 from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD

Since the beginning of the century, the substantial increase in the complexity of global migration dynamics has prompted scholars to seek new theoretical frameworks for understanding these phenomena (Piekut et al., 2012; Vertovec, 2007). In the European context, Piekut et al. describe a process of urban diversification (the case studies are Warsaw and Leeds) driven by a rise in global migrations, demographic ageing and evolving lifestyle choices. Urban social diversification is linked to the "shift from industrial society to new modernity"[97], which has liberating effects on urban dwellers that seize the opportunity for greater freedom in creating "individualized biographies, choosing between a range of lifestyles and social ties" that may result in an increasingly "diverse range of social identities and ways of living" (Piekut et al 2012). The possible implication for social research is a shift from analyzing migration-related diversity in ethnic terms to considering it in terms of "broader social diversity". The process of migration-related diversification is conveyed as multidimensional. In the study of multidimensionality and complexity of global migrations, several scholars over the past decades have adopted the concept of *superdiversity*. The term superdiversity was first coined by American British social anthropologist Steven Vertovec. The concept first appeared in his article titled *Super-diversity and its Implications* (Vertovec 2007), published in the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vertovec explains that he has developed the concept while observing the complex British migratory scenario made up of new variables such as "differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec 2007). Superdiversity is then described as the "interplay" of these new variables that "combine with and supersede earlier patterns" of diversification, and whose "outcomes surpass the way in public discourse, policy debates and academic literature that we usually understand diversity" (Vertovec 2007). Since the very beginning the term superdiversity has been proposed as bearing a "summary fashion" in its representation of social diversification. This may imply that its meaning depends on specifications other than its own. As is known, *super* is a word that can be used as an adjective, an adverb, a noun or a simple prefix. Coming from the Latin language, it provides the meanings of *above*, *over*, *on the top (of), beyond*, *besides*

[97] Possible reference to the transition to a post-Fordist society,

(Stevenson 2010). Following this simple etymological path, it can be anticipated that the explanatory framework of the phrase superdiversity will be laid out literally over the definition of diversity. Quite surprisingly this effort is not attempted in this article or (apparently) in any other work that adopted the term. This primitive opacity will be persistent in most of the research that has been developed drawing upon Vertovec's concept in the following years. Vertovec appears to be aware of the ambiguity of his neologism. In fact, in a recent article (Vertovec 2019), he commits himself with an inspection of the scientific production that has adopted his catchphrase. The review comprises a total number of 325 publications across multiple disciplines. Vertovec acknowledges that, as the term has spread through the academic sphere, it has taken on different meanings from the one he originally attributed to it. He also notes that it is often used as a generic 'backdrop' without specific meaning. Therefore, simply he reiterates his proposal to use the term with a summary value, viewing it as (merely) a concept and approach about new migration patterns" (Vertovec 2019), while refusing to consider it as a theory. Over time the term has attracted some criticism from migration scholars. Mathias Czaika and Hein de Haas indirectly criticize the approach of superdiversity from the standpoint of migration studies. Their claims are basically quantitative as they argue that not only the migration flows are bigger, but also the world population is rapidly expanding, and that in some areas other than Europe, "diversity seems to have decreased in recent decades, with a stronger focus on intra-regional migration". Furthermore, they firmly maintain that there is "a lack of studies that explore in detail how the global spatial patterning of migration has evolved over the past decades." (Czaika and de Haas, 2014). Finally, by arguing that the complexity of migration is rarely defined or operationalized, Czaika and de Haas are questioning the very foundations of the superdiversity approach. A very strong criticism of the idea of superdiversity has been expressed by the linguist Aneta Pavlenko. She underlines that in the case of the word superdiversity, its "sloganization potential was apparent from the start" (Pavlenko, 2019), and subsequently relates the success of the term superdiversity to the processes of terminological innovation and academic branding. Pavlenko convincingly highlights the "indeterminacy of the term which renders it impervious to critique". However, the concept was also positively received and implemented in accordance with Vertovec's proposal. In the article *Rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity*, Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska and Jenny Phillimore (2018)

characterize the superdiversity approach as an 'analytical lens through which to describe multiple differentiations". The two scholars draw a distinction between notions of diversity, "generally related to relatively discrete ethnic 'communities' of post-colonial economic migrants and their families", and superdiversity, which configures a social landscape where the "diversification of migrants' origins is augmented by other intersecting variables" (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Phillimore 2018). The brief and tumultuous academic history of the superdiversity concept, along with the various meanings attributed to it, exemplifies the persistent need in the social sciences to develop new theoretical frameworks in order to keep pace with evolving phenomena. It is particularly noteworthy that Vertovec chose not to act as the *arbiter* of the term's 'authentic' use but instead as its academic "biographer". Rather than confining the conceptualization to a one-dimensional definition, Vertovec embraced the process of hybridization it underwent and aimed to produce a *typology* of its various use, which I present in a condensed form in Table 8 below:

Table 8 The many meanings of superdiversity. A typology

1) a marker of very much diversity
2) a context or backdrop to a study
3) a description of more ethnicity
4) a call to move beyond ethnicity
5) a multidimensional reconfiguration
6) a methodological reassessment
7) a way of addressing emergent social complexities
8) an approach to policy analysis

Note. Adapted from: "Superdiversity. Migration and social complexity", by S. Vertovec, 2023, Taylor & Francis.

I argue that the approach inherent to the concept of superdiversity, which constitutes a call to "complex thinking" (Vertovec 2023) about the processes of social diversification, can be productive when applied to interscalar research in urban contexts. Particularly because superdiversity can be used as an analytical lens to detect multidimensional reconfigurations of social patterns. Vertovec noted that:

> Social complexity is something that runs across scales from complexly organized societies to complexly organized sets of meaning to complexly organized selves. (Vertovec 2023)

Lastly, the concept of superdiversity has a substantial heuristic value, as it refers both to the material and immaterial (cultural, social) conditions that determine the diversification of social organization, and to the multiple social categories and social relations that are at the same time its determinants and expressions.

Vertovec has systematically incorporated findings from social complexity research into his recent works (cf. Vertovec 2023), particularly by referencing *social identity complexity theory*, a branch of social psychology with Marilynn Brewer and Sonia Roccas as its leading exponents. To properly appreciate the significance of this subfield of social psychology in relation to the aims of the research, it is useful to briefly examine studies that have explored the consequences of globalization on individuals' psychological life.

Reese, Rosenmann and Cameron's take on the impact of globalization processes on the psychology of individuals is radical: “they have implications for virtually every aspect of psychology” (Reese et al 2019). These processes not only modify or even drastically alter the characteristics of the environments in which cognition and identity are structured and operate, but they are also the origin of “new forms of identities, new threats, new attitude objects (including globalization itself), new domains of behavior, and new targets of action.” Reese et al. are also aware that these processes have an interscalar dimension, even if they do not address the issue explicitly. Since the effects of globalization can be characterized as a 'crisis of identities' (Kennedy and Danks, 2001), they state that this leads individuals to 'reposition and reevaluate their national and local self-definitions within a global context” (Reese et al 2019). Arnett also examines the consequences of globalization with a focus on identity, stating that “globalization is likely to be one of the dominant forces in the psychological development of people in the 21st century" (Arnett 2002). He argues that identity formation, due to the erosion of traditional ways, as noted by Giddens (2000), will increasingly be based on individual choices.

Other possible evolutions in the modalities of identity formation, due to the altered perception of the social environment caused by globalization, include the development of bicultural (or multicultural, I would add) identities, engagement with self-selected cultures, and the extension of “identity explorations beyond adolescence, into the mid-to-late twenties."

Chiu and Kwan provide an elaborate analysis of the effects of exposure to different cultures in globalized environments. They argue that this exposure prompts attention to cultural differences and fosters categorical perceptions of culture" (Chiu and Kwan 2016)

Discussing the “responses to inflow of foreign cultures” in globalized contexts, they identify two main categories: exclusionary and integrative reactions. The former are generated by emotions and reflect deep-rooted fears of contamination, leading to the categorization of other cultures as threats. The latter are problem-solving oriented reactions, based on perceiving other cultures as resources. Il pieno apprezzamento delle conseguenze della globalizzazione sui caratteri psicologici individuali appare di natura specificatamente dinamica. Sono importanti i risvolti psicologici e politico-sociali dell’esposizione a culture diverse. The brief article by Chiu and Kwan provides a glimpse into aspects of the psychology of globalization that extend beyond the single dimension of individual identity. It addresses social relationships and social categorization, including potential new configurations of cultural competences in a globalized world. Overall, the psychology of globalization captures an increase in systemic complexity determined by the emergent properties of globalization, that individuals and social systems must manage. This complexity arises not only from pressure exerted on everyday life (Reese et al. provide the example of the influence of global consumerism on the development of individual selfhood) but also from the ability to seize the positive opportunities offered. Questions might emerge in order to understand cognitive adaptation to social diversity and complexity. In their review of a 40-year corpus of “Multiple Categorisation Theory” (MCT). research, Prati et. al offer a positive answer:

> In present day multicultural societies, where there are more opportunities for intercultural contact, a cognitive capability to go beyond simple social categorisation is more adaptive in building new “alliances” with members of different groups and promoting social integration. Research on multiple categorisation and social identity complexity has demonstrated that even if individuals are cognitively disposed to think categorically about social groups, they possess the computational ability to deal with social complexity and inconsistency in favour of more accurate evaluations of others and themselves. (Prati et al. 2021)

According to the theory of multiple social categorization, people classify themselves and others using categories that identify group membership. These social categories include

age, gender, occupation, education, and others, such as the city and neighborhood. These categories intersect, and each person is recognized as belonging to different social groups simultaneously. Multiple social categorization theory, therefore, highlights the complex and diverse nature of social identities. Prati et al. corroborate their statement by also referring to social identity complexity (SIC) research which is considered an evolution of MCT. This line of research has focused on the relationships between the processes of self-definition and multiple group identities, and has pursued a large amount of experimental work. In the theorizations developed by Roccas and Brewer (Roccas and Brewer 2002; Brewer 2010) it is not only important to examine the cognitive and social processes that lead people to identify with multiple social groups simultaneously, but it is also crucial to understand how these different identities are subjectively structured, that is, how individuals perceive and interpret the relationships between their various memberships. It is possible to observe different levels of identity complexity. Most importantly, empirical research has shown that individuals develop adaptive strategies to manage their multiple social identities. The more people are aware of their own (increasing) social identity complexity, the more they become capable of appreciating the complexity of others' identities and, through this, embracing social diversification. As Brewer argues:

> How individuals represent and experience their own multiple ingroup identities has significant implications for their functioning in a pluralistic society. (Brewer 2010)

Empirical research suggests that social identity complexity may produce positive socio-relational effects[98] and may be a potential "means for improving intergroup relations" (Schmid and Hewstone 2011). Moreover, social identity complexity empirical research demonstrates that, as Vertovec simply puts it, "more people can become aware of their own superdiversity" (Vertovec 2021). Overall, this type of empirical research can be viewed as a significant empirical corroboration of the superdiversity approach and contributes to its further theoretical development, although, evidently, its scientific value extends beyond it.

[98] "Since social identity complexity tends to positively covary with out-group attitudes, and since it is subject to situational and experiential determinants, the concept holds the potential for a much more valuable approach to promoting positive intergroup relations" (Schmid and Hewstone 2011).

In recent years, Vertovec has continued to refine and elaborate on the theoretical aspects of his approach. One particularly interesting theorization is that of *migration-driven diversification*:

> Superdiversity refers both to a process of simultaneous migration-driven diversification across various social and legal characteristics and to the social configurations arising from such a process. (Vertovec 2023)

Vertovec connects migration-driven diversification to the processes of globalization, operating as a sorting system that produces social stratification. Migrants are increasingly dependent on the way migration drivers are sorting them, in relation to several features (variables) such as country of origin, education, culture, labor skills, etc. whose combinations are determinants of their arrival social positions. Individuals "arriving with different characteristics being inserted into society in different points of stratification system[99]" (Vertovec 2021). Conditions of superdiversity are seen as a product of migration-driven diversification. Moreover, a further outcome of this process is the emergence of "very different national and urban configurations".

A significant example of migration-driven diversification can be found in the research conducted by Ayse Çaglar and Nina Glick Schiller, presented in their book *Migrants and city-making: Dispossession, displacement, and urban regeneration* (Çaglar and Glick Schiller 2018). The settings selected for their study are three marginal and disempowered cities: Halle/Saale (Germany), Manchester (New Hampshire) and Mardin (Turkey). The findings on immigrants' small businesses are noteworthy, as they clearly indicate that they are "not organized around migrants' cultural background and ethnic networks", instead they can be linked to "multiscalar restructuring processes that reconfigured the lives of all residents and conditioned the growth and demise of businesses".

[99] Vertovec provides a possibly clearer image of what he means, when he says that "*migrants are increasingly channeled in different ways*" (Vertovec 2021).

From theoretical to empirical

Aiming to study the transformative processes currently shaping Polish cities in the context of globalization processes, with its focus on the case studies of Kraków and Poznań, this research adopts a critical and interdisciplinary theoretical framework that draws on theorizations from assemblage theory, urban studies, critical migration studies, economic research, and social psychology. Assemblage theory provides a social ontology (DeLanda) that allows to operationalize cities as sets of people, networks, organizations and infrastructures, which are being reconfigured by the growing presence of non-national individuals, immigrants and expatriates. This social ontology, informed by the historical critique of the formation of capitalist societies (Braudel), enables the selective focus of analytical attention on partial sets of urban realities. While the study aims to investigate the detectable emerging relationships and new attributes that give rise to the transformative processes of globalization and cosmopolitization in Polish Urban contexts, its **primary focus** is on the **transformational set** constituted by **people**.

In general terms, the influx of non-nationals into Polish cities is considered both a symptom and a driver of globalization (and cosmopolitization), which is configured as a process of restructuring of the capitalist economy at a global level. Thanks to the critique of dominant ideas related to migratory phenomena, as carried out by critical migration studies - such as the very concept of migration (Schinkel and van Reekum) and the concept of integration (Favell) - as well as the rejection of sociological categorizations imposed by power relations (Tazzioli), migration can no longer be considered merely as a movement across borders, but rather as a process deeply rooted in global capitalist dynamics, which constantly restructure and redefine physical, social and political spaces. Most importantly, migrants can no longer be regarded as passive subjects. Instead, they are recognized by scholars as actors who contribute to the socioeconomic and cultural transformation of the cities in which they settle. Thus, the conventional paradigm in both academic research and the public sphere, which views migrants as passive subjects of migration policies, is reversed. Along with this reversal comes a critique of methodological nationalism, which frames migration exclusively in the context of the nation-state. As anticipated at the end of Chapter 1, the critique of dominant ideas in migration studies compels researchers to shift their perspective of investigation.

I pursue this in my research design through the adoption of a bottom-up approach, as I argue that it allows for capturing the new globalizing attributes that emerge from below in Polish cities—in scalar terms, starting from the body (or the individual perceptual) scale. A fundamental assumption of the research is that the new phenomena occurring nowadays demand new tools of investigation. However, navigating relatively uncharted waters, it seems appropriate to test existing investigative tools, new or recent ones, rather than creating completely new ones, benefiting from the knowledge and methodologies that have already been developed. This is not an opportunistic move but rather a choice dictated by the reasonable objective of remaining as connected as possible to the broader field of social sciences, within which a process of renewal is promoted. Yet, few new conceptualizations addressing migrants' settlement strategies have emerged in recent years. The conceptualization that is the main heuristic base of the research was proposed by Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska and termed **anchoring** (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013, 2016, 2018b, 2020). According to one of the working definitions of the conceptualization provided, anchoring is:

> The process of establishing footholds and points of reference which allow individuals to acquire relative stability and security (understood as a feeling of being safe and not exposed to chaos and danger) and function effectively in a new environment. The concept of anchoring links the issues of identity, integration and security to understand how migrants adapt to new life settings and 'settle down'. (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018b)

It holds primary significance that the Polish scholar has devoted herself to renewing the theoretical framework of migration studies. She claims that:

> The established categories employed in migration studies such as 'integration' and 'settlement' are not sufficient to understand and examine the ways of accommodation, functioning and experience of contemporary migrants. I argue that my concept of anchoring, developed through research with Polish migrants in the UK and Ukrainian migrants in Poland, might provide a more integrative and comprehensive transdisciplinary approach to analysing the processes of migrants' adaptation and settling. It does this by linking the existing notions while overcoming their limitations, as well as by underlining the psychological needs for safety and stability and with the additional value of capturing the processuality and multilayeredness of the analysed processes. (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2020)

It is noteworthy that Grzymała-Kazłowska subjects the concept of integration to critical examination, as evidenced by a comparison of the two passages quoted above. Moreover,

her claims underpin a methodological approach that not only examines the concrete aspects of social processes but also seeks to understand the individual experiences of the actors involved. This necessitates direct interaction with migrants through qualitative research techniques. In fact, Grzymała-Kazłowska employs interviews to collect data, as is the case for the present study[100]. Anchoring thus functions as the primary and foundational element of the analytical framework of the research. designed not only to understand migrants' settlement strategies but also to explore how their individual experiences contribute to and influence the multilayered processes of globalization occurring in Polish cities. Such an analytical framework is detailed in the following chapter.

Migrants are then the factual representatives, the embodiment of global social transformation, and their agency is no longer obscured. Not only do their narratives allow us to grasp migrants' contribution to the transformation of cities (extending Kubicki's analysis), they also provide insight into the broader structural dynamics that shape individual experiences. The multiscalar perspective of the study also allows for the dynamic contextualization of the narratives of non-nationals and an understanding of the unfolding of processes at both local and global levels, without falling into a simplifying dualism. This perspective is linked to the framing of the case studies - Poznań and Kraków - as globalizing cities, meaning cities shaped by the multidimensional and multi-sited process of globalization, driven by global connectivity, which indeed currently shapes their socioeconomic development.

The empirical component of this research examines migrants' narratives employing the outlined theoretical framework to refine and expand it through the analysis of individuals' actions and strategies. Migrants' narratives may confirm, challenge or expand the conceptualizations discussed above, also opening the way to new theoretical insights. Moreover, analyzing the findings from Poznań and Kraków enables the identification of patterns, similarities, and differences, which can, in turn, lead to a broader understanding of the phenomena at play in Polish urban contexts.

[100] Detailed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Research question and target population

As mentioned in the introduction, my initial impression of observing new social phenomena when I moved to Poland in the autumn of 2019, particularly through firsthand interactions in transnational corporation offices in the heart of Poznań, led to the formulation of an initial empirical conjecture. This first conjecture was that non-national individuals, like my colleagues, were not merely passive interpreters of social transformation induced by capitalist restructuring in a secondary city of Poland. Instead, it seemed plausible that they were proactively involved in migration-driven social diversification of the city. Furthermore, it was the sheer intensity of the emerging processes that drove me to investigate this issue, just as Flick (2014) describes: "In many cases, the origin of such an issue lies in the researchers' personal biographies or their social contexts. Sometimes a personal experience leads researchers to decide to study a topic". This situation, linked to my "personal insights and experiences" (O'Leary 2018), helps to illuminate the characteristics of my positionality and contributed to significantly shaping the main research hypothesis. Moreover, as Gobo noted: "all our hypotheses are based on a previous theoretical knowledge of the phenomenon that allows us to make some inference based on what we are observing". The definition of the scientific topic of the research might at first glance appear easy to define. However, the multiscalarity and above all the magnitude of the phenomena observed have required a constant refinement of the research question, because, as is known, "in the course of the project, [...] questions become more and more concrete, more focused, and they are also narrowed and revised" (Flick 2014). Gobo again highlights that, as the research progresses:

> The focus narrows, new aspects (ethical, social or political) of the problem emerge, and resources are totted up […]. This is a strength of qualitative research, not a weakness; an element of its flexibility and adaptive ability diametrically opposed to the rigidity of much quantitative research, which 'bends' the research topic to the requirements of the method (rather than the reverse). (Gobo 2018)

Through a process that was indeed similar, I reached an initial identification of the target population of the study which includes: non-national individuals that self-identify either as non-nationals, foreigners, migrants, expatriates who are either permanently or stably

living in Poznań and Kraków, working or studying there. This population is hypothesized to possess social dynamism that could make it a significant driver of social transformations.

Throughout the different phases of the research, the focus has narrowed to an evidence-based empirical analysis of how the social actions of non-nationals contribute to the globalization processes in Kraków and Poznań, with an emphasis on their anchoring strategies within the urban context. Taking into account the unique aspects of the discursive nature of the chosen method – interviewing - **the research question** is therefore formulated[101] as follows:

What evidence in the narratives of non-nationals residents of Poznań and Kraków illustrates their potential role in the multiscalar globalization processes of these two Polish cities, and how do these narratives reflect their agency and social strategies?

Qualitative interviewing

The research methodology, the general research strategy (Mason 2002) is that of qualitative discursive interviewing, which has the purpose of generating qualitative data. It became the main research strategy to respond to possible data collection disruptions that arose with the spread of COVID19 pandemic, since March 2020[102]. Constraints related to increasingly difficult reachability of prospective migrant respondents, also associated with their belonging to a 'hard to reach' population, motivated the methodological choice. Compared with the possible emergence of quantitative methods shortcomings[103], such as unpredictable sampling biases and low response rates, the features of interviewing were deemed appropriate to assure greater, direct control by the researcher over data collection process.

[101] For the final phrasing of the research question, I am partially indebted to the article by Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska and Liam O'Farrell, *Where is agency in the context of urban transformation? Exploring the narratives of institutional stakeholders and community activists in Birmingham* (2023).
[102] The Polish Ministry of Health declared a COVID-19 epidemic on March 20, 2020. Lockdown restrictions were tightened by the Polish government, starting from March 31m 2020. All kind of restriction were lifted on March 28, 2022.
[103] See, for reference: Bratcher (2020); Office for National Statistics (UK) (2022); Uleanya and Yu (2023).

In discerning the elements of a methodology, I make use of the concise, yet competent explanation advanced by Giampietro Gobo and Andrea Molle, according to them a methodology is structured by four elements:

- a central, or pivotal, cognitive mode selected among the many available to acquire knowledge (for example, listening, watching, observing, reading, questioning, conversing)
- a theory of scientific knowledge, or a set of assumptions about the nature of reality, the role of science, the role of the researcher and the concepts of action and social actor
- a range of solutions, devices and stratagems used in organizing and tackling a research problem
- a more or less systematic sequence of procedural steps to be followed once the cognitive mode has been selected.

  (Gobo and Molle 2017)

In their book, the authors also provide tables representing the features of methodologies discussed. Table 9 (below) represents the methodology of discursive interview, that can be simply referred to as interviewing.

Table 9 Methodologies and techniques of social research: discursive interview

Methodology	Central cognitive modes	Research types	Gathering structure	Data collection techniques	Data management techniques	Data analysis techniques
Discursive (or in-depth) interview	Listening	Biographic Hermeneutic	Little or partly structured	Individual interview (in-depth, narrative, open-ended, semi-structured, topical, problem-centered, with the double, realistic, interview control question, ecocultural family interview, ethnographic interview) Collective interview (group, focus and Delphi)	Transcription and coding	Narrative analysis Discourse analysis Thematic analysis Grounded theory

Note. Reprinted from: "Doing Ethnography", by G. Gobo and A. Molle, 2 ed., 2017, Sage.

Throughout my research, I actively engaged in listening as the central cognitive mode, fully embracing the role of the interviewer. In my opinion, this guaranteed relative uniformity in the handling of interviews, carried out by mnemonically following an interview guide, prepared during the design phases of the research (Annex 1). This consistency was later found to be a prerequisite for agile data analysis. In order to better perform the interviewer role, I have undergone self-training, during which I have assimilated the interview techniques validated by the literature on social research methodologies (Corbetta 2003). By creatively bringing together the explanatory descriptions of Mason and Corbetta, the distinctive traits of qualitative interviewing can be defined as follows:

- it is an interactional exchange of dialogue elicited by the interviewer;
- interviewees are selected on the basis of a data-gathering plan;
- it has cognitive objectives and considers knowledge as situated and contextual
- it is guided by the interviewer, face to face, with a relative informal style.
- it has a thematic, topic-centered, biographical or narrative approach, based on a flexible, non-standardized pattern of questioning.[104]

Data collection

The primary dataset of the present research consists of 47 interviews collected between February 22, 2022 and March 16, 2023. 36 interviews were conducted in person, 11 online. 43 Interviews were conducted in English. Four interviews were conducted in Italian. Among the interviewees, 31 were foreigners living in Poznań or Kraków and 16 Polish citizens.

24 interviewees were living in Kraków at the time of the interview. Among the Kraków respondents, 16 were foreigners, 8 were Polish citizens. 8 interviews related to Kraków were carried out online.

22 interviewees were living in Poznań at the time of the interview, 1 had left the city about one year before the interview. Among the respondents from Poznań, 15 were foreigners, 8 were Polish citizens. 4 interviews related to Poznań were carried out online.

[104] Text produced by reworking excerpts from Mason 2002, p. 62, and Corbetta 2003, p. 264.

Table 10 (below) summarizes the main variables of all the interviews collected.

Table 10 Interviews. Main variables

Date of interview	Interviewee	Age	Gender	Length of stay in Poland	Country of origin	Job[105]
20220222	PZ-1	43	F	3	Venezuela	N Administrative and support service activities
20220224	PZ-2	25	M	4	Ukraine	P Education
20220228	PZ-3	35	M	10	Argentina	P Education
20220301	PZ-4	50	M	20	Italy	G Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles
20220305	PZ-5	27	F	2 (half a year in Poznań)	China	P Education
20221011	PZ-6	33	M	1	The Netherlands	J Information and communication
20221012	PZ-7	37	M	2 (1 year in Poznań)	Spain	H Transportation and storage
20221018	PZ-8	33	M	4	France	R Arts, entertainment and recreation
20221025	PZ-9	24	F	6 (5 years in Poznań)	Ukraine	H Transportation and storage
20221103	PZ-10	29	M	5	Egypt	J Information and communication
20221220	PZ-11	26	M	4 (3 years in Poznań)	Zimbabwe	P Education
20221229	PZ-12	24	M	3	Ethiopia	J Information and communication
20230125	PZ-13	35	F	8	Italy	N Administrative and support service activities
20230202	PZ-14	23	F	6 (5 years in Poznań, 1 year in Kraków)	Ukraine	Q Human health and social work activities
20230206	PZ-15	25	M	3	Ethiopia	I Accommodation and food service activities
20230123	PZ-PL-1	34	M	not applicable	Poland	J Information and communication
20230207	PZ-PL-2	60	M	not applicable	Poland	P Education
20230208	PZ-PL-3	36	M	not applicable	Poland	N Administrative and support service activities
20230313	PZ-PL-4	34	M	not applicable	Poland	O Public administration and defense; compulsory social security
20230315	PZ-PL-5	31	F	not applicable	Poland	O Public administration and defense; compulsory social security
20230315	PZ-PL-6	46	F	not applicable	Poland	Q Human health and social work activities
20230317	PZ-PL-7	30	M	not applicable	Poland	M Professional, scientific and technical activities

[105] Job definitions are the one defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO). See: "Key Indicators of the Labour Market 2015 KILM 4, Employment by sector", https://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/research-and-databases/kilm/WCMS_422402/lang--en/index.htm

20230330	PZ-PL-8	42	F	not applicable	Poland	O Public administration and defense; compulsory social security

20220302	KR-1	33	F	6	Italy	P Education
20220303	KR-2	29	M	4	Germany	J Information and communication
20220304	KR-3	59	M	11	United Kingdom	- Retired
20220304	KR-4	40	M	17	Mexico	R Arts, entertainment and recreation
20220308	KR-5	31	M	2	Mexico	P Education
20220611	KR-6	24	F	7	Ukraine	Q Human health and social work activities
20220902	KR-7	31	F	8	Ukraine	K Financial and insurance activities
20220908	KR-8	35	F	7	Ukraine	J Information and communication
20221014	KR-9	29	F	7	Ukraine	K Financial and insurance activities
20221117	KR-10	33	M	6	South Africa	R Arts, entertainment and recreation
20221117	KR-11	21	F	5	Ukraine	P Education
20221118	KR-12	45	M	4	United States of America	S Other service activities
20230209	KR-13	27	F	7	Ukraine	R Arts, entertainment and recreation
20230213	KR-14	44	M	12	United States of America	F Construction
20230214	KR-15	25	F	2	Azerbaijan	P Education
20230301	KR-16	53	M	19	Italy	I Accommodation and food service activities
20230127	KR-PL-1	45	M	not applicable	Poland	Q Human health and social work activities
20230214	KR-PL-2	43	M	not applicable	Poland	O Public administration and defense; compulsory social security
20230216	KR-PL-3	53	M	21	United States of America	Q Human health and social work activities
20230216	KR-PL-4	42	F	not applicable	Poland	M Professional, scientific and technical activities
20230302	KR-PL-5	42	F	not applicable	Poland	P Education
20230303	KR-PL-6	39	M	not applicable	Poland	R Arts, entertainment and recreation
20230304	KR-PL-7	34	F	not applicable	Poland	P Education
20230316	KR-PL-8	48	F	not applicable	Poland	N Administrative and support service activities

The in-person interviews were conducted in public places, cafés and academic spaces, guaranteeing a comfortable and safe environment for the interviewees, both in Kraków and in Poznań.

Online interviews were conducted mainly by connecting from home. It was the author's care to try to create a friendly atmosphere, sharing a cup of coffee or tea with the interviewees, in order to facilitate conversations regarding biographical content.

As a rule, interviews lasted 50 minutes, thus ensuring that respondents could freely develop their stories.

In addition, the legal aspects of the research were regularly implemented, such as providing respondents with information on the processing of personal data (anonymization, possibility of withdrawal, according to current GDPR/RODO regulations – see Annex 2), which helped to put participants at ease, being reassured by the formal nature of the research.

Techniques and challenges

It is well known that migrants (foreigners, expats, non-nationals) constitute a target population hard to reach: For this reason, as 'advised' by literature on the subject matter (Shaghaghi et al. 2011), the sampling technique put into practice was *Snowball sampling*, which is a non-probability, non-random method. Due to the limitations in terms of resources and time available, it was not considered feasible to use other more complex selection techniques (in terms of processing), such as Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS). The initial participants (called 'seeds') were selected directly by the author, also thanks to the help of colleagues and acquaintances. During the interviews, participants were asked to provide at least one referral of acquaintances or people from their social network(s), fitting the criteria of the research. This triggered the snowball effect, allowing for sequences of interviews, and it was repeated until natural interruption, as happened on a couple of occasions. An attempt was then made to contact new participants and start the process again. A saturation point was reached, when it emerged were not providing new significant data. Snowball sampling was chosen to build an adequate dataset in a manageable time, in order to proceed with the analysis accordingly with the timeframe of the doctoral studies program. Moreover, the most important reason for such a choice is specifically scientific, because, as Hendricks and Blanken have clearly pointed out:

> If the aim of the study is primarily explorative, qualitative and descriptive, snowball sampling offers clear practical advantages in obtaining information on difficult-to-observe

> phenomena, in particular in areas that involve sensitive, illegal or deviant issues. It provides an efficient and economical way of finding cases, that may otherwise be difficult or impossible to locate or contact. In exploring a statistically rare event such as drug abuse, snowball sampling has the potential of producing a rapidly growing data- base, which would require enormous samples in household or other population surveys. For example, a 1% prevalence rate would require a sample of 10000 subjects to yield 100 subjects who possess the trait under study. (Hendricks and Blanken 1992, quoted in Faugier and Sargeant1997).

For what concerns data management, the interviews were all recorded, stored on digital physical devices, and later transcribed, following Polish and European Union current regulations.

A two-step procedure was followed for transcription: initially a first anonymized draft of transcripts was prepared, then the draft transcripts were imported into the qualitative research QDA software MAXQDA2022 (VERBI Software 2021), and they were revised and refined thanks to the combined use of texts and recordings (through the availability of timestamps). MAXQDA2022 was productively utilized for coding and data analysis, following the systematic procedure of Structuring Qualitative Content Analysis, as detailed in the section below.

The main challenge in carrying out research activities, and data collection in particular, was the recurrent logistical and personal mobility difficulties caused by the protracted restrictions put in place by the Polish government in order to contain the negative effects of the spread of the COVID19 pandemic, since March 2020, i.e., before the start of this research. Restrictions were then lifted at the end of March 2022, few days weeks after the start of data collection. Because of this state of affairs, the normal effort sustained in the process of sampling and recruiting research participants was combined with an understandable reluctance of potential respondents due to the severe health situation. The effects of this type of reluctance have manifested themselves far beyond the lifting of restrictions. A pragmatic approach was adopted to ensure steady and continuous progress in fieldwork, even at a gradual pace, in order to achieve the objective of collecting an appropriate number of interviews. For example, the possibility of using videoconferencing tools for conducting the interviews, made it possible to significantly expand the dataset, although conducting interviews could be, at times, more complex for the lack of real direct interaction.

The sampling technique used comes with a distinct set of characteristics that shape its scope and applicability. However, considering the particular condition created by the pandemic emergency, it is believed that the advantages have outweighed the disadvantages. First of all, extra interpersonal connections could be continuously created thanks to respondents acting as intermediaries in the recruitment of subsequent respondents. Which proved to be of strategic importance in overcoming existing barriers due to safety reasons. Secondly, because the adoption of other more sophisticated sampling non-probability techniques, such as respondent driven sampling (RDS), is more time and resource consuming, while sharing similar limitations (although certainly to a lesser extent), for example in relation to limited generalizability.

A factor to consider is that 43 interviews were conducted in English, with 42 involving non-native speakers. Additionally, the interviewer, a native Italian speaker, holds a C1-level English proficiency certificate. While the impact of this factor is challenging to assess, the research confirmed that English served as the common vehicular language.

Among the possible risks identified during the data collection preparation phase, those that may have actually occurred are: limited generalizability, bias and lack of representativeness.

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA)

The data collection and analysis phases were planned and implemented in an integrated way. Each significant phase of data collection, such as the emergence of thematically interesting evidence during an interview, was combined with analytical insights, in order to improve the quality of the data collected and advance the selection process of the participants. No particular analytic approach has been selected beforehand, waiting for the type of data to become manifest and then apply the most suitable analysis techniques.

Once the data collection was completed, as the work progressed during the first coding cycle, it clearly emerged the thematic significance of the interviews collected and it was decided to carry out the data analysis in a systematic way, following the precepts of *Qualitative Content Analysis* (QCA), under the specific thematic approach called

Structuring QCA. In simple terms, thematic data analysis is a qualitative analysis method that allows to identify and interpret key themes within a dataset. This approach is widely used in social and humanistic research to explore patterns and meanings present in texts, interviews, documents or other forms of qualitative *verbal* data. Thematic data analysis allows us to extract deep and complex meanings from qualitative data, and to grasp the salient aspects, experiences or perspectives of the individuals or groups involved in the study. The unit of analysis in thematic analysis can be the individual codes or themes within the data. The focus is on organizing and categorizing codes based on thematic similarities and regularities.

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is the most recent development in the field of *Content Analysis*, i.e. the study of documents, texts, communication artifacts (mostly containing *verbal* data). Its recent evolution as a systematic analytical approach to qualitative data took place during the last 20 years, largely within the German academic sphere, especially on the (web)pages of the scientific journal Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research" (FQS).[106] A concise, yet detailed, history of the qualitative evolution of content analysis is contained in the book by Udo Kuckartz and Stefan Rädiker *Qualitative Content Analysis: Methods, Practice and Software* (2023). This recent work constitutes also the main reference in regards to the adoption of Structuring QCA as analytical systematic procedure, that I complemented with the both theoretical and empirical approach developed by Eviatar Zerubavel, detailed in the next chapter.

Over the course of time, Kuckartz and Rädiker have produced a distinguished descriptive theoretical work, combining the dimension of scientific dissemination with the development of the powerful qualitative data analysis (QDA) software used in this research: MAXQDA2022 (VERBI Software 2021). They also authored practical user guides of their software, impeccable in terms of systematic research conduct, as well as reliable in terms of theoretical foundation. Kuckartz and Rädiker affirm their adherence to the precepts of the hermeneutical interpretative approach, thanks to which they are able to depict several theoretical-practical methods of interpretation of written, spoken, or symbolic communication. They discuss the way scholars have conceptualized qualitative

[106] See: https://www.qualitative-research.net/

content analysis in recent times as a systematic method for the detailed analysis of qualitative data. Remarkably, they do not refrain from criticizing the fact that social scientists often do not provide operationally valid definitions of the conceptualizations they abundantly use. Therefore, consistently, they provide a valid definition of QCA:

> Qualitative content analysis is the systematic and methodologically controlled scientific analysis of texts, pictures, films, and other contents of communication. Not only manifest but also latent contents are analysed. At the centre of qualitative analyses are categories with which all the material relevant to the research question(s) is coded. Category development can be deductive, inductive, or deductive-inductive. The analysis is primarily qualitative but can also integrate quantitative-statistical evaluations; it can be both category-oriented and case-oriented. (Kuckartz and Rädiker 2023, 21).

QCA is a practical response to the need to adopt a systematic approach in qualitative data analysis. Categories, placed at the center of this analysis, act as a key to understanding processes. The interpretative relevance assigned to both the manifest and latent meanings is of strategic importance for the research, as it has heuristic potential in itself, capable of supporting the exploratory effort of the analysis in seeking the emergence of new characteristics of the studied phenomena. Attention to the latent dimension of meaning allows us to go beyond appearances and grasp deep meaning connections. Besides, QCA is oriented understanding and interpretation of everyday processes, giving relevance to the life context. It also opens up the possibility of constant reinterpretation, as interpretations can evolve and open up to new perspectives. Additionally, the centrality of the system of categories can be tailored to the needs of the thematic analysis.

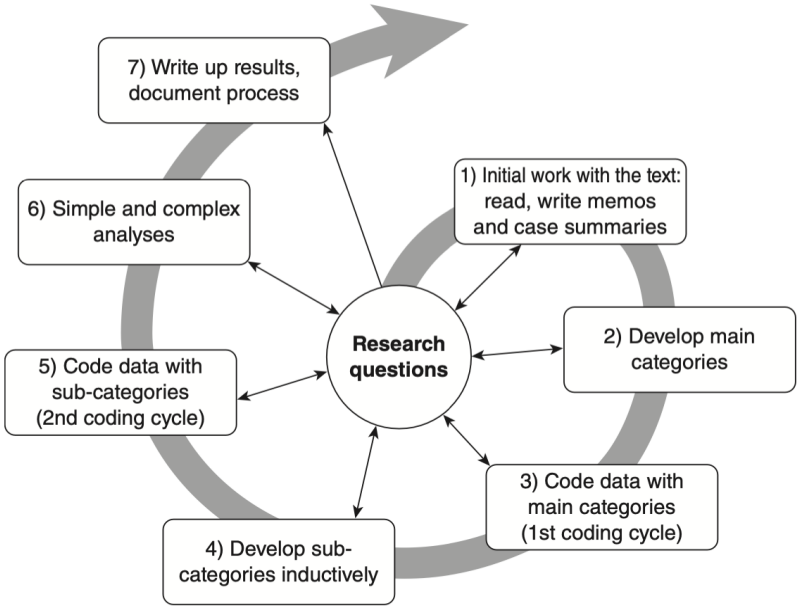
Kuckartz and Rädiker detail 3 different types of QCA: Structuring QCA, Evaluative QCA and Type-Building QCA. As already mentioned, Structuring QCA is the analytical strategy utilized in the research. The term ‘structuring’ refers to systematically organizing and categorizing data to create a structured framework for analysis. A description of the technique is concisely provided[107] in the following paragraphs.

[107] For an extended description, see Kuckartz and Rädiker (2023, pp. 99-123). In the text, seeking uniformity, I used the phase titles provided by Kuckartz and Rädiker. While these titles already describe the phases clearly, I supplemented them with descriptions that offer insights to enhance the understanding of the study's methodology.

Structuring QCA

The analytical process, as devised in Structuring QCA, involves continuous logical 'movement' and a maintained connection between its different phases and the research question, which is the central feature of the process. A representation of the seven phases of Structuring QCA is provided in Figure 4 (below), complemented with some of the insights that emerged during their implementation.

Figure 4 The seven phases of structuring qualitative content analysis



Note. Reprinted from: "Qualitative Content Analysis: Methods, Practice and Software", by U. Kuckartz and S. Rädiker, 2023, Sage.

Phase 1: Initial work with the text: read, write memos and case summaries

The first step in structuring QCA is the most important in a hermeneutic sense, as it provides an overall understanding of the available data. The drafting of preliminary case summaries constitutes a moment of initial analysis that can help orient subsequent work. The use of QDA software is strategic from the very beginning, as it enables the swift management of the data corpus (interview transcripts) according to emerging analytical needs.

Phase 2: Develop main categories

The definition of general categories serves to give structure to data and, consequently, to the analysis. Categories can be developed using either deductive or inductive approaches. According to the deductive approach, categories can be derived from the research question itself (or from the interview guide) and, obviously, from existing theories. In the case of the inductive approach, categories are generated from the data, they are essentially data-driven. In this sense, the researcher identifies recurring concepts (or themes) in the text. As is often the case, the creation of categories is carried out in practice through a mixed approach. In this phase, I relied on the sensitizing concepts described below. The main tendency turned out to be inductive.

Phase 3: Coding data with main categories (first coding cycle)

Relevant text passages, referred to as coded segments, are coded using the main categories developed in Phase 2, while focusing exclusively on content relevant to the research question. In this phase and in the subsequent ones, QDA software enables efficient coding by allowing the researcher to assign categories to text passages through a labeling procedure, organize coded segments, track coding overlaps, and export preliminary reports.

Phase 4: Inductively form sub-categories

In this phase, the analysis is further deepened, identifying patterns that emerge within the coded segments of each category. Themes may be broken down into more specific dimensions. Sub-categories are clearly defined and structured in what is called the codebook or code list (Saldaña 2016). To complete the phase overlapping sub-categories may be merged to maintain clarity.

Phase 5: Coding data with sub-categories (second coding cycle)

After establishing subcategories, specifications of the main categories, the researcher can revisit the coding process by assigning subcategories to relevant passages, increasing the analysis's level of detail. A key aspect of this phase is maintaining coding coherence. QDA software is a particularly important tool in this phase, enabling

systematic refinement, reassignment of subcategories, and tracking of changes across all texts.

Phase 6: Simple and complex analyses

Among the various analytical techniques highlighted by Kuckartz and Rädiker, one that I implemented is category-based analysis. This involved examining the recurrence of thematic aspects and variations in participants' responses concerning the attributes of categories and subcategories. I then explored the complex interactions between categories, as the emerging themes guided me toward a multidimensional analysis of the data. Finally, I conducted an interpretation of selected cases in connection with the two previous techniques to refine their interpretation further.

Phase 7: Write up results and document procedures

The final phase involves documenting the analysis process and writing the report. Throughout all phases of the analysis, I drafted preliminary thematic reports, which serve as the preparatory redaction of this text. These reports include all the sociological content required by the specific criteria of the discipline. I carried out all phases under the guidance of my supervisors.

An example of complex analysis can be anticipated here. During Phase 6, the in-depth analysis of the interaction between categories allowed us to establish that the recurrence and intersection of attributes belonging to the categories of anchoring, identification, cosmopolitization, and citizenship (detailed below) contribute to determining settlement paths, which I have reconstructed in the theme called 'transformative experiences of settlement'.

Theoretical construction of the study. Five sensitizing concepts

Observing global phenomena to develop analytical categories

To build a more speculative analytical approach, I resorted to the use of *sensitizing concepts*, as it is recurringly done in social theory. The meaning assumed in the present study is the original one defined by Herbert Blumer, according to whom sensitizing concepts "suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954). Eviatar Zerubavel too reflects on the heuristic characteristics of sensitizing concepts in his book titled *Generally Speaking*. In particular their "figurative eye-opening function" that allows to "mentally access those hitherto 'invisible' phenomena" (Zerubavel, 2020). What is interesting here is that sensitizing concepts are considered as "metaphorical lenses" that allow researchers to access the "empirical world":

> Essentially sensitizing researchers' attention, they thus help give them a general sense of what they might find relevant to attend to by effectively suggesting to them "where" to look. (Zerubavel 2020)

It is Zerubavel's main goal to represent his personal research approach, that he describes as concept-driven sociology, in an attempt to distance himself from the data-driven versus theory-driven dichotomy:

> Concept-driven sociologists start collecting their data only after having committed themselves to a particular conceptual topic. […] Their job is to make a set of integrated observations on a given topic and place them in an analytical framework. (Zerubavel, 2020)

Such an approach has been instrumentally followed in the course of the present research in order to ensure a systematic orientation of the field research process, in particular of data collection through in-depth interviews, as well as to guarantee systematicity to the subsequent content analysis procedures.

Five sensitizing concepts from urban sociology and migration studies literatures were selected:

- *Anchoring*
- *Embedding*
- *Identification*

- *Citizenization*
- *Cosmopolitization*

The five concepts are outlined in the following paragraphs with reference to the literature. Most importantly, the sensitizing concepts have been strategically used as theoretical reference for the creation of the analytical categories in phase 2 of the Structuring QCA, detailed at the end of the section.

Anchoring

The description of the concept of anchoring, advanced by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2013, 2016, 2018b, 2020) has been briefly anticipated at the end of the previous chapter. The Polish scholar connects the proposal of the new concept to the "global changes in international mobility, linked to the acceleration of globalization processes and geopolitical changes". In her argumentation Grzymała-Kazłowska enumerates several sociocultural transformations of contemporary societies, such as, among others, the "development and popularization of new communication technologies", "super-diversity", the reduced "significance of coherent cultural systems and traditional social institutions within societies such as marriage and conventional family or institutional religion along with the decline of the welfare state and increasing job insecurity". And also, the "questioning of the 'nation-state-society' paradigm". The validity of the contextualization operated by the author is confirmed by the wide range of social processes taken into consideration. Also, I think that the open character of the proposed conceptualization makes it a tool adaptable to the extended perspective of a metamorphosing world. Grzymała-Kazłowska defines anchoring as:

> The process of establishing footholds and points of reference which allow individuals to acquire relative stability and security (understood as a feeling of being safe and not exposed to chaos and danger) and function effectively in a new environment. The concept of anchoring links the issues of identity, integration and security to understand how migrants adapt to new life settings and 'settle down'. Significantly, settlement is understood less as putting down roots in a new country and more as making life relatively stable or reaching a state of stability. Anchoring emphasizes, on the one hand, the cognitive and emotional

> aspects of establishing footholds and, on the other hand, tangible anchors and structural constraints." (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018b).

The concept of anchoring is developed from a metaphorical extension of the semantic field of the word anchor, which refers, in everyday discourse, to a "tool that allows a floating object to be stopped and held in a proper position". The concept is then useful to investigate flexibility of migrants' adaptation and settlement. Various kinds of anchors can be 'dropped', and also 'weighed' in the reverse process of 'un-anchoring'. Consequently, anchoring may have the characteristics of "simultaneity, multidimensionality and changeability" (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018b). To operationalize foreigners' anchors (i.e., modalities, strategies of anchoring) the explanatory categories provided by Grzymała-Kazłowska in her work outlining the new concept (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2016) may be utilized. It is important to note that initially the scholar was using the phrase 'social anchoring', while lately she adopted the term 'anchoring'. I have taken on the latter, as it may have a broader heuristic potential.

On the one hand, anchors can be subjective and internal. Examples of this type of anchors can be national identification, beliefs and memory. On the other hand, anchors are objective and external, such as legal anchors like citizenship and legal status, or economic as the types of consumptions, and also spatial as in the cases of the place of birth and place of residence. Material objects and practices can represent anchors. Moreover Grzymała-Kazłowska identifies anchors that can have mixed character. They can be social and professional, including family roles, profession, or being a foreigner. Mixed types of anchoring can be cultural ones, related to language, norms and values.

As Grzymała-Kazłowska wrote, "through anchoring, individuals are included in a society" (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2016). The intellectual challenge of the research is to identify which processes of anchoring allow foreigners to participate in the dynamics of production of the city. Moreover:

> Anchoring emphasizes, on the one hand, human agency and the cognitive and emotional aspects of establishing footholds and, on the other hand, inequalities and structural constraints in establishing a sense of stability and safety. Its value lies in the fact that it acknowledges simultaneity (Levitt and Glick-Schiller, 2004) in different spaces, including transnational and virtual, multilayerness and unevenness (including social, cultural, cognitive, emotional, material, spiritual, institutional anchors) as well as the processuality

> and flexibility of anchoring, re-anchoring and the reverse processes of un-anchoring. (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Ryan 2022)

The approach of the present study finds significant corroboration in the representation of the concept of anchoring offered by Grzymała-Kazłowska and Hynie in a recent work, described in terms that resonate with the definition of a sensitizing concept, since it

> Provides a focus for understanding why and how migrants strive to achieve specific goals, and the impact of achieving these goals. The concept of anchoring highlights the centrality of security and the agentic nature of migrants navigating this process to achieve different forms of security, belonging and identity, while also acknowledging how these strategies and feelings change in response to circumstances at multiple levels over time, and thus provides a lens for understanding the unique choices and experiences of individual refugees and other migrants. (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Hynie 2024)

Grzymała-Kazłowska and Hynie highlight the analytical suitability of anchoring for understanding migrants' choices and, consequently, their strategies. Aligning the research focus with this analytical perspective, I intentionally adopt the terms *strategy* and *strategic* to refer to coordinated sets of understandings, decisions, and courses of action activated by actors while considering possible outcomes, reactions, and decisions of other actors. This perspective provides a framework for exploring individuals' narratives, focusing on how they navigate their social contexts, construct meaning, and exercise agency.

To enable the empirical application of the concept of anchoring as an analytical tool, I have constructed a typology of different anchors, drawing on Grzymała-Kazłowska's descriptions in her book *Rethinking Settlement and Integration: Migrants' Anchoring in an Age of Insecurity* (2020). To the anchors detailed by Grzymała-Kazłowska, I argue it is appropriate to add a specific anchor, 'safety'. in consideration of its emergence during fieldwork and in compliance with the constant reference made by Grzymała-Kazłowska to a "sense of stability and security[108]" perceived by individuals (2018b, 2020). The characteristics of the anchor 'safety' are based on the concept of *ontological security* theorized by Giddens in the book *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991), where he states that a sense of ontological security, which carries the "individual through transitions and crises", is created by "trust in the existential anchorings of reality." This

[108] The terms safety and security are used synonymously

insight appears to serve as a precursor to the theorization by Grzymała-Kazłowska. The typology, represented in Table 11 (below), organizes and interprets her theoretical framework into a systematic and multidimensional grid for analysis.

Table 11 Typology of Anchors

Category	Anchor Type	Examples/Characteristics	Subjective/Internal vs. Objective/External	Tangible/Intangible
Legal and Institutional	Legal status	Personal documents, citizenship	More objective and external	Tangible
Economic	Assets and activities	Economic assets, consumed goods, types of economic activity	Objective and external	Tangible
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	Place of birth, place of residence	Objective and external	Tangible
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	Graves of loved ones	Subjective/internal with symbolic weight	Tangible
Material Objects	Personal and shared possessions	Photos, personal belongings	Mixed: subjective meaning, objective existence	Tangible
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	Appearance, bodily capacities, habits	Mixed: subjective/social meaning	Tangible
Ontological	Safety	Sense of order, continuity, and trust. Sense of predictability	Mixed: subjective/internal and external	Intangible
Identity-related	Identity traits	Self-concept, self-identification, individual beliefs, memories	Most subjective and internal	Intangible
Social and Professional	Social role and position	Family roles, occupation, being a migrant	Mixed: both subjective and objective aspects	Intangible
	Social structure and groups	Membership in actual or imagined groups	Mixed: subjective identity, external social position	Intangible
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	Language, cultural transfers, traditions, norms and values	Mixed: subjective/internal and external	Intangible

Note. Own elaboration from:" Rethinking settlement and integration. Migrants' anchoring in an age of insecurity", by A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2020, Manchester University Press.

Embedding

The concept of embedding, proposed by Louise Ryan and Jon Mulholland (Ryan and Mulholland, 2015) can be considered an answer to the epistemic shortcomings shown by another concept used in social research (and in particular in migration studies): the concept of embeddedness. The main dispute in relation to the latter is about its vagueness.

An example of the vague character is the definition of ‘embedded’ proposed by Korinek, Entwisle and Jampaklay in their work on the urban settlement of Thai migrants, pertinently cited by Ryan and Mulholland:

> By “embedded”, we refer to social relationships that foster a sense of rootedness and integration in the local surroundings. (Korinek et al., 2005: 780).

Ryan and Mulholland discuss the concept primarily in relation to Granovetter's use of it in his studies of economic behaviors in relation to social structure. For Granovetter, social actors, as well as their actions, are “embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations” (Granovetter, 1985). The concept of embeddedness has been criticized for a lack of clarity that jeopardizes its possible effective operationalization. To overcome operational difficulties, while maintaining semantic significance,

> The concept of ‘embedding’ has been advanced to explore how migrants navigate societal contexts as active agents, in relationships with others, but framed by specific socioeconomic and political structures. Hence, embedding pays particular attention to institutional settings such as the labour market, as well as immigration regimes, and spatial contexts such as local neighbourhoods. (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Ryan, 2022).

It is therefore an updated conceptualization in such a way as to capture the dynamic character of the observed social processes.

What is most interesting for the present study is that, following a scientific correspondence lasting several years, the proponents of the concept of *anchoring*, Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, and *embedding*, Louise Ryan, joined forces to propose a combined use of the two concepts for the purposes of empirical social research concerning the settlement of migrants. The meaningful title of their cooperative work is *Bringing anchoring and embedding together. Theorising migrants’ lives over-time*, where they

> explore for the first time how bringing our two concepts together may offer additional insights and understandings of migrants’ experiences of and responses to the uncertainties and complexities of contemporary society. (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Ryan 2022)

Identification and identity

During the fieldwork, elements relating to the self-perception of the respondents frequently emerged. Although the question of self-perception is a subtext content of the research, it has not been made explicit in the first steps of the research. For example, it is not present in the interview guide and was inserted only later in the code frame (see below). It was believed that questions relating to self-perception could be pertinent in the case of social psychology research, presuming a possibility in grasping connections between the *micro*- and *macro*-social dimension.

In sociology, scholars of symbolic interactionism have provided a comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms of self-perception, framing identity not as something innate or ascribed but as a dynamic and socially constructed process. Cooley (1902) highlighted the importance of social feedback, condensed in the image of the *looking-glass self*. Blumer (1969) underscored the processual nature of the self, constantly subjected to social interaction. He noted that while individuals are influenced in their self-perception by social norms, at the same time they exercise agency in interpreting and negotiating social norms. Similarly, Goffman (1956) performative nature and situational aspects of self-identification. Indeed, these aspects of self-perception turned out to be increasingly evident in relation to foreigners' accounts relating to self-identification as a strategic existential elaboration, made during the course of their migration experience. This state of affairs has drawn the researcher's attention to the question of foreigners' 'self-attribution' of identity and, consequently, to the possible definition of the concept of identity. However, following a weighted theoretical reflection, it was decided to use that of identification as a sensitizing concept. The concept of identification is obviously closely linked with the concept of identity, and a brief commentary of the theoretical elements that led to such a selection may have the required explanatory power in this regard.

One interesting caveat from the unpublished paper *What is identity (as we now use the word)* by James D. Fearon, has been frequently cited on the subject. The author openly argues that the concept of identity is consistently used with a definitional *deficit:*

> Overwhelmingly, academic users of the word "identity" feel no need to explain its meaning to readers. The readers' understanding is simply taken for granted, even when "identity" is the author's primary dependent or independent variable. This is perhaps not so surprising.

> In the first place, while the origins of our present understanding of "identity" lie in the academy, the concept is now quite common in popular discourse. Since we all know how to employ the word and we understand it in other peoples' sentences, why bother with definitions or explanations? (Fearon, 1999)

One should consider that the scientific requirement of empirical research is to make use of concepts endowed with a heuristic function, in order to be able to interpret the observed phenomena. This leads to the consideration that there is not only an interest in the concept of identity, but this concept might be specified in line with
with the observed phenomena. Therefore, it may be useful to investigate empirical evidence in relation to the concept of social identity. Unfortunately, this may prove to be difficult to implement.

The term social identity was initially used by social psychologists, with a thread of research started by E. Erikson in the 1960s. Sociologists started working on conceptualization only from the 1980s, when identity began to be discussed in problematic terms. See, as examples of prominent sociologists who have dealt with social identity, Anthony Giddens' *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age* (1991) and Zygmunt Bauman's *Liquid Modernity* (2000)[109].

From a sociological perspective, a distinction can be made between social identity, which may be the answer to the question "Who am I as a social actor?", and collective/cultural identity, which can be problematized as "Which group is mine?". Sociologists most often define social identity in terms of social positions, while collective identity is often described as cultural (on the basis of a common culture - national, subcultural, generational, etc.). Interactions are then described in terms of symbolic boundaries, i.e., "me versus you" and "us vs them".

All this to say that sociological literature has produced a series of fine theory works on identity. But while they constitute important scientific achievements, these theories proved difficult to be transferred to empirical research grounds. Simply put, these theoretical stances are problematic to operationalize, to say the least, when observing ongoing dynamics rather than definitive outcomes, as in the case of the self-identification processes highlighted by the research respondents. Moreover, Richard Jenkins has

[109] By Bauman see also *Identity. Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi* (2004). Interestingly, the Italian edition of the book (Bauman 2003) has a chapter titled "*Identità come problema*", i.e., identity as a problem.

effectively expressed the need for addressing identity in more simple terms in his book *Social identity* (2014):

> I prefer, wherever possible, simply to talk about 'identity' or 'identification'. This is for two reasons. First, if my argument is correct, all human identities are, by definition, social identities. Identifying ourselves, or others, is a matter of meaning, and meaning always involves interaction: agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation. To add the 'social' in this context is somewhat redundant (cf. Ashton et al. 2004, 81). Second, I have argued elsewhere that to distinguish analytically between the 'social' and the 'cultural' misrepresents the observable realities of the human world (Jenkins 2002, 39-62). Sticking with plain 'identity' and 'identification' prevents me from being seen to do so. (Jenkins 2014)

In building his argumentations, Jenkins quotes excerpts of the seminal article *Beyond "identity"* by Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper which contains a series of effective problematizations of the concept of identity. The strong remarks of Brubaker and Frederick Cooper appear to reveal difficulties comparable with those emerging in empirical research:

> [Identity] is too ambiguous, too torn between 'hard' and 'soft' meanings, essentialist connotations and constructivist qualifiers, to be of any further use to sociology. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000)

However, while making Brubaker and Cooper's arguments his own, Jenkins does not completely dismiss the concept of identity, which he continues to use in connection with identification, effectively forming a dyadic conceptualization, where the latter appears to be prevalent in terms of explanatory power:

> "Identity can only be understood as a process of 'being' or 'becoming'. One's identity – one's identities, indeed, for who we are is always multi-dimensional, singular and plural – is never a final or settled matter. […] Bearing this in mind, for sociological purposes identification can be defined minimally thus:
> • 'Identity' denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities.
> • 'Identification' is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference.

• Taken – as they can only be – together, similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identification, and are at the heart of the human world." (Jenkins 2014)

It can be hypothesized that Jenkins represents among "sociological purposes" the goal of describing and understanding the elements of social interaction detectable in processes of identification, as he explains later in his book:

> Identification is an interaction between relationships of similarity and of difference; individual and collective identity are as much an interactional product of 'external' identification by others, as they are of 'internal' self-identification; identity is produced and reproduced both in discourse – narrative, rhetoric and representation – and in the practical, often very material, consequences of identification. (Jenkins 2014)

From the study's perspective, the processual aspects of the observed phenomena are considered (hermeneutically) valuable for sociological understanding (of the phenomena themselves). The concept of anchoring described above is also understood in this sense. The "minimally" provided definition by Jenkins recognizes the aspects of interaction but does not sufficiently account for the proper processual dynamics underlying identification. In my opinion this is accomplished by Brubaker and Cooper, as follows:

> As a processual, active term, derived from a verb, "identification" lacks the reifying connotations of "identity." It invites us to specify the agents that do the identifying. […] Identification - of oneself and of others - is intrinsic to social life; "identity" in the strong sense is not.
>
> One may be called upon to identify oneself - to characterize oneself, to locate oneself vis-à-vis known others, to situate oneself in a narrative, to place oneself in a category - in any number of different contexts. […] They include innumerable situations of everyday life as well as more formal and official contexts. How one identifies oneself - and how one is identified by others - may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000)

Brubaker and Cooper's definition of identification helps create a research focus on actors' agency, which is consistent with the aims of the research, being situated in urban contexts. This appears particularly appropriate as, from the first steps of the research, the respondents have shown that they do not necessarily consider their identity as something essential and enduring, not subject to change or negotiation, thus emphasizing

adaptability and situational variation over rigidity. Finally, Brubaker and Cooper introduce a specification of strategic importance for this research:

> Another basic distinction is between self-identification and the identification and categorization of oneself by others. Self-identification takes place in dialectical interplay with external identification, and the two need not converge. External identification is itself a varied process. In the ordinary ebb and flow of social life, people identify and categorize others, just as they identify and categorize themselves. But there is another key type of external identification that has no counterpart in the domain of self-identification: the formalized, codified, objectified systems of categorization developed by powerful, authoritative institutions. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000)

It cannot escape our attention how important this last sentence is concerning studies on migratory processes. While it does not explicitly name it, it directly points to the institutional *ensemble* that constitutes the nation-state as the primary actor. Moreover, it resonates with the arguments put forward by critical migration studies scholars, as discussed in Chapter 1, particularly regarding the politics of categorization a defining feature of methodological nationalism. In simple terms, it alludes to the fact that states create policies that directly impact the lives and identities of individuals, whether they are migrants or not. Furthermore, states use categorizations for political purposes. But these kinds of institutions may also be identified with cities which, in a dialectical relationship with states, may develop alternative systems of categorization and competing policies. In some cases, the production of categorizations and corresponding legislative measures, can open up new spaces of action that individual actors, including migrants, will be able to exploit on condition of engaging in compatible identification processes.

To better contextualize the analysis of the collected data, I also draw upon works by Polish scholars, as their contributions provide valuable contextualized conceptualizations that might correspond to the situated nature of this research.

In his insightful reflection in *Konstruowanie tożsamości, czynniki społeczno-kulturowe* (*Constructing Identity: Sociocultural Factors*), Marian Golka (2012) also situates the formation of identity within social interactions. According to Golka, we define our identity in relation to others, both by recognizing our similarities with others and by differentiating ourselves from them, in the experience of otherness. He observes how the acquisition of identity varies in culturally homogeneous areas and in culturally

diverse ones, where the differences are visible and manifest. Golka underscores the significance of

> the mechanisms and orientations of the choices made by an individual or a group to emphasize and highlight what divides them from others, or - on the contrary - what connects them with others. Understanding any regularities that may occur here would require in-depth research. (Golka 2012)

It is in this sense, by dedicating appropriate attention to individual strategic choices, that the analysis proposed here has been conducted.

Another key reference is the book *Migracje i tożsamość. Od teorii do analizy przypadku (Migration and identity: from theory to case analysis)* by Dariusz Niedźwiedzki (2010). This research focuses on what the author defines as 'pendulum migration', "which refers to the spatial mobility defined by the migrant retaining links to both the country of origin and the host society." As it became apparent through the empirical stage of this research, this condition is today one of the characteristics of migration experiences within Polish urban contexts. Although the empirical focus of Niedźwiedzki's study is on Polish emigration to Belgium (Leuven) and the effects of migration on certain Polish sending communities (Zwierzyniec and Tyszowce in the Lublin Voivodeship), and thus differs significantly from the present study in terms of perspective, Niedźwiedzki's work serves as a precursor to themes that have gained relevance in contemporary research, and I consider it a significant theoretical reference specifically because it states clearly that

> Migration has an effect on the self-identification of those moving, as well as on how they identify others. The key questions in this regard pertain to the conditions under which identities are reconstructed as well as the forms they adopt. This problem is new, important and difficult to grasp because of its distinctness as compared to traditional forms of societal mobility.[110] (Niedźwiedzki 2010)

The issue developed by Niedźwiedzki continues to be empirically useful and suitable for interpreting the characteristics of new forms of migratory trajectory. As with the 'pendulum migration' described by the Cracovian scholar, today's migratory paths, in terms of spatial mobility, are linked to contemporary changes in living conditions and in particular are facilitated by constantly innovating means of transport and communication

[110] Own translation.

technologies. The migratory experience is undertaken on a voluntary basis, for economic reasons, often has a temporary character and is essentially individual, simplifying personal responsibilities and risks. Niedźwiedzki speaks in this sense of "manifestations of the triumph of the individual over the group in today's social reality". Transnational migratory scenarios emerge, which, according to Niedźwiedzki, are characterized by the maintenance of ties, by migrants with three 'communities: those of origin, host and fellow migrants. More specifically, Niedźwiedzki highlights that

> The combination of elements from different national cultures by migrants creates a new transnational framework for the processes of identification, the construction of interpersonal bonds and relationships, formation of social groups and the determination of the rules of collective life.[111] (Niedźwiedzki 2010)

Following Niedźwiedzki, I argue that it is possible to observe the emergence of an individual agency capacity that assumes a particular configuration shaped by precise spatial, temporal, cultural, social, and political contexts. Moreover, the identity changes experienced by individuals have a character of continuity throughout the migratory process and can have different outcomes depending on the type of self-identification and the degree of acceptance of sociocultural pluralism and cultural diversity. In a general sense, for Niedźwiedzki these dynamics can represent a mechanism of social and cultural change both for migrants and for the communities involved. The crucial aspect of this mechanism is represented by the fact that migrants constantly reconstruct their social identity, drawing upon resources that belong to both the culture of origin and the host culture.

The complexities and challenges involved in framing the question of identity and identification remain today a significant focus for social scientists (and, of course, others beyond this field). For the purposes of this study, the aim is to maintain a heuristically open approach to capturing possible new configurations emerging in the rapidly evolving contexts of "new immigration", such as Polish cities. I therefore considered it important to draw further theoretical reference from the work of Wayne H. Brekhus, in particular the book titled *The Sociology of Identity: Authenticity, Multidimensionality, and Mobility* (2020), one of the most recent and comprehensive updates to sociological theory

[111] *Idem.*

on the question of identity. The three organizing themes of the book are summarized by the author as follows:

> *Authenticity* refers to the ways in which people try to authenticate personal selves or group membership. *Multidimensionality* refers to how people navigate multiple intersecting elements that make up their self-identity or collective identity. *Mobility* refers to the strategies and cultural currencies people use to navigate transitory and migratory shifts in their selves or in their collective identities across space and time. (Brekhus 2020, emphasis in original)

The cited text provides an indication of the analytical potential of Brekhus' work when applied to the current study, particularly as the third thematic strand focuses on the strategies employed by individuals undergoing migratory transitions. The American scholar integrates insights from major sociological traditions in the study of social identity – including symbolic interactionism, Bourdieu's theory of dispositional habits, and feminist standpoint theories - to construct a comprehensive *repertoire* of conceptualizations, systematically organized along the theoretical axes defined by the three aforementioned themes. Brekhus' work constitutes an extended conceptual taxonomy that might be redundant to detail fully at this point, primarily because some of the concepts developed by Brekhus are revisited in depth during the analysis in Chapter 4. However, it is useful to recall some salient elements of the American sociologist's work.

First, it is essential to emphasize the multidimensionality of identity. Brekhus highlights that identity is not a singular manifestation but is composed of intersecting social categories that collectively shape an individual's experience. Drawing on the concept of intersectionality, Brekhus argues that it is not possible to understand the different social categories by isolating them from each other. Additionally, the ways individuals perform identity results in a series of balancing acts of the multiple identity attributes that they actively maneuver while navigating different social contexts. However, it is not merely a matter of adaptive performances, elements of agency may emerge, particularly in relation to the sharing of group or place-based identities.

A particularly interesting section of Brekhus' book addresses the identities of cities and neighborhoods. Brekhus notes that, like individuals, cities - through institutional and individual actors - construct their own identities. He draws a parallel between personal biographies, which individuals use for self-identification, and collective

or place-based narratives, which are voiced by individuals themselves. This suggests intriguing parallels and contiguities between individual narratives and place narratives[112].

One notable theoretical contribution, which serves as a hallmark of Brekhus' work, is the dichotomy between markedness and unmarkedness, a concept originating from linguistics. He defines social marking as

> an asymmetrical process of cultural cognitive classification wherein we actively *stress* one side of a relational contrast as socially specialized or category-specific (the marked) while mostly ignoring the other side as generic and unspecific (the unmarked). (Brekhus 2020, emphasis in original)

Obviously, the two sides of the "relational contrast" are interdependent and contextualized. In terms of social perception, markedness refers to what is notable and different, whereas unmarkedness denotes what is normative and default. On the one hand, marked attributes or identities are those that are socially or culturally accentuated, rendered visible, and might be considered different or deviant from the norm. In particular, members of marked social categories are frequently essentialized through overgeneralizations, while their individual attributes are overlooked. On the other hand, unmarked attributes or identities are perceived as the norm and are taken for granted because they are "socially generic" (Brekhus 2020). They represent social standards and, for this reason, they become socially and culturally invisible. While marked identities may be the object of enduring attention, members of unmarked categories normally benefit from a lack of social attention, remain unnoticed and are assumed to be natural - a combination that further reinforces their invisibility. Unmarked categories, such as whiteness and heterosexuality, may function as implicit normalized standards against which marked identities, like blackness and homosexuality, are compared. This implicit normalization allows individuals within unmarked categories to navigate social contexts without the inconvenience of self-consciousness or the scrutiny often directed at marked identities. Remarkably, the recent article *On doing concept-driven sociology,* authored by Brekhus and Sabetta (2024), represents an articulate invitation to engage with the aforementioned Zerubavelian approach, as its title suggests. In the article, the authors take a step forward in clarifying the heuristic value of the marked/unmarked dichotomy, which

[112] Examining commercial advertisement featuring the city of Detroit, represented as the tough "motor City" of America, Brekhus notices that: "Like many of its workers who have fallen on hard times, Detroit itself has 'been to hell and back.'" (Brekhus 2020)

becomes evident in the “study of inconspicuous (either invisible, silent, or banal) features.” By applying the marked/unmarked distinction, researchers can shed light on "negative phenomena," those defined by their status as unremarkable or by "what one actually collects is the absence of certain data” (Zerubavel 2021). Examples include non-doing, non-difference, non-utterance, and also non-identity (Brekhus and Sabetta 2024).

The fieldwork was conducted with a direct focus on disclosing anchoring strategies. This is evident from the interview guide, which, nonetheless, did not include direct questions on the topic (see Annex 1). Regarding the sensitizing concepts of identification, cosmopolitization, and citizenization - with the latter two discussed in subsequent sections - they were applied to the listening and reading of the research participants' narratives. In this work of listening and reading, the marked-unmarked dichotomy emerged as a valuable analytical tool, revealing patterns and regularities that lie just “beneath the surface” of social phenomena. Of heuristic importance, as it also allowed the researcher greater interpretative freedom, was the decision to maintain a basic theoretical description for the two concepts of cosmopolitization and citizenization.

Cosmopolitization[113]

Cosmopolitization is the concept proposed by the late German sociologist Ulrich Beck. The concept that can be characterized as having a high degree of empirical content, which means that Beck used the term to empirically describe a number of processes that are progressively emerging (and are empirically being studied) together with the unfolding of processes of globalization. Cosmopolitization is then a representational term for “global interconnectedness” (Beck et al., 2013). It is the product of processes that

> Involve not only interconnections across boundaries, but transform the quality of the social and the political inside nation-state societies. This is what I define as ‘cosmopolitanization’: cosmopolitanization means internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies. This transforms everyday consciousness and identities significantly. (Beck 2002)

[113] In his works in English, Beck used two different terms to describe the concept: cosmopolitanization (see: Beck, 2002) and cosmopolitization (see: Beck et al. 2013). Apart from direct citations, the term cosmopolitization is adopted here, as it was used in Beck’s most recent works.

In a similar fashion, the reality of everyday life is transformed by changes brought about by globalization, influencing cultures, identities, relationships, and opportunities, ultimately leading to cosmopolitization. I argue that the cosmopolitization of individuals' everyday lives is enabled by cosmopolitized spaces of action, as depicted in Chapter 2, precisely due to the resources that become accessible through the multiscalar processes of globalization. And, paraphrasing Hannerz, we can argue that cosmopolitization tends to be "a matter of competence" (Hannerz 1992), This competence involves openness to cultural differences, understanding of multiple cultural systems, and the ability to adapt and move. Hannerz describes it as "a personal ability to make one's way into other cultures, through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting.' (Hannerz 1992). However, the way in which the process unfolds can be ambivalent. In fact, as mentioned earlier, Beck emphasized that the processes of globalization and cosmopolitization can unfold without actors necessarily being aware of them. To clarify his idea of cosmopolitization, Beck refers to Michael Billig's concept of *banal nationalism* (1995). Billig argues that the social reproduction of nationalism is often enacted through unnoticed, unconscious daily routines and symbols, subtly reinforced in everyday practices and language, without requiring explicit references to national identity or history. Similarly, as Beck put it, we need to acknowledge *banal cosmopolitanism*, characterized by everyday, routine and often unconscious elements of cosmopolitization, as we "experience ourselves integrated into global processes and phenomena" (Beck 2002). An interesting and relatable example provided by Beck is that of 'banal cosmopolitan culinary eclecticism,' which refers to the integration of diverse global cuisines into local contexts. This phenomenon is evident in supermarkets, TV shows, and food consumption habits, where dishes and preparations from various parts of the world coexist and are normalized as part of everyday food culture. Its recent evolution has become noticeable in cities such as Poznań and Kraków. The potentially unnoticed unfolding of cosmopolitization not only reshapes the fabric of individuals' everyday lives but also provides a crucially extended perspective for researchers. We can hypothesize that cosmopolitization has characteristics of unmarkedness with respect to identities. Adopting this lens allows for a deeper understanding of the dynamic changes in the settlement strategies employed by migrants - whether consciously or unconsciously - and the transformative outcomes of these strategies on broader social contexts.

Citizenization

Maurizio Ambrosini has been engaged for several decades in the continuous study of international migratory phenomena, in a tireless effort to update scientific knowledge and provide indispensable support to outline adequate policies in response to the migration crises that have occurred several times both in Italy and at European level. In his research, Ambrosini has dealt with formal and informal citizenship, subjectively experienced and practically exercised by individuals., framing it not only as a legal status, but also as a process. As I have discussed previously in the case of urban citizenship, particularly in recent years, the scientific debate has focused on forms of citizenship 'from below' that appear to rearticulate - or perhaps simply enrich - the prevailing discourse of formal citizenship, which is granted by right or concession by the nation-state. In contexts with extensive experience of immigration, such as Italy, it appears that people with migratory pathways are often at the forefront of these social innovations, driven by their public participatory actions, experience of resilience or mere presence. Out of such contextualization come the concept of citizenization[114], that aim at describing a specific set of settlement strategies and actions enacted by migrants:

> They are the combination of activities and everyday practices, including repeated and routinised ones, through which immigrants enter local contexts, access various services, develop neighbourhood relationships, become accepted members of the environment in which they live.[115] (Ambrosini, 2021)

It is possible to capture in this short definition a resonance with the concept of *embedding* discussed earlier, in relation to their ability to understand and navigate diverse and evolving sociocultural contexts. Indeed, the two concepts can orient the researcher's empirical attention towards the strategies of migrants that characterize their stable settlement in urban contexts. An example of citizenization is the

> Emerging phenomenon of participation of immigrants and people of immigrant origin in various volunteering practices, formal and informal: the motivations are varied, but we can

[114] The original Italian term *cittadinizzazione* has been rendered here on the basis of the British verb *citizenize*, meaning "to cause to become a citizen" (see: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/citizenize Accessed June 14, 2023).
[115] Own translation from Italian.

> see a clear sign of the desire to present themselves as active citizens, concerned for the common good, committed to improving the quality of social life.[116] (Ambrosini, 2020)

The first theorization of the "citizenization process" (Bastenier and Dassetto 1990, cited in Ambrosini and Campomori 2024) dates back three decades, describing the progressive acquisition of institutionally guaranteed rights (e.g., access to public services), of recognition within proximity networks and local societies, and of practical skills for engaging with the labor market as well as public and private services in the contexts of residence. In the most recent elaboration by Ambrosini and Campomori,

> These processes have a routine, informal and even unconscious component. [...] Over time, forms of learning about the functioning of services, mutual adaptation, habituation to coexistence and social exchange between people of different origins are thus produced. (Ambrosini and Campomori 2024)

The term citizen, as we know, is polysemic, and I propose adding an interpretive nuance to the general meaning of the concept of citizenization that emphasizes its urban dimension. Citizen does not exclusively identify the individual holding rights formally guaranteed by the state, it also specifically denotes an inhabitant of a city or town. Viewed in this way, therefore, a distinct meaning can be incorporated into the concept of citizenization - namely, the process of becoming the citizen of a particular city and contributing to the creation of peculiar forms of urbanity. This expanded understanding of the processes of citizenization provides an analytical lens to examine the agency potential expressed by non-national individuals drawn to Polish cities. The processes are induced by the increasing global connectivity of urban centers and reflect how such cities are understood, interpreted, reproduced and potentially transformed in their cultural and material attributes by new urban actors.

Four analytical categories

The sensitizing concepts described above are the distilled product of decades of social science theorizing. During phase 2 of Structuring QCA, the four main analytical categories were instead created through an interpretative data-driven process. They may

[116] *Idem*

also be considered data-inspired. They are built on the accounts of non-national individuals' strategies, so that they can be considered the situated version of the sensitizing concepts. Here are the definitions provided for each category:

- *Anchoring and embedding*[117]. Anchoring refers to multifaceted processes that incorporate emotional, cultural, and practical bonds individuals form with particular places. Anchoring can be intertwined with embedding, the dynamic process through which individuals actively navigate societal contexts, including institutional settings like the labor market and immigration regimes, and spatial contexts like local neighborhoods and cities (and specific places in the city), influencing their experiences and interactions with their surroundings. Anchoring and embedding reveal how contextual factors influence the establishment and maintenance of the connections that individuals create with people and places, enriching our understanding of how people settle into new environments over time.

- *Identification* can be defined as the complex process through which individuals navigate their sense of self- and sociocultural belonging in the context of Polish cities, often influenced by their experiences and perspectives on national identity, other cultures and personal growth. This process includes considerations of cultural values, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, adaptability to new cultures, and the development of an open mindset as individuals interact with diverse communities and global influences.

- *Cosmopolitization* indicates transformations at both individual and collective levels. It signifies an evolving mindset and corresponding actions in individuals, within a specific community. This shift is characterized by a growing openness, recognition, and proactive engagement with individuals from diverse backgrounds and cultures, driven by the pursuit of seizing global opportunities, both personally and professionally. Cosmopolitized actions include actively building international connections and embracing diversity. Cosmopolitization reflects a sociocultural shift where individuals and communities alike are increasingly inclined to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds. This shift not only promotes a more inclusive and globally oriented

[117] The two conceptualizations are brought together, as suggested by Grzymała-Kazłowska and Ryan, to form a dyadic analytical category.

approach but also underscores the importance of seizing global opportunities at an individual level.

- *Citizenization* involves migrants actively engaging with and participating in Polish cities, demonstrating regard for local customs and culture, and potentially pursuing Polish citizenship for convenience and freedom. It also highlights the importance of learning how the public and private services function, learning the language, forming relationships, and participating in international events as key aspects of becoming part of the community.

These four categories represent the main categories utilized in Phase 2 of Structuring QCA to initiate the first coding cycle. In Phase 4 of Structuring QCA, subcategories are assigned to the four main categories, enabling a second coding cycle and allowing for a more detailed analysis.

Chapter 4 Data analysis

Exploring social processes through qualitative content analyses

Sensitizing concepts do not exhaust their function with the creation of the main categories, but rather can come together in a powerful toolkit during the course of the analysis. They can orient the analytical attention allowing to grasp the emergence of main themes, and possibly regularities too. The research focus is primarily explorative, aiming at verifying how social actors and migrants are activating themselves in relation to the processes of global city formation, by means of the analysis of interviews collected. The intellectual challenge is to identify which social processes (anchoring, embedding, identification, cosmopolitization, citizenization) allow foreigners to participate in the dynamics of production of the city, securing a prominent role in the processes of the global city formation.

In procedural terms, it is possible to analyze thematically the transcripts of the interviews in order to identify significant relationships (not necessarily sequentiality) between the emerging themes, as they are presented by the research participant in their own narratives. Finding meaningful relationships is undoubtedly interpretive work and it is understood that the analysis reported is by no means conclusive. Moreover, it was intended to guarantee an exploratory and interpretative openness, also out of respect for the personal trajectories of the migrants participating in the research, whose future evolutions precisely retain, in most cases, a character of openness to possibilities. The analytical-argumentative process reported here is substantially based on the selection of the interview excerpts with clear thematic relevance in relation with the four categories. Thematic relevance is assigned starting from the significance of the content in relation to the research question and also in relation to their heuristic and hermeneutic functions. However, during the analysis, evidence emerged suggesting that structuring the reporting solely through analytical categories developed throughout the research process might have constrained the scope of the findings. Consequently, this chapter aimed to broaden the analytical description, ensuring the flexibility of the interpretative process required to capture both explicit and latent meanings. In fact, it may be discussed whether it is productive to compartmentalize the analysis of qualitative data into categorical 'boxes'. It was decided to generate here an analytical account with expressly narrative character, in

order to better highlight the findings of the research. Simply put, while the systematic character of the analysis is ensured by following the precepts of Structuring QCA, in reporting the research results findings it is adopted a free (not necessarily sequential) text structure, deemed suitable to better understand new social processes at play, as represented by the evident thematic interweaving of the respondents' narratives. Subsection titles have been made available in the text in order to better identify the thematic area under discussion. They constitute reference with the purpose of ensuring readability. In any case, the structure of the text should not be considered rigid and unavoidable. At the time of reading, it is possible to operate non-sequential connections, making autonomous thematic references. In this sense the analytical report was written as an open-text, displaying multiple possible entry points, indeed being open to further interpretation.

Although a focus on foreigners' anchoring strategies was maintained during the research, the data analysis highlighted the need to treat the other categories selected as having the same level of hermeneutical significance. Moreover, analysis of verbal data from of interviews has been conducted while keeping in mind the precept of the 'hermeneutic circle', which has been described as follows:

> The central principle in the hermeneutic approach is that a text can only be understood as the sum of its parts and the individual parts can only be understood if you understand the whole text. (Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2023).

Such an approach was persevered throughout the analysis work and applied not only to the individual transcripts of the interviews, but to their entirety, thus considered as a *corpus*. For this reason, the findings of the research are presented in a discursive manner, and they are not reductively listed at the end of sections of analysis.

Participants' contributions in interviews

At the beginning of each interview, the research has been introduced with the concise working title "Foreigners as actors of urban change in Kraków and Poznań", followed by a brief overview of the broader scope of the study. This simple introduction was appropriated by the participants, constituting an orientation of their answers. At the end of data collection, it became clear that the research participants had willingly

participated in the interviews because they were eager to share their individual understandings and worldviews. Comprehensibly, for some foreigners the interview constituted the first opportunity to discuss their experience, the first time they had to reflect on issues regarding their city of residence, along with the opportunities it offers and the personal choices shaped in relation to it. For some foreigners, however, it was a moment of further reflection with respect, in particular, to the evolution of their personal trajectory. On the other hand, Polish respondents proved to be more focused on describing and analyzing the political, economic and sociocultural processes affecting Poland in recent years. It should be emphasized that none of the respondents, neither foreign nor Polish, expressed uncertainty or a contrary opinion regarding the effective occurrence of phenomena such as globalization (frequently discussed in terms of internationalization), the fact that Poland has become a country of net immigration, or the evidence of the changes taking place in their city of residence (depending on the focus that the single interview developed).

The possibility of interacting with interviewees who contributed to the research from different standpoints, made it possible to outline a detailed analysis of the processes. The 47 interviews thus constitute an aggregate of contingent individual narratives, which, even if they include biographical stories, have an evident general heuristic significance when considered as a *corpus*, in a hermeneutic sense.

While the analyzed phenomena are *multiscalar*[118], the 'observational' scale (i.e., originating from their viewpoint) of the research participants is the individual perceptual scale of a respondents' individual history (the body scale). Having stated this, it is evident that all the interpretative inferences made during the analysis have an empirical, exploratory nature and are not intended to outline general theories of the social phenomena studied. Significant evidences have unmistakably emerged during the course of the research. If these discursive facts constitute 'discoveries' it will be possible to determine only with the continuation of the research, which is intended to have a wider scope than the present doctoral research.

The following sections develops the analysis of the interviews. The excerpts quoted from the interviews are labelled with the anonymized reference to the interview

[118] As indicated in Chapter 2, the scales of analysis that define the scope of the research are: the body (or the individual perceptual) scale, the neighborhood scale, the city (or urban) scale, the state scale, the European scale, the global scale.

and its paragraph(s). To ensure readability, the present tense is used in the analysis text, also to better tune into the different modulations of the narrative. Furthermore, the repetitive use of indications relating to the city of residence (Kraków or Poznań), which can be easily deduced from the text itself or from citation labels, has been reduced to a minimum. If the dialogue between a respondent and the interviewer is reported, "R." indicates the *respondent*, "I." indicates the *interviewer*. Lastly, the punctuation *[...]* indicates a passage omitted because it is irrelevant (specifically in case of casual conversation or negligible interaction with the interviewer). To ensure the anonymization of quoted interview excerpts, reference labels, placed beneath the quotes, are defined as follows: the alphanumeric code identifies the city of residence (e.g.: KR is Kraków, PZ is Poznań) and the chronological order of the interviews (e.g.: KR-2, KR-3, etc.). The additional abbreviation PL indicates a Polish respondent. The number after the coma identifies the paragraph(s) of the interview transcript. Finally, keeping in mind the question of non-binary self-identification, since no preferences or requests regarding the use of personal pronouns were expressed during the interviews, the conventional pronouns have been used in the analytical text.

Analytical report of foreigners' narratives in globalizing cities

Each interview is conducted with care to allow the experiential contents of interviewees to freely emerge, providing insights into the lives of individuals as they perceive them. Thi*s modus operandi* allows participants to share meaningful, sometimes surprising, content. The surprising elements are not connected to the researcher's prior knowledge or expectations but are revealed by the assertive stance of some participants. While the definition of anchoring might suggest that individuals' responses would revolve around the listing of emotional aspects and material objects providing a sense of stability, fieldwork demonstrates otherwise. Discussions of migratory experiences extend beyond cataloging stabilizing elements, instead presenting reflexive and broader narratives of individual experiences.

In order to produce an analysis report that presents plausible answers to the research question and ensures an understandable reading, it has been divided into two main sections. The first section presents the analysis of eight (out of a total of 31) foreign

individuals' narratives derived from the interviews (including interview extracts). These eight cases are valuable as they illustrate possible anchoring configurations and their complexity. The analysis allows for the identification of the set of relevant anchors highlighted by each respondent during their interview. The set of anchors is detailed in a table embedded in the text. Although this section focuses on the individuality of the analysis of the set of anchors, themes emerging from the narratives are sketched by comparing the participants' accounts. It is important to underline that the extensive examination of the data led to the decision to apply the analytical categories defined earlier with interpretative flexibility. This approach was adopted to capture relevant themes in the individual narratives effectively. Therefore, the second section of the report presents the themes that emerged according to the reconstruction conducted by the researcher. On this matter, it is useful to recall a clarification made by Johnny Saldaña during the recent webinar *An introduction to qualitative coding and data analysis* (MAXQDA Official Channel, 2024). Saldaña has observed that researchers should cautiously avoid using the terms *category* and *theme* synonymously. He explains that a category is a descriptor - "a word or phrase describing some segment of your data that is explicit"—whereas a theme reveals the inherent content in data patterns. It is precisely in the sense indicated by Saldaña that the term *theme* should be understood when reading the second section of the analysis, as the American scholar states:

> Unlike a code, a theme is an extended phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means. A theme may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon)[119]. (Saldaña 2016)

The themes presented in the second section were constructed on the basis of 29 interviews with foreign individuals and ten interviews with Polish citizens. Additionally, for the foreign interviewees whose interviews were used in the second section, anchor set tables are presented at the end of four thematic sub-sections[120], elaborated further with interview extracts not included in the report. Two interviews with foreigners and six with

[119] Saldaña also states that: "The analytic goals are to develop an overarching theme from the data corpus, or an integrative theme that weaves various themes together into a coherent narrative" (2016).
[120] The sections where themes are constructed are titled: Safety, the enabling anchor; Multilayered contextualized identification; Transformative experiences of settlement and Migration as embodied and latent globalizing city

Poles[121] interviews did not yield interesting data for the analytical interpretation of themes.

Instances of individual sets of anchors

The range of possible actions presented to the migrant individual in a given host context constitutes a structural precondition displayed upon arrival. It is one of the conditions that determines the agency of individuals, their capacity to act voluntarily, make decisions, and pursue objectives while responding to systemic limitations imposed on them by the structure. The interviews conducted do not investigate the development of the anchoring process from arrival to the moment of the interview but rather focus on detecting the dynamic set of understandings, decisions, and courses of action that put the individual strategies in place at the time of the conversation. For this reason, even if reading interview extracts in the report may give the impression of being faced with impromptu responses, one must not lose sight of the fact that the research participants are literally sharing "pieces" of their lives, aware that, in doing so, they are contributing to the production of knowledge. This explains the vividness and, at times, a sense of intimacy present in their stories, as is immediately evident with the first interview, during which we are presented with a sort of self-appraisal, as expressed by the interviewee:

> I think that I'm looking for my place, you know, this is my country. I moved here, and I'm going to pass a long time, or maybe the rest of my life here. But inside of me, it's more personality, it's not the place. I need to find something to do that I like it. I'm fine. I'm trying to find this moment. But I think that our decision to move here was the perfect decision. I didn't ... I wouldn't change for anything (she said this in Spanish). Because it was a good decision. It was a good decision. We have good jobs, we have a good house, we have a good place, with good friends. My kids are happy here, for us it's nice. (PZ-1, 240)

We can notice the dynamic search (“I'm trying to find this moment”) for a direct correspondence with one's own personality, which we can extend to the search for identity elements capable of stabilizing the migratory path. It should also be noted that, in this case, this need for correspondence does not necessarily seem to be resolved by the fact

[121] KR-2, KR-12, PZ-PL-2, PZ-PL-5, PZ-PL-7, PZ-PL-8, KR-PL-2, KR-PL-6.

that the interviewee holds Polish citizenship, as do her children, respectively third- and fourth-generation migrants. She is looking for her place in what she already considers her country (“this is my country”), possibly the place of definitive arrival. Furthermore, an already established contextual dimension emerges that provides stability not only to the participant but also to the entire family. However, having a Polish family background is an evident element of identity reflection. The architectural features and details of the buildings and homes in Poznań remind the respondent of her grandmother's house, evoking a strong sense of familiarity:

> When I moved and I saw the walls, the doors, the windows, I talked to my husband: "You see the same thing in a lot of places!" … the sensation, it got very amazing, and I and I felt. "Okay. My goal is checked. I live here, next step". (PZ-1, 276)

The arrival, the first phase of the settlement process, finds stability in this case through a process of identity recognition that “transports” the material anchors from the country of origin to the country of arrival of the migrant, which, in a transgenerational sense, is configured as a return, since the country of destination coincides with the country of origin of the family. But the experience of family migration brings with it an element of disturbance. In fact, the respondent is not allowed to be recognized as Polish, as occurs during a job interview:

> I was at the meeting at the company. The boy there was very rude, really rude. He told me: "You are Polish?!", "Yes, I am". Because I'm black. I have black hair. I don't have green eyes. "Please, give me your ID". I gave the ID, the passport […], the residence. Everything that I had. "Ah, ok" [He said]. (PZ-1, 124)

Despite the effective and timely anchoring, facilitated by elements of familiarity found in the Polish context, the respondent is a living embodiment of the diversification of society, as her diversity is not unnoticeable during interactions within the Polish environment. It is therefore not a “linear” example of return migration, particularly because, being in the third generation, it is necessary to question whether this classification applies. Rather, it could represent the manifestation of the new global interconnectedness of Polish cities and illustrate how the complex stratification of urban diversification, as described by the concept of superdiversity (see above), intersects with individual dimensions. This could suggest an examination of narratives like the one presented here through the lens of

intersectionality[122]. The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 12 (below), according to the analysis grid presented earlier.

Table 12 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-1

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"This is my country, I moved here, and I'm going to pass a long time, or maybe the rest of my life here."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"Inside of me, it's more personality, it's not the place."
Economic	Economic	"We have good jobs, we have a good house."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"With good friends. My kids are happy here."
Legal and Institutional	Legal status	"I gave the ID, the passport […], the residence."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"When I moved and I saw the walls, the doors, the windows... the sensation, it got very very amazing."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"You are Polish?!, Yes, I am."

Effective anchoring is not established solely through direct identity-related connections with the Polish context. It also occurs thanks to cultural proximity. A recurring example is individuals from culturally similar countries, such as Ukraine and Belarus. However, I prefer to begin with the declared proximity of an Italian respondent, who describes a multifaceted closeness with Polish people, focusing on immaterial anchors:

> We are Italians, I find a lot of similarities with the Polish population. Culturally, beyond linguistic difficulties - I tried a thousand times, I struggled. But the people are basically very similar. In terms of ideas, in terms of character, in terms of aspiration, in terms of culture, even in terms of religion. I am Catholic, I am not a great practitioner, but basically the people are very good, very similar to us[123]. (PZ-4, 47)

These intangible anchors reflect deep interaction with Polish people, leading to the discovery of a close proximity that is reinforced, in this case, by a high regard for family life:

> Poland, especially Wielkopolska, which I know very well, and Poznań in particular, is very family-oriented. This is a country where raising a family is fantastic […] and, from this

[122] Regrettably, the type of data collected does not allow us to develop this type of analysis.
[123] Interview conducted in Italian, own translation.

perspective, we feel very in tune with this because we have three daughters and have found this to be a wonderful environment for raising children. (PZ-4, 47- 49)

It is extremely interesting to note that the conduct of family life is not intended to be an exclusively private matter; rather, it is connected to spatial anchors represented by public places that serve as extensions of family life:

> In my opinion to feel at home, a place like this! You keep coming here. It's the routine that makes you feel at home. […] So, if I go for my walk, if I take the kids to school […], I stop here at La Boulangerie[124] […]. It's a meeting place, it's a tradition here. I go pick up the girls after school, if I tell them we go get something sweet [they say] "Yes! Let's go to La Boulangerie". I mean, they […] they're six, eight and ten years old, and they see this place as a reference point. (PZ-4, 47)

The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 13 (below),

Table 13 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-4

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"We are Italians, I find a lot of similarities with the Polish population..."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"Poznań in particular, is very family-oriented…."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"In my opinion to feel at home, a place like this! You keep coming here. It's the routine that makes you feel at home."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	" … they see this place as a reference point."

The aforementioned place, "La Boulangerie", constitutes the type of social space for which Ray Oldenburg (1999) coined the term 'third places' - public places such as cafés, pubs and bars, bookshops, and hairdressing salons - where social interaction occurs in a free and informal manner, The other two social places in the typology are home ("first place") nor the workplace ("second place"). For Oldenburg, beyond serving as spaces of interaction, third places are accessible and inclusive, with conversation as the main activity, contributing to fostering a sense of belonging to community and society. In terms of anchoring, third places are compounds of immaterial anchors (for example, the relationships that can be formed there) and material ones (the physical place: the bar, the park). I can also anticipate what I will elaborate on later: according to what emerged

[124] Fictious pseudonym created to ensure anonymity.

during the fieldwork, actions and events taking place in third places substantiate the urban cultural change of which migrants are protagonists. What can be hypothesized from these brief analyses is that when we use the concept of anchoring in qualitative research, data collection is not limited to a mere observation of listings and correspondences. If investigated through interviews with a thematic focus, anchoring is conveyed through articulated and complex narratives that, even if they do not constitute full biographical accounts, open a cognitive 'window' into the biographies of the research participants.

However, also the first (home) and second places (workplace) may constitute represent stabilizing anchors, as explained straightforward by an interviewee:

> My apartment and my university are making me feel that I am in the right place, right now. (PZ-2, 285)

And it is likely this Ukrainian participant's focus on home and workplace that contributes to the formation of productive, albeit unusual, interpersonal relationships, leading him to state:

> I like people in Poznań. Because, well, my landlords are treating me like their son. And they always felt me, they always cared about me, ask, inviting me for coffee, for tea, for discussion. They met my family. They are always making me a present for holidays. Very nice attitude. (PZ-2, 273)

The participant's positive perception of Poznań appears directly tied to his personal experiences with the landlords, who make him feel cared for and included. However, his anchoring does not end there. His sense of comfort in Poznań coexists with a strong attachment to his Ukrainian identity, and the presence of fellow Ukrainians and other foreigners in the city helps him feel less like a "true foreigner" and more like part of a broader international community, composed of "a lot of Belarusians, Russian people, a lot of Africans […] and also Americans" (PZ-2, 225). The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 14 (below).

Table 14 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-2

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"My apartment and my university are making me feel that I am in the right place, right now."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"My landlords are treating me like their son. And they always felt me, they always cared about me."
	Social structure and groups	"Other foreigners in the city helps him feel less like a "true foreigner""
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"They met my family. They are always making me a present for holidays. Very nice attitude."

Evidence points to the fact that also in the Cracovian context, anchoring is structured in a composite way, combining emotional elements and material anchors, and third places play a relevant role too. In the first interview in the capital of Małopolska, an Italian participant, a teacher of the Italian language, reflects as follows:

> My answer is terrible because it's the romantic one. I mean, I have been in love with Kraków from the very beginning. I fell in love with Kraków, I fell in love with Poland, so for me, every place... I don't know, the restaurant I usually go to with friends or the bar where I sometimes stop for a coffee - these are some of the reasons why I stay. There are absolutely places that I love. For example, my husband and I joke that we're like two elderly people because we always go for walks in the same park.[125] (KR-1, 102)

Already from the first interview, a specific difference emerges between the narratives concerning Poznań and those concerning Kraków. In the case of Kraków, the identity of the city takes on notable relevance, whether due to a feeling of affection, cultural reasons, or other factors. Here, anchoring is configured at the scale of the city and also at the scale of the neighborhood, as the respondent confirms when she speaks of her residential choice, made in relation to its proximity to the city center (where the cultural institution she works at is located) and thus to the most defining identity element of the city of Kraków, as she explains:

> I settled in the neighborhood where I still live today, though in a different apartment, which is Krowodrza Górka. In short, I chose this area because it's actually very close to the city

[125] Interview conducted in Italian, own translation.

center. So, I can potentially do everything on foot. Maybe it's because I enjoy walking, but I can reach the center in just 20 to 25 minutes. (KR-1, 24)

The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 15 (below).

Table 15 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-1

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"I have been in love with Kraków from the very beginning"
	Emotional sites	"There are absolutely places that I love. For example, my husband and I […] we always go for walks in the same park."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I chose this area because it's actually very close to the city center."
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	"Maybe it's because I enjoy walking, but I can reach the center in just 20 to 25 minutes."

How foreigners frame the identity of the city Kraków is made clear by a Mexican participant, in is comparative take, he says that:

When it comes to Kraków, one of the most attractive [aspects], compared to other Polish cities, is diversity and multiculturalism. Kraków is a very diverse city. And, in my perspective, even more than the capital city, which is Warsaw, that is completely focused towards industrialization and investments. Of Kraków, we are talking about a more cultural artistic background that allows many people from other countries to come and to use English as one of the main languages of communication. (KR-5, 28)

Even when respondent's narrative highlights an aspect of similarity with Poznań, which we find in the anchors created through relationships with the local population, well regarded because of its caring attitude, this is again connected with the identifying features of the city:

I think that the places are nothing without the people. So, the reason why I like Poland that much is because I like Polish people that much. […] I would say that usually the Polish people are very caring, they really care about others. And this is connected with something that we mentioned, that is the melancholy of the city. I would say that when you live in Kraków, you can feel these periods of time, from the Middle Ages, very hard periods of time after the Second World War, the Soviet era, also the Solidarity movement, and the accession to the European Union. And you can see all these very interesting stages of time in just one city, one city that preserves centuries of history behind, but it's not just the city

and its buildings, it's also its population. So, they also tend to have a very melancholic personality, that makes them very humble and very caring about the people. (KR-5, 50)

As the respondent confirms in another part of the interview, he finds his anchors in this multiscalar dimension, spanning from human relations to the historical development of the city, where he feels “welcome”. The history of the city is not merely a backdrop but has actively shaped the character of its people. The city and its inhabitants, in the perspective of this respondent, share a quality of participating humanity. The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 16 (below).

Table 16 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-5

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"Kraków is a very diverse city. And, in my perspective, even more than the capital city, which is Warsaw."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"It's not just the city and its buildings, it's also its population."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"You can see all these very interesting stages of time in just one city, one city that preserves centuries of history."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"The reason why I like Poland that much is because I like Polish people that much."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"Many people from other countries come and use English as one of the main languages of communication."

A particular kind of distinction between the two cities – where, for Kraków, the traits of a recognizable metropolitan identity, rooted in its history and cultural significance, are frequently highlighted by the respondents, while Poznań is the object of a more generic perception - recurs in the examination of the data collected. This is not necessarily to the advantage of the perceived image and identity of one city over the other. Rather, these differential identities of Poznań and Kraków constitute a sort of marker at the scale of the city, in relation to which the individuals configure elements of anchoring and identity. Among the recognizable traits of Kraków, a certain social cultural conservatism is being reported, while Poznań is praised for its free, tolerant and open-minded character.

A Ukrainian respondent that lived one year in Kraków and five years in Poznań, acknowledges that it is precisely the greater open-mindedness of Poznań that enables her to feel anchored in the city. As she explains:

> I can tell you from my personal experience, for example, when I was living in Kraków, during that time, I met with ... xenophobia, to me. Like, not racism, xenophobia. But, when I came to Poznań, I didn't see it at all. But I think it is also different dynamics, but also people just changed their opinion to migrants from Ukraine and Belarus (PZ-14, 71)

One of the possible explanations for this greater openness of Poznań is offered by the interviewee and is directly connected to its recent urban history, recognizing that one of the political-cultural influences present in the city is the anarchist movement - active in the urban movements present in the city and an actor of urban experimentation, materialized in the occupation of a building, the squat *Od:zysk*, in the central Stary Rynek. This could account for the evident presence of subcultures in the city and the fact that they are tolerated by the residents. From the striking diversity of experiences that one can go through in the two cities, simply by being dressed in one way rather than another, with the possibility of being pointed out (marked) in public spaces, an anchoring emerges, again made up of material aspects (clothing) and immaterial ones (tolerance, low social control), a type of anchoring that is substantiated in the free expression of oneself and the sense of comfort that derives from it. As the respondent reflects:

> I think Poznań is more open. But, maybe, my theory, I'm not sure it is also because ... I wasn't here when it was. But on the main square, there was a squat [Od:zysk] in the central Stary Rynek]. So basically, an anarchist community was living on the main square of the city, you know, so I think it influenced somehow as well. Because, you can see here a lot of punks and I think that is how it influences Poznań as well. But, I'm not sure ... but I see there is a difference in Kraków, people can point at you, and here I always feel comfortable, no matter how I will be dressed (PZ-14, 163)

It is likely that the sense of comfort and openness experienced by the respondent is also due to her involvement in the dynamics of creating a transnational community composed of Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants active in art. This transnational community has formed around another third place: a bar run by Belarusians, where friends of the presumed initiator of this presence in the city have gathered one after another. Rather than a chain reaction, it appears to be the structuring of a migratory network, (Ambrosini 2020) that serves as a facilitator for migratory paths, particularly for Belarusian citizens who

decided to leave the country following the riots after the 2020 presidential elections. As noted by a respondent:

> I see a big change. Last year, it was really a big wave of Belarusian migrants who came here. […] Do you know Bar Budzma[126]? I think it is very crucial place, if you talk about Belarusian migrants, because it's a Belarusian bar and actually all our artistic community developed there in this bar. […] There is a community that developed due to this bar like ... they opened last year. And because of that, we really create a community of Belarusian and Ukrainian people. More Belarusian people. Because it's a lot of artists from Belarus, they came to Poznań. You know, one of them came to Poznań and because of that, his friends, etc. (PZ-14, 71-80)

Ambrosini, in describing migratory networks, speaks of the ethnic specialization of economic activities carried out by migrants. It would be interesting to understand to what extent this migratory network in formation could actually structure its artistic focus into a specific ethnic specialization in the city of Poznań. Overall, the respondent paints a picture of Poznań as a city that is becoming more diverse and welcoming to migrant communities, a dynamic in which she is directly involved in the first person. The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 17 (below).

Table 17 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-14

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I think Poznań is more open... there was a squat [Od:zysk] in the central Stary Rynek."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"And because of that, we really create a community of Belarusian and Ukrainian people."
	Social role and position	"It's a Belarusian bar and actually all our artistic community developed there in this bar."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"There is a community that developed due to this bar ... they opened last year."
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	"Here I always feel comfortable, no matter how I will be dressed."

Another Ukrainian participant, living in Kraków, also testifies to the conservatism found in the city in her field, visual art. She voices her personal thoughts, stating:

[126] Fictious pseudonym created to ensure anonymity.

> Kraków is super conservative for me. […] When I'm thinking about art, for example, or some art community in Kraków, it's super conservative. And, like, as a person, […] I'm feeling much better in Warsaw for example, or in such a city as Poznań. But for me, it's very hard to even explain why I think … yeah, it may be because of some conservatism which is sitting just inside of the head of people in art. (KR-13, 128)

We detect in this narration a need for anchoring and for a correspondence of professional artistic vision, which are not satisfied. The lack of a stable professional foothold in the city is revealed in the difficulty of pinpointing the reasons or explanations for a situation experienced with difficulty. Despite that, the interviewee does not lack experiences that have shown her that her professional and existential aspirations can find productive environments in other Polish cities, with Poznań and Warsaw being mentioned. However, the possibility of stable settlement and anchoring, which aligns with the choice of living in Kraków, is envisioned thanks to the evolution of the city's cultural institutions' offer. These institutions contribute to an expansion of the array of cultural initiatives and projects created locally. The expectation for the development of professional opportunities in the city reveals the strategic importance attributed by non-national actors to the scale of the city (for a lack of social capital at other scales?). A new strategic opening can be observed, the interviewee recognizes it, albeit she struggles to articulate it, as shown in the passage below:

> Most of my projects are out of Kraków, but I'm living in Kraków. So that's also a little bit, for me, about Kraków […] For example, this Dom Utopii. It's a new institution. It was established two years ago, and before this time there was no institution which could be interested in such projects, like, artivism, you know, artist activism and social things. […] And I just didn't have anyone with whom I could call collaboration here. (KR-13, 140)

Collaborating with new cultural institutions can, therefore, allow the respondent to develop her own anchors, capable of grounding her in terms aligned with her professional and expressive aspirations. Despite the predominantly implicit character that the narrative manifests, the choice of Kraków, although proven correct because it was made on the basis of considerations of cultural proximity to the city of origin, Lviv, is now explicitly questioned, revealing that the only possible anchor keeping the respondent in Kraków is her family life. As she reveals:

> I decided to come to Kraków because I felt very good here, in the beginning, because, yeah, as you mentioned, it's quite similar to Lviv, my hometown. So, I felt very well here. Right

now ... I would you leave it. A couple years ago, I think ... but the only thing why I'm living here is because my husband is living here, and we are living here together. And he's working here. […] And, in any other way, I would move somewhere. Maybe to Poznań or to Warsaw. Yeah. But, for sure, I wouldn't stay in Kraków. (KR-13, 67)

The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 18 (below).

Table 18 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-13

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"I decided to come to Kraków because I felt very good here, […] it's quite similar to Lviv, my hometown."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"… because my husband is living here, and we are living here together."
	Social role and position (*possible)*	It's a new institution. […] and before this time there was no institution which could be interested in such projects

Another Ukrainian interviewee, who also lives in Kraków, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic was actively involved in a volunteering project that connected foreign residents in Kraków with local Polish organizations, NGOs, and foundations. This project aimed to help foreigners who did not speak Polish to get involved in the local community, access resources and grab opportunities. She collaborated with other initiatives like the Kraków Expats Directory (a community webpage) to support this project. She has made an effort to integrate into the local Polish community in Kraków, learning the Polish language and developing close friendships with Polish people, in addition to her international contacts. She lives in the Ruczaj neighborhood, a bit far from the city center, which she feels has a more local community feel compared to the more international city center. Social interaction experienced through civic engagement enabled the participant to become aware of the urban context (embedding), as she confirms:

I had my own volunteering project for foreigners who did not speak Polish, but they wanted to volunteer and be socially engaged. So, we were organizing events connecting Polish organizations, NGOs, foundations, projects, and expats who wanted to do something but didn't speak Polish. […] These volunteering activities also gave me a very good, I think, as for an expat, understanding of the situation and what's going on in the city. (KR-8, 31)

That was most likely a decisive step in the settlement process. Stable settlement and anchoring appear to be the conscious and pursued result of the commitment made to civil

society, taking on a facilitating and mediating role, and thus capable of transforming social interaction from the bottom up and actively modifying the social context directly. Moreover, the respondent expresses full awareness of her anchoring in Kraków when she states that:

> I feel like I'm not planning to move out from Kraków and Poland. Unless there are some reasons that will force me and other foreigners to leave, some unfortunate situation with politics. For example, if Poland will, I hope not, leave the European Union […]. And what keeps me here is that I feel that I've built my connections and my circle and community here. And it took quite a lot of years. (KR-8, 99)

Thanks to the analytical lens of anchoring, it is possible to observe, and even visualize, the "natural" multiscalar approach expressed by the respondent in extreme synthesis. In just five sentences, her anchoring is described, including: the individual perceptual scale – “I feel like …”; the neighborhood scale – “I've built my connections and my circle and community here”; the city, combined with the state scale – “I'm not planning to move out of Kraków and Poland”; and the European scale, together with the individual scale, connecting them all in a circular movement – “if Poland will, I hope not, leave the European Union.”. Finally, her anchoring is framed into a significant temporal dimension, which likely constitutes a self-evaluating element of its own settlement process – “it took quite a lot of years”. We are presented with a complex and conscious “snapshot” of an individual’s social and migratory trajectory, which invites the researcher to hypothesize that this elaborate personal mapping may also be found in other individuals who share similar experiences. The anchors in the interviewee's individual narrative are shown in Table 19 (below).

Table 19 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-8

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"… organizing events connecting Polish organizations, NGOs, foundations, projects, and expats who wanted to do something but didn't speak Polish"
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"What keeps me here is that I feel that I've built my connections and my circle and community here. And it took quite a lot of years."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"These volunteering activities also gave me a very good […] understanding of the situation and what's going on in the city."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"I feel like I'm not planning to move out from Kraków and Poland. Unless there are some reasons that will force me and other foreigners to leave."

Theme construction

If we set anchoring as a condition for the definition of strategy, we attribute a foundational value to this process. Although it is difficult to observe the process of strategy development through interviews conducted during fieldwork, we can nevertheless infer the significance of the anchors and footholds established by migrant individuals in defining their strategic vision. By strategic vision, I refer to the understanding of the contextual elements in which the individual can decide to develop their own course of action. In this sense, an anchor is intended to act not only as a stabilizing element but also as a projection of contextualized individual priorities. I argue that in the course of analyzing individual narratives, it is possible to discern, starting from the recognition of anchoring, elements of agency, both in terms of forward-looking planning and in the course of actions effectively implemented. The researcher can then proceed to identify themes active in the social context by examining individual narratives and capturing elements of analogousness (resemblance in form or function) and potential regularities. Since this is a qualitative study with a finite yet relevant database, this type of inference, cautiously neo-positivist in nature, is constrained to recognizing the occurrence of instances. Nonetheless, the evidence emerged from the examination of the interviews confirms the possibility of procedures for identifying a series of themes, both manifest and latent, elaborated in the following paragraphs.

To ensure adequate argumentative development, the text may present analytical interpretations based on parts of the interviews not explicitly quoted, to avoid making the reading unnecessarily complicated.

Safety, the enabling anchor

Starting with constructing an analytical theme of safety, based on the process of anchoring, might seem problematic, as the definition of anchoring revolves around a sense of safety, therefore, susceptible to being exposed to tautologies. Nevertheless, the topic emerges clearly as an anchor expressly identified by the participants, and requires adequate discussion.

A respondent from China, does not explicitly name safety when she reflects that:

> I think it's important to stay in an environment where the society is tolerant and nice and open. So, I think Polish society is good to stay (PZ-5, 208)

Despite not naming it, the desire for a secure environment is evident. What is remarkable here is the reference to Polish society, that in other parts of the interview is positively comparable to China. It is a desire, an aspiration for good social interactions, that configures an anchoring, as Polish society becomes an immaterial place where it is "good to stay". In saying this, she expresses a positive opinion, possibly at the scale of the state, that involves the cities she experiences, and in particular her city of residence, Poznań, as we will see later, discussing this participant narrative in connection with the theme of identification. Nevertheless, there are some aspects of Polish society that she finds controversial or problematic, as expressed in other parts of the interview, which makes her uncertain about staying long-term.

Instead, a French respondent is much more explicit when he states that safety is the main reason (anchor) he decided to stay in Poznań

> Why stay here? There is one main reason and I think this is 95%. Of course, and the reason why I'm here and I think everyone will answer the same. The safety. (PZ-8, 124)

He contrasts the safety that he experiences in Poznań, and Poland with the lack of safety he used to live with in his country of birth, France. When required to detail the reason of such a strong sense of safety he refers to the disciplined and rule-abiding behavior he observes in the city, giving the example of residents strictly following the traffic signals, even with no car in sight, as "a metaphor about the discipline we have here" (PZ-8, 136). Safety is also connected with the perceived openness of the city, and this is represented by the respondent in relation to the safety of the LGBT community, which have been under attack especially in Poland in previous years. As he enthusiastically states:

> Poznań is really open. I mean, for example, for the LGBT situation, from what I heard, this is the LGBT capital in Poland! We have the biggest club LGBT, we have LGBT flags everywhere. […] I saw more LGBT couples in the streets hanging hands here than in France. I'm proud of that. […] So, it means that they feel safe, they feel good, they don't have to hide. (PZ-8, 164-168)

Safety in Poznań is a composite construct that comprises openness, freedom and discipline at the same time, making it a hallmark of the city.

Also a Ukrainian participant living in Poznań manifests a strong sense of feeling comfortably safe at home and in the city. Interestingly safety is considered part of a good life lived in and international environment, as she explains:

> I do love Poznań, like a city. For me it's really super comfortable city and I feel here, safe, I can say at home because yeah, like architecture, trams, trees and a lot of parks and also people. I think it's always about people, because Poznań in my opinion is super international. Warsaw it's international but, you know, everyone is in a rush or you have this feeling that it's a touristic place. […] But here everyone just lives their best life. […] You have everything that you need, and people just come in and stay here. All my friends, they are foreign people, but they came here for studying and they stay here. (PZ-9, 79)

This sense of security is undoubtedly framed within the scale of the city. This can be deduced from the comparisons made by the interviewee with other Polish cities (hence at the national scale). Not only Warsaw but also Kraków - towards which criticism appears open, as it is considered excessively touristic, dangerous, and dirty. Poznań appears to provide a greater sense of security. Moreover, a perception emerges that "stretches" to the international scale: an international dimension of private life made up of a close-knit circle of friendships and relationships with foreigners of numerous nationalities living in the city. A joyful element, connected with the enjoyable experience of young community life is also evident in the narrative of this participant. It appears to be, at the same time, the product and the reinforcement of the feeling of safety, which found another factor in mutual support, because as she notes:

> Everyone is from a different country. So, we are not at home. We have to stick together. (PZ-9, 183)

A Zimbabwean student living in Poznań points out two main anchoring possibilities: placing security first and the economic growth potential expressed by the country. He notes that:

> The general safety in the country, I think it's, it's a very big factor that could make me consider staying. And number two is the potential for growth. At least in an economic sense, because I have noticed, […] when something big happens, […] certain businesses decide to relocate, be it because of Brexit or America running away from China, or something. A lot of countries like coming to Poland. So, of course, Poznań. I think Poznań already had quite an international scene with businesses investing here. But that has increased, I believe, over the years (PZ-11, 166)

The “general safety in the country”, identifies an attribute shared at the nation scale, which is expressed as the most important potential anchor. Moreover, the respondent connects it to the economic dimension, alluding not only to the potential for personal growth but also to the global economic connectivity of the country and the city as places of financial circulation and investment, that are benefiting from the processes of global capitalist restructuring. This is, therefore, clear evidence of the multidimensionality of the anchoring process, both internal and external.

As I mentioned earlier, a sociological link that can be used to narrow down the vast concept of safety is the conceptualization of ontological security introduced by Antony Giddens (1991), which I mentioned earlier. Denoting safety in terms of ontological security it is referring to a sense of trust that individual find in the predictability of the environment and social interactions, in a perception of continuity, which provide not only a sense of physical safety but also psychological security.

We find such a process in the narrative of a Ukrainian student living in Kraków. This contributor not only communicates her own feeling of safety but also associates it with a strong perception of comfort, similarly to another narrative discussed before. As she explains:

> I feel like so [much] safety here. Because I have my life, I live my life by myself. Really grateful. Because I guess I would be able to help people from Ukraine, now. Because I'm already five years here and I know the system, and I know the language, and I can help some people here so I wasn't doing it when I first started and I will do it now, in really different ways. (KR-11, 62)

The narrative of this young student adds an element of gratefulness that reveals how the deeply lived experience of migration, interpreted as a moment of existential growth, does not stop at the pursuit of mere individual goals. Instead, it is emphasized that achieving a state of perceived security (anchoring) and understanding the contextual dynamics (“and now I know the system” - embedding) enables this individual to consider and control the development of their own agency potential. By stating her readiness to support her fellow countrymen, she initiates the production of bridging social capital, facilitates the exchange of contextual sociocultural content. This process, which begins with a strong sense of anchoring, can be defined as self-empowerment.

In other narratives, safety assumes the function of a precondition that must be verified before embarking on the migration path, often by relying on existing migration networks. As an Azerbaijani student-worker living in Kraków explains:

> I wanted to go to Poland and why did I choose Poland? I tell you, because here a lot of Azerbaijani people live and I know most of them. I always contact them and they always recommend me it because they know that it is so safe city. [More] than other capitals. Rome, Berlin, are so busy there. I think it is so tiring for me, I need some peaceful space. […]. I think it's a good step for me Kraków. (KR-15, 78)

And when this precondition of safety is positively confirmed, the process of anchoring unfolds, manifesting the recurring character of comfort and a homely feeling to the point of replacing one's own city of origin as the perceived home. In the words of the interview, this dynamic is represented as a desire:

> I want to come back to Kraków, not even to Baku. […] Homesick, but for Kraków. Because, you know, in my brain I created Kraków as my home. When I come here, I feel so comfortable. Okay, I reached my home now, I'm safe to do now like this. (KR-15, 202-206)

As one might expect, aspects of physical security are not overlooked by the Cracovian interviewees, who agree that the city is safe from this perspective as well, as an Italian restaurateur who settled in the city twenty years ago reminds us:

> Let's say that Kraków has positive aspects: it is very safe. Safe and it functions very well. The transports work well. So, from this perspective, there is nothing to say. At the beginning, almost twenty years ago, I remember my maids going out from work at midnight, carelessly walking to the other side of the city to catch a tram. Bad news in this regard is almost never heard. (KR-16, 100)

The last interview excerpt to be analyzed in the effort to define the theme surprised the interviewer due to its almost complete overlap with the definition of anchoring. The speaker is a German freelance professional residing in Kraków:

> Back then in the village, it was a different, but the same feeling. Like feeling warm, feeling having a home, an identity, like roots. I think that's the right word: roots, having roots like a tree. So, I grew them, here in Kraków. And whenever I'm abroad, whenever I'm thinking of Kraków, I feel stability, I feel safety. I can say it. I feel rooted in Kraków, for now. But I have to be honest, also, it's the same with being in love, having emotions. We shouldn't do that, to blind ourselves. The world is big. And when we travel, and when we see more, we

can fall in love more often, not just once, we find more soulmates, the world is big. (KR-2, 108)

One might perceive an inherent contradiction in the interviewee's statements. How is it possible for him to feel so warmly at home, rooted, and with a clear identity, if this condition is so easily susceptible to change? I argue that the interviewee from Kraków captures, possibly unconsciously, the foundational aspect of the safety anchor. The perception of safety not only has a stabilizing effect on the migratory path but also acts as an enabling agent or, if we dare to reverse the terms, constitutes an agential enabler. The words of the Cracovian respondent appear to be directed, first of all, towards himself. He graciously utilizes the plural because he is interacting with another person. Yet, his two last sentences are a manifest example of the process that Margareth Archer calls 'internal conversation', the reflexive internal dialogue where individuals are both subject and object of their own deliberations[127]. As these deliberations may invest, according to Archer, external reality, it is thanks to them that individuals engage with structure, affirming, in doing so, their own agency. I maintain that the anchor of safety is not only a requirement for the material success of the migratory experience. It is also, if not more the condition that empower the individual to express, internally and externally, in both material and immaterial terms, their agency potential.

Table 20 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-5

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I think the reason I choose to live in the city center is because every door or every facility is reachable. Because I currently don't have a car, so everything will be easy to get there and even at midnight, it's a walkable distance."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"I think I like Poznań the most because here I'm an independent adult. I can keep myself independent. […] I only have my troubles and I stay away from other people's trouble ..."
Ontological	Safety	"I think it's important to stay in an environment where the society is tolerant and nice and open. So, I think Polish society is good to stay"

[127] Instances of internal conversation are present in other individual narratives, cf., for example, the excerpt interviewee PZ-1, 276, quoted earlier.

Table 21 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-8

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	“I like to feel the city, I like to feel the people and for my job, I need to be really fast connected with the people… the center was the most logical for me.”
Ontological	Safety	"Poland is one of the safest countries. France is one of the worst."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I have many friends here. … I have more friends here than in France."
Legal and Institutional	Legal status	“I always wanted to have it somewhere written. Yes, I'm half Polish too.”
Identity-related	Identity traits	" I'm proud of, of being here. And I'm proud of this country."
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	" I can say that there is discipline here … that, for example, I don't think French people have anymore.

Table 22 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-9

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Legal and Institutional	Legal status	"I didn't want to give up about my Ukrainian passport. But it's a more logical thing and more about a comfort thing because … I want to be free in the European Union."
Ontological	Safety	"For me it's really super comfortable city and I feel here, safe, I can say at home … I think it's always about people"
		"This place collect a lot of smart and really nice people. And it makes feel you safer."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"In Poznań we have also beautiful architecture.”
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"All my friends they are foreign people, but they came here for studying and they stay here."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"Thanks to these quiz meetings I met a lot of really amazing people."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"I have an awesome, amazing, the best flat and I really don't want to leave it“

Table 23 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-11

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"Poznań is one of the better cities in the country."
Ontological	Safety	"Poland is a rather safe country to live in."
Economic	Assets and activities	"Poznań already had quite an international scene with businesses investing here … that has increased, I believe, over the years."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"One thing I like about Poland, contrary to a lot of people, I would say is the actual people of Poland."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"For me, the circles I've interacted with, to be honest, have been quite nice."

Table 24 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-11

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Ontological	Safety	"I feel so safe. I feel so comfortable. I feel so good here."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"Because I feel I feel here like in my home town, I feel here I am in the correct place."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"Here I can speak like in Polish but I also can learn English and speak with people in English … in Kraków [there are] so many foreigners"
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I think it's developing and possibility to meet so many people's ... developing as a person."

Table 25 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-15

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I have been in three cities in Poland. But I can tell you, Kraków is the best for me."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"Homesick, but for Kraków. Because … in my brain I created Kraków as my home."
		"It is the one thing why I love Kraków, because of the river, I cannot miss it."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I always contact them and … "
Ontological	Safety	"… they always recommend me it because they know that it is so safe city

Table 26 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-16

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"A good life. I have a nice I have a well-established restaurant, many employees, they are happy. A beautiful family."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"Staying here for me... it was the fact of being different from the others... Traditionally you are seen with a different eye."
Ontological	Safety	The positive sides of the city: very quiet, still. Sure, the city works very well."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"They are happy to speak two languages, definitely. They are happy when they are here to speak Italian and feel a bit like 'big kids'"

Table 27 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-2

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Ontological	Safety	"I feel stability, I feel safety. I can say it. I feel rooted in Kraków for now. "
Identity-related	Identity traits	"My identity is in Kraków right now. I don't feel attached to Munich or to other places where I've lived."
Spatial and environmental	Placed-based	"I have a focus on the city center, I would say city center is for me, the real Kraków, plus Kazimierz, plus Podgórze. So, three places of choice."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I love to really bring people together communities, and really build something which makes sense."

Multilayered contextualized identification

Investigating identification and identity allows us to explore the new attributes and relationships that emerge in people and their interactions as they experience transformative processes such as migrations. Moreover, in assemblage theory terms (see Chapter 1), the social whole represented by urban society is modified by the new presence of migrants, which means that new attributes emerge at the scale of the city (and obviously not only). In such framing, it appears that the new self-identification, the construction of new identity elements enacted by migrant individuals constitutes an investigable process in which the presence of new attributes and relationships can be captured at the individual, neighborhood, and city scales.

The theme related to the identification process was not addressed through a specific research strategy (for example, it is not covered in the interview guide). However, it emerged prominently during data collection, identifying a varied array of strategies. As we saw in the last interview passage examined in the previous section, the elements that represent a new self-identification are present in the internal conversations of individuals, but they can be complicated by events and changes that modify the context of reference, whether it is the professional one, the social circle, or the broader local, city and international contexts. We find evidence of this in the complex account of a contributor living in Poznań, as she elaborates herself:

> For me it is hard, twice, because I'm from Ukraine, so it's a lot of pain for me. And during the first week I was near the border and it was quite traumatizing for me. I had several burnouts during this year. It's mainly because of the work and emotional background to fit in. I had really difficult and dramatic situations. You know, this is hundreds of stories going through you. For sure it changed my personality, like totally changed. I already knew myself before, really good. And now all my reactions have changed. Because, I needed to block my empathy during the first months. And now I have a totally different mechanism and system of myself in the brain, two different directions. And now I need to discover myself again. (PZ-14 -OT, 139)

To frame this narrative, it is beneficial to note that the respondent has accumulated various experiences since moving to Poland. She studied social policy in Kraków and then moved

to Poznań, where she currently lives, to study graphic design and develop her artistic inclinations. At the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, as we understand from the extract, she spent several months supporting refugees at a reception point on the border. We are faced with a complex, dynamic scenario, as one might expect when considering a talented young person. What is evident is primarily the high degree of awareness that living a migrant life in a context that is constantly evolving, partly as a result of dramatic events, requires a significant level of adaptability. Adaptation may even require a change in personality, which not only involves different identification but is also realized in different ways of organizing one's personal life and self-concept. However, a reflexive element of potential agency emerges, expressed in the need to rediscover oneself - not only in response to a psychological need, but to confront the complex existential difficulties that a challenging life entails, to the point of being exposed to multiple burnouts over a relatively short period of time. This evident need to function when contextual elements change dramatically resonates with an element of the definition of anchoring that draws our attention to how this process constitutes a coping mechanism enacted to react to exposure to chaos and danger, allowing individuals to "function effectively in a new environment" (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2018b) And also, in the case in question, in a changing environment. It would be interesting to ascertain, after some time and hopefully after the end of the war in Ukraine, what outcome such a complex process of re-identification might have led our respondent to.

In some narratives, clear outcomes of rethinking one's identification have emerged, as I will elaborate later. In other cases, dialectical elements have surfaced, specifically concerning national identities. This question is not always framed in terms of identity or national belonging. Rather, reflections that underline cultural, psychological and practical differences (or cleavages) prevail. As a contributor living in Poznań observes:

> For me, it's, let's say, a paradox in people that, on the one hand, they sort of feel that the Western way is above the Polish way. But, on the other hand, they feel very strong about their own national identity. Way more than in the Netherlands, for example, where people feel like we are Europeans and not that we are Dutch. And here, they feel more Polish than European, I would say. But they really want this Western way of living and thinking. And so, I still haven't figured it out. […] Because it feels like they're they are opposed to each other. (PZ-6, 109)

Recognizing the desire of Poles to adopt Western practices into their way of living and thinking allows us to glimpse a reality of peaceful, non-conflictual interactions, albeit accompanied by the expression of a strong Polish national identity. Furthermore, it is worth noting, as anticipated by Niedźwiedzki (2010), that the process of transnationalization do not concern migrant individuals exclusively, but rather involve a further transnationalization of Polish contexts, already initiated as a result of Polish emigration. This reflection clarifies that the intertwined dynamics of globalization and international migrations open up spaces for globalizing sociocultural exchange, or, at least Europeanizing exchange, if we deem it necessary to remain faithful to the reported narrative. A further pertinent question concerns how these sociocultural exchanges shape the ways in which migrants' self-identification is reconfigured, as well as, extending Niedźwiedzki's (2010) considerations, what effect this has on Poles' self-identification. While we have some evidence regarding the evolution of self-identification among foreigners is reported later on in this section, it remains to be empirically tested how this dimension may evolve within the Polish population.

An Argentinian respondent, living in Poznań, provides a striking account of the modality of identification employed by Poles. He maintains that:

> You know, Polish people are very ... I would say racist, in the good sense. In the good sense that ... they discriminate against you in the sense that they identify you. They even identify your origin. (PZ-3, 213)

In this representation, one can see at play very strong boundary work (Blokland 2017; who else?), which aims to put the distinction between “us” and “them” at the foundation of a national identity, contributing to the reproduction of the state on a nationalistic basis. But it would be a mistake to adopt a reductive acknowledgment of the processes of identification observable in the Polish urban context. For instance, the son of Polish emigrants to France, who later moved to Poznań, adds layers to the multidimensionality of collective identification available to individuals (family history of emigration and personal journey). Despite residing in Poznań for five years, he continues leading a transnational life, freelancing between the Polish city and Paris, his birthplace, and maintaining an exquisitely international entourage. It is, therefore, interesting to note how his aspirational identity is depicted. He reveals that:

> As a half Polish, half French guy, I always wanted to have it written somewhere, like, yes, I'm half Polish too. And I can say this, officially. Coming here and being really proud of being here. And I'm proud of this country. (PZ-8, 152)

The activation of the naturalization procedure, however, remains for the respondent a hypothetical possibility to which he has not yet decided to give concrete follow-up. This narrative confirms the symbolic relevance of identification processes, both individual and collective. The hypothesis of moving to Poznań was, up to a certain point, merely one possibility among others (Berlin and Lviv were also considered), which ultimately prevailed, partly for reasons of identity. However, in this case, the prevailing aspect seems to be the desire to maintain opportunities for individual economic growth that are not limited to a single national context, possibly resulting from a personal predisposition to mobility.

Foreigners' reflections on identity, anchors and what it means to become a citizen are frequently triggered by issues related to adaptation to the host society (included bureaucratic issues). The Argentinian respondent form Poznań previously quoted, very distinctly presents his anchors and a sense of proximity with Polish social identity:

> The language, because I learned Polish. The language attaches me. Also, I have a flat. I have a job. I feel good. […] I'm not sociable, so I really think I'm Polish. I'm anti-sociable, I'm very Polish. Like I'm not a typical Argentinian ... even Italian guy, like, sociable [smiles]. (PZ-3, 164-168)

The precision with which the anchors are identified (language, home, job) is notable, depicting a well-defined strategy of settlement and anchoring. Additionally, the respondent's self- identification constructs a correspondence between his personality and the features of the host society (not being sociable). Such an approach is ultimately reflexive: his own practical assumptions (about home, job, social traits) create the foundation for devising settlement strategies. In a quick, declarative exchange with the interviewer the respondent further clarifies he views:

> R. If I'm Poznańian? Yeah, I'm Poznańian, I live here. I have a flat, like, not in Poznań, but I live […] I live downtown. I'm a citizen. Not legally, but […] practically. […]
> I. Also in a cultural way?
> R. I mean, I was like that before, I don't change according to... I'm more of an introvert or an artist. I don't... I'm really against getting influenced by society. (PZ-3, 265-281)

These passages are revealing. The interviewee establishes direct relationships between himself (his self-identification, his personality) and the host city and the national identity. In an unanticipated way, from his point of view, it is the host society that displays characters compatible with the individual's identity and social strategies. The latter finds himself accepting the prospects offered to those who define themselves as introverts (not sociable, by definition). The question may arise as to where this display of self-confidence comes from. A possible answer would be the time spent in Poland. At the time of the interview, the individual declares to have lived in Poznań for 10 years.

The research participants have repeatedly expressed their considerations in terms of self-perception with respect to their life in the urban context of choice. They undergo a voluntary process of self-identification and anchoring, which requires them to reflect on the significance of the length of their stay in the city and when the settlement process can be considered complete or finalized. Such an approach can also involve observing the practices of other fellow foreigners, such as friends, as one interviewee who lives in Kraków explains:

> So yeah, has the city changed? I've been here 17 years and it has changed dramatically. There are many more foreigners living here, new Cracovians, if you want to call them. No, I've heard that before. And it's been used a lot. A friend of mine used to say: “I am a new Cracovian, jestem neo Krakówianin”. But it's also a topic that fascinates me. (KR-4, 177)

The interviewee refers to his long stay in the city in order to establish the extent of the change he was able to observe. The inflow of foreigners has been dramatic, and self-identifying as ‘new Cracovian’ is recurrently put into practice. An implicitly positive judgment is expressed, because, it appears that the respondent is considering this option of self-identification for himself. Clear it is also that, in his vision, the experience of migration has universal features:

> Going back to the topic of integration. How you immerse into a society, into a community. For me it was very gradual. I started integrating in Kraków. I started more or less the same way I started learning the language, organically. Going from one job to another job, which is a completely different branch. Getting to know people from different walks of life. And then, suddenly, you find yourself in a place where ... it happens to everyone. Absolutely. Everyone, when they are in a place for a long time. (KR-4, 189)

Here is a clear depiction of embedded practices, i.e., of "how migrants navigate societal contexts as active agents" (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Ryan, 2022). Once again, learning the language is strategic, in order to be able to "immerse" into a community. As well as the work and the necessary long duration for the settlement process to take place. We should not overlook the fact that, while demonstrating a deep reflexive acknowledgment of the processual nature of migration and settlement, just as he has not (yet) adopted the definition of 'new Cracovian' for himself, the respondent similarly does not specify the characteristics of the place where one 'finds oneself.' This suggests an open self-concept, a condition *in itinere*, despite showing the features of a stable life in the city. Later in the interview, he expressly acknowledges that his experience was defined by an aspiration to learn:

> I wanted to know, get to know what, you know, while I am walking, what's going on? Where am I living? What am I seeing? you know, like, I want to feel part of this, this place, right? So, you need to learn a few things. So, I decided to learn Polish. I learned that I took an intensive six weeks course. And that was my only formal education. Then my formal education with language was what actually allowed me to then learn it and to start absorbing it. (KR-4, 229)

The strategic importance of the anchor of language is confirmed because it is instrumentally used to make one's settlement productive and self-identification meaningful.

In the experience of the German interviewee also living in Kraków, quoted above, the motivational anchoring of identity appears to be crucial than other anchors described above (language, work, home):

> Coming to Kraków, first of all, I felt a bit lost. […] When you come here, you don't know anyone, you try to stabilize. […] Go out, try new things, be open, smile. Because the easiest human interaction is always ... yeah, just doing things, you know, just go out and what I said. And that's how I got more and more confident. And I can really say Kraków, I feel … My identity is in Kraków right now. I don't feel attached to Munich or to other places where I've lived. Kraków is my chosen home, for now. And I think this also is a reason why I said, let's focus on making Kraków bigger. […] So, I really try to create new things in Kraków. (KR-2, 28)

This excerpt is taken from the beginning of the interview, which authorizes to presume clarity of intent and motivation. And it is a full representation of the anchoring strategies

put in place, first of all to face the difficulties of the migratory experience, and secondly to build one's own repertoire of social actions that help fulfilling personal plans. Going out and trying new things is as indefinite a set of actions as it is effective in stabilizing the newcomer in the urban context. Asked to express his views on the city, he declares without hesitation:

> First of all, it's full of possibilities, like, the potential is huge. And the second, I would say, it's connected with where we go. If I had not been to Kraków, I would hardly believe that I would be promoted. But since I identify myself, I see myself as a local citizen, a good citizen who wants to contribute to Kraków life, I think it just makes sense to really promote it. (KR-2, 32)

Again, it is the motivational side that is relevant, but it is distinguished by detecting an abundance of resources offered by the city, which provide the bases of feasibility on which to (re-)find a sense of self, exploiting the contingent situation. And the possibly temporary nature of the accommodation does not preclude the interviewee from decisively employing strategies of self-identification and citizenization. By making a quick comparison with the cases set out above, it is legitimate to inquire about the interviewee's considerations regarding the role of language learning:

> “So, Polish. I have to be honest here. After four years, there could have been more. But Kraków, when it comes to the bubble of Kraków, expats international environment, you just communicate in English most of the time
> (KR-2, 76)

The image of a bubble can make one think of detachment from reality. But, in this case it identifies an actual and stable social anchor (expats international environment), albeit possibly with temporary features. Here the spoken language is English, which is heard where foreigners decide to "live" the city. English, the language spoken in the ‘bubble’, is also construed as an anchor, as Polish is by respondents quoted above. A foreign language allows you to navigate without risk the context of settlement. That context (the city) then can no longer be considered solely national, but it becomes truly global.

An approach distinct from simple passive adaptation is identified. Foreigners opt for a selective usage of the city resources and arrival infrastructures (Wessendorf 2022).

This suggests a two-way social 'plasticity'[128]. On the one hand, the arrival context, i.e. the Polish city (urban scale), does not require a rigid conformity of the settlement modes. This condition is mirrored by the previously quoted Chinese respondent, who articulate her self-concept - agentic and expressing autonomy and self-direction - in connection to the city of Poznań as follows:

> I think I like Poznań the most because here I'm an independent adult. I can keep myself independent. […] I only have my troubles and I stay away from other people's trouble. […] When I was in China I had to deal with the relationships, with other people. […] In China everyone lives in a community. But in Poznań I feel myself as an independent person. (PZ-5, 144)

On the other hand, the migrants who settle in the city can resort to a range of possibilities that allow to individually adjust their settlement strategies, combining them with anchoring paths. It is therefore in relation to their experiences of settlement that migrants can perceive (individual perceptual scale) the potential for change that their presence and agency imply for the city (urban scale).

Simply put: upon their arrival newcomers can take the path that allows them to become actors of transformation of the city in a globalizing manner. The research shows that foreigners put in place a *multilayered response* to their migratory needs. Striving to come to terms with their own migration history, they resort to conscious several strategies of anchoring, self-identification, and citizenization enacted through cosmopolitized actions. By doing so, they craft their own individual flexible toolkit, effectively tested over time, to be used in different urban context (mainly work and international environment). Is the transformational potential that migrants bring to the city a mere by-product of settlement strategies? As I will show further on, said potential also integrates efforts by individuals, who activate themselves, get together with others and constitute an active factor of sociocultural transformation of the city.

Before moving on to the next section to examine the above-mentioned strategies, attention should be drawn to an essential, unescapable aspect regarding the self-identification of the research participants. Of the 31 foreign participants, none of them

[128] In biology, plasticity is the "Capacity of organisms with the same genotype to vary in developmental pattern, in phenotype, or in behavior according to varying environmental conditions" (see: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/plasticity, February 14, 2024)

self-identified or referred to themselves using the term ‘migrant.’ Only seven of them loosely defined themselves or referred to themselves as ‘expats’[129]: two from Poznań[130] and five from Kraków[131]. Whether this represents a lack of awareness or of interest remains to be established. I rule out the possibility that it could be a lack of awareness on the part of foreigner regarding what is happening in their lives. This would contradict a general perception that can be drawn from the whole corpus of data. In fact, in none of the narratives did a disconnection or lack of focus emerge regarding the conditions of their migrants' lives. Rather, the prevalent absence of self-identification as 'migrants' and/or 'expats' means, or could mean, that migrants deliberate internally (internal conversation), among themselves, and in their extended social interactions (with Poles, for instance), about issues that primarily concern their own lives and are not framed within the lines that define the processes of globalization and cosmopolitization. That considered, I argue that this evidence allows hypothesizing that we may be dealing with features of latency in the phenomena at play in Polish urban settings. I will elaborate on this line of analysis in the section after the next one.

This lack of self-identification by the research participants has a direct consequence on the discursive aspects of this study, intended as a sociological report. Based on the theoretical questions advanced by scholars of critical migration studies, discussed in Chapter 1, I argue that categorizing the respondents by dividing them into migrants and expats is inconsistent and not directly productive in a scientific sense. For this reason, the terminology used in the text assumes an interchangeable character. The terms migrant, expat, non-national, and foreigner are therefore used synonymously.

[129] None of the respondents made statements such as "I am" or "I consider myself an expat."
[130] Respondents PZ-4 and PZ-13.
[131] Respondents KR-2, KR-3, KR-5, KR-8 and KR-12.

Table 28 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-6

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"Those meetings … makes you feel sort of grounded in the society. And what I really like about it is that … I would say, it's half foreign, and half local people"
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"… Polish who work here, who have a very open view on the world and also on other cultures, languages."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"My brother's here, lots, my mum and dad were here last week to visit. So, in that way, you never feel by yourself or alone."

Table 29 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-3

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"Yeah, I'm Poznanian, I live here. I have a flat, not in Poznań, but I live … downtown"
Identity-related	Identity traits	"I'm not sociable, so I really think I'm Polish. I'm anti-sociable, I'm very Polish … I'm not a typical Argentinian"
Economic	Assets and activities	"I bought a flat. I'm investing here yet. I'm invested."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"The language, because I learned Polish. The language attaches me."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I have a flat. I have a job. I feel good"

Table 30 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-4

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	“I've lived in the neighborhood for more than maybe like 12 years. … and this place … It used to be my local place to come and have a coffee in the morning."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I think one of the reasons that you hear all of these people speaking foreign languages is because also, it's a bit of a community that has built around."
Identity-related	Identity characteristics	"17 years here, this is my home. I'm Mexican, I'm originally from Mexico. I am from Kraków.”
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	“I want to feel part of this this place, right? So, you need to learn a few things. So, I decided to learn Polish.”
Ontological	Safety	"I created my little cosmos. I there's a world out there."

Transformative experiences of settlement

The settlement process can be profoundly transformative, affecting individuals, families, and communities, and constituting a transition from one sociocultural and environmental context to another. It is a process that induces significant changes at the personal, social, and structural levels, which can profoundly impact the lives of those involved. Susanne Wessendorf has investigated the settlement of migrants who arrive individually, without the support provided by migration networks, in urban contexts. Defined as pioneer migrants, their main characteristic is the “lack of social networks and social capital when first arriving" (Wessendorf 2018). Wessendorf emphasizes that factors such as legal status and cultural capital - educational background, language proficiency, and embodied cultural capital - are more significant than ethnicity or country of origin in shaping the actions and strategies they implement.

In migrants’ narratives collected in Poznań and Kraków, we can detect the characteristics that identify pioneer migrants. While this type of investigation has already produced a valuable body of research, focusing on the categories of cultural capital and legal status, I argue it is possible to provide new insights by analyzing the strategies and courses of action enacted by migrants through the lenses of cosmopolitization and citizenization, as outlined in the following paragraphs. Through the interpretation of narratives, it is possible to identify a general theme that clearly represents the transformative aspects of settlement experiences. These are multidimensional experiences in which anchoring, identification, cosmopolitization, and citizenship combine in original ways but also, in some cases, similarly. The social horizon of individuals’ actions can also be multiscalar.

The investigation presented in the following paragraphs does not take the form of a mere survey of circumstances in which elements of cosmopolitization can be detected, although this is an inexorable part of the analysis itself. Rather, it intends to support the field verification work (present and future) in an analytical effort that allows to give (first) empirical relevance to the phenomena observable in the field. As mention earlier, the terms strategy and strategic are employed to indicate sets of multiple actions enacted by actors in contextualized and coordinated ways. While actors’ actions are studied, Beck's

admonition should be kept in mind: cosmopolitized actions, made possible by the opening and availability of *cosmopolitized spaces of action*, can occur even if not consciously perceived by the actors themselves. For example, when they make use, consciously or inadvertently, of "transnational and transborder resources". Furthermore, in the accounts of the interviewees, the set of cognitive/discursive references relating to phenomena of globalization and cosmopolitization is not fully developed into a specific semantic field. Or rather, the conceptual domain containing these phenomena has not yet given rise to an explicit lexical field (for reference see: Lehrer et al. 2012). Simply put: the majority of respondents refer generically to internationalization. Although it is evident that the processes under discussion are perceived (by respondents) as more complex than a generic increased presence of multinational elements (people, cultural contents and practices and artifacts), they are not labelled specifically as globalization or cosmopolitization. However, it is significant that lexical emergence occurs during a few interviews.

A further clarification is required. In the theoretical framework of the research, social features conducive to production of the global city are gathered under the terminological label of 'globalizing city', to underline the processual nature of phenomena in motion. The phrase is never used by the interviewer, nor by the respondents. However, respondents normally refer to cities becoming "more and more international". Since this is a generic reference, even when it constitutes the prelude to a detailed description of the interactions observed or experienced, it is argued that possible (attempted) inferences can be used only in limited cases.

There are many references, explicit or not, to globalization as a positive array of openings. For example, the greater open-mindedness showed by new generations, indicated by the previous interviewee. It clearly emerges that the cosmopolitization of everyday habits constitutes an attractive and gratifying opportunity, as represented by a Ukrainian respondent, as follows:

> I. I'm so multicultural, oh my God! I have all the globe in my Instagram, like my friends. For example, last time we had dinner there were ten people from ten different countries. […] R. Can you name the countries?
>
> I. Sure. Okay, so there was ... of course Ukraine, me, Poland, India, UK, Egypt, Netherlands. Spain, Azerbaijan. Okay, this time it was 8 people [giggles]. You see, totally different countries like Azerbaijan or India! (PZ-9, 39-43)

In this segment of the interview, the respondent's life appears to have already been completely changed. Cosmopolitization literally entered her personal life (sitting with her for dinner, it can be said). It is evidently at the perceptual scale of individuals that one can grasp the transformations of urban society in Kraków and Poznań, which already display cosmopolitized characters. Sociocultural innovation produced by the presence of foreigners may add new real cultural characters to the script of the city, as the respondent specifies:

> In Poznań people can be themselves, living their life like in their own countries and do their own culture. Now I explain what I mean. In Poznań, we do have a lot of, obviously, Ukrainian and Belarussian people. And can you imagine that in Poznań we have a Ukrainian theatre?! And now it's become mixed like Ukrainian Belarusian theatre. In Poznań we have exhibitions of Ukrainian artists, of Belarussian artists. A few weeks ago, there was a Belarussian artist exhibition in the city center. For me, it's a really cool thing. (PZ-9, 10)

It is beneficial to specify that this interviewee is not an acquaintance of the previously mentioned respondent who informed us about the existence of groups of Ukrainian-Belarusian artists. This indicates that the phenomena discussed by the participants are indeed observable in the city.

The transformation of spaces of aggregation is also observed, especially public establishments such as restaurants or bars, which acquire tangible globalized feature, as stated by Zimbabwean student worker, who had an experience in one of these locals in Poznań:

> When I initially came, there had been […] Vietnamese, or Ethiopian or Italian restaurant, but run by a Pole. Where now, you find that there are restaurants from different parts of the world that are run by people from the same countries, or people from the same countries have a big influence in how the meals are prepared, or the running of the business. (PZ-11, 90)

These dynamics are observable also in Kraków, as a Polish interviewee states:

> I have actually one friend, he's from Hungary. And I, I taught him Swedish, but right now, he opened his own pizzeria in Podgórze, for example. He's from Hungary. And […] he's working for a Swedish company. And that's pretty interesting that he, he opened his own business here. (KR-PL-7, 30)

A third modality is listed here, to document the melting pot character that the cities are acquiring. In addition to the case of the 'ethnic' place managed by Poles and the place managed by cuisine 'nationals', it can be considered the case of the global food outlet *par excellence*, the pizzeria, managed by a foreigner who also works for a corporation of a third state. They are the harbingers of the kind of 'diversification of diversity' described by proponents of the concept *superdiversity* (Vertovec 2023), arguing that the different groups present in complex modern societies are also showing a growing internal diversification, in recent times. Such diversification can be hypothesized to have a strong constitutive element in expanding the repertoire of possible practices (opportunities) that become available to individuals. Opportunities that are 'within reach' also for Poles, as implied by the respondent, a musician, providing a description of her band, active in Kraków. As she explains:

> I have a friend from Iran in my band. So, I have a close relationship with him because we are playing together for almost two years. And he's been here for four years, probably. He studied music here. He's a pianist. […] And I also have a friend from Turkey in the bands. So, we had this international band, like, Polish people, one guy from Turkey, one guy from Iran. It's really interesting to also meet them because I never … earlier when I was living in my hometown, I never had the chance to meet people from those countries. (KR-PL-7, 50)

A shift towards standard cosmopolitized practices is also observable in organizations. A Polish junior manager of a transnational corporation in Poznań describes the adoption of globally shared company practices in the Poznań branch, as follows:

> "We have several groups, they're like ... what's the word? Employee Resource Groups. […] They're in the US. But we take some actions that they do as well. So, for example, we have our own group […]. And, like, last year, […] we went volunteering to clean some forests, like everyone could come, if they want, […] We have a new company policy that we do volunteering in the city. Like they can volunteer, whatever, whenever they want. They have like eight hours per year. What they have to do is tell the manager that on this day, they're gonna volunteer." (PZ-PL-3, 220-236)

This is the application of the American model of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). It establishes the possibility for the worker to carry out voluntary hours paid for by the employer. It constitutes an innovation for the European Union, which has regulated it,

and for Poland which, by adapting to European standards, has disciplined its practical application. A generalized implementation of this private business tool could bring about social innovation, promoting the development of new civic practices. Additionally, spatial innovation may occur, such as a change of perception of the city by the employees involved, who find themselves moving out from offices located in the financial center of Poznań towards the city's outskirts, where the forests to be cleaned are located.

The same dynamics are observed in Kraków. Conveniently, the description of a Polish HR head manager of a transnational company presents a rich example of how it is possible to draw on legal, social and cultural resources developed in different countries, considered more advanced because they are able to provide a range of possibilities that guarantee equal opportunities. As She explains:

> The leadership team of the group is in the UK, however, it's mixed Spanish and British. […] And we are at the same time following ...we must follow that legal requirement, which in the UK are much more advanced from the perspective of diversity, equity and inclusion. (KR-PL-8, 74)

Here, the full and conscious exploitation of the opportunities offered by 'cosmopolitized spaces of action' can be observed, to the point of being formalized in policies applied at the global corporate level. These last two cases are particularly interesting for discussing how the host society is transformed through the implementation of policies with a clearly cosmopolitized structure. I elaborate on other similar cases in the last section of the chapter.

Personal reflections on the cosmopolitized dimension of the processes and interactions discussed also emerged during the course of the research. These are outcomes of which it would likely be possible to attempt a deeper understanding in the broader framework of climate change and polycrisis[132]. Nonetheless, it is significant that, without prompts from the interviewer, some respondents attempted broader reflections, less conditioned by current events. There are no uncritical reflections or simplistic adherence to an unspecified concept of the 'cosmopolitan'. It is explicitly an exercise in reflexivity that also recalls perceptions related to self-identification, anchoring, citizenization, and makes connections between different scales.

[132] see: https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-risks-report-2023/digest

Only one respondent from Poznań shares her thought that the city has a low cosmopolitan character, she declares that:

> R. Poznań itself is certainly less globalized, international, cosmopolitan than some other cities in Poland.
> I. Which ones?
> R. Warsaw, Kraków, also Wrocław.[133] (PZ-13, 165-167)

The remark is incidentally made and arises from a reference to the scarce presence of English translations in public and private services. Yet, it is the detection of a low level, not of an absence. From which it is not possible to infer any general consideration.

Respondents who live in Kraków provide some interesting insights. The German respondent that considers himself a "local citizen" promoting Kraków (see above), has his own vision on the dynamics between local and cosmopolitan:

> I. You mentioned "cosmopolitan", let's say, atmosphere. Do you think the city, or some districts, is cosmopolitan already, or becoming?
> R. It's becoming. I know that the city of Kraków wants to open itself not just to tourists, but more to the world, to rebrand itself, not just for a quick weekend trip, not for bachelor's parties from mostly United Kingdom. But more to also attract entrepreneurs, companies, to attract even open-minded people, digital nomads as well. Kraków is an attractive place. It has great opportunities, possibilities. But yeah, it's developing. Cosmopolitan, I would say, is still a big, it's a bit too big word. Cosmopolitan, I would associate with Berlin, London, New York. Something like that. And honestly speaking, it's good that Kraków is not cosmopolitan yet, because each development has pros and cons. To me, cosmopolitan means it's great for exchange, flows of information, of cultures, of ideas. But at the same time, it's also kind of giving up the cultural identity […]. And from my experience, I really like having international flair to the extent that you can still feel local vibes. (KR-2-, 162-164)

This respondent (and the one that follows) expresses opinions on the main themes of the research, revealing profound individual reflections almost in alignment of interests with the researcher. Although the tone is enthusiastic, the content is the result of careful consideration. The positive evaluation of Kraków's development potential and attractiveness is assessed through an examination of the offerings that the city

[133] Interview conducted in Italian, own translation.

administration directs outward and resonates with the policies envisioned by the local administration.

A compelling example comes from the respondent who delved deepest into reflecting on the intertwining of personal development, self-identification, urban transformation, and broader changes in society. Considering the relevance of this first-hand account to the research, I include in the analysis extensive excerpts to showcase and respect the argumentative sequence of the interviewee, as it develops during the interview. She perceives a substantial change in the way the Polish people living in her city of choice, Kraków, are now dealing with the presence of foreigners like her. As she articulates:

> When I arrived, it was a bit different, because I definitely felt in terms of the neighborhood here. And, you know, when I was walking around the city, it wasn't that ... people were not as cosmopolitan as they are now. So whatever foreigner they saw, they were paying attention, they were listening. And you know, they were very curious about what they're saying and where they're from. So that's definitely a change that I've seen. And now everybody's just, you know, getting used. They just got used to the fact there's so many people from outside of Poland and from outside of Kraków, in Kraków. (KR-7, 34)

Poles living in Kraków appear to become ‘more’ cosmopolitan as a result of an adaptation, becoming cosmopolitized from below, as they are exposed to, and get used to seeing and hearing foreigners around, in the neighborhood. The respondent points out that foreigners have already brought about a significant change in the city, in terms of global city production, as the citizens of Kraków have largely embraced this transformation:

> I. What do you mean by cosmopolitan?
>
> R. What I mean by that is that people, from my… it's my observation, right? It's my perspective, point of view. I think that people eight years ago, they were not as open to having so many foreigners in their city and they were not as understanding and open-minded to other cultures and to other skin colors. And that's what I mean by that. And now I do see this shift. And given the fact that that throughout this several years, so many people came into practice, they seem to local people, they seem to get used to the fact that they are here, and they are part of the city, they are part of the daily life now. And, you know, and it's just a normality now (KR-7, 36-38)

It is the massive inflow of migrants that changes the city, building a new normality that constitutes a shared everyday life. Cosmopolitization is normalized. But the process is

not stopping at the surface of the city (and neighborhood) scale. It affects the individual perception, prompting a new self-identification, possibly in a durable, stable way:

> R. It’s a very tricky feeling. I've been feeling 100% Ukrainian for, I think, six years of living in Poland. But then suddenly, some shift happened. And now ... I used to be a very patriotic person I used to attend... So, we had many... not many. But we did have some revolutions in Ukraine.
>
> I. Well, Two in the turn of less than ten years. It is very much!
>
> R. Yeah. I didn't attend, of course, because I was young, the Orange Revolution. But then I went to the Maidan. So, the 2013 one. And I was there all the time. I was in Kyjv all the time. Even though I was studying, I said goodbye to my professors: "I'm sorry, I have some big mission". And I went to Maidan. And I used to take part in my local protests as well. So, I did a lot of that. And I moved to Poland. And in Poland still, I was taking part in, you know, Ukrainian gatherings, and I was trying to be active. And then with time ... it's daunting, I felt that, for the first time, I don't feel that patriotism anymore. That strong feeling, it's actually a little bit gone. I do love my country still. And I feel Ukrainian. But there is not the strong, strong connection that I used to feel some time ago. So, I think I'm becoming cosmopolitan, that's what it is! And yeah, you know, sometimes when I go to Ukraine, I don't feel that I'm entirely home. So, it's like 70% of feeling that "Oh, great, I'm home". I do feel a sense of relief. And it's great. And it's nice, you know, everything you can relate to the past. You have some childhood memories, right? I don't have childhood memories here, which is very important to be able to feel at home somewhere. But I think as long as you build a memory base in some place, for the longer period of time, it actually becomes your home anyway. Even if partially. (KR-7, 82-86)

The shift in self-identification displays a resonance with anchoring in Kraków, which does not produce a direct identification with the city (or with Poland), but allows the respondent to choose the further option, the cosmopolitan one, that is part of the repertoire of offerings of the now cosmopolitized city. The global city (re)production appears to be guaranteed by the availability of options that are selected on an individual level, according to the individual’s strategy. Provided that there is the possibility for the individual of perceiving the changes (the “shift”) that have taken place at the city level and for a considerable, variable length of time. What makes the account of this respondent the most significant is that, in her perception, the process she is undergoing, can be experience by others, in similar conditions and produce change even up to the state scale, in a different state. As she notes:

> And you know what, actually, I think? That effect on the Ukrainian people in Ukraine inside Ukraine is going to be very similar. It's a different way of making the country also a bit more cosmopolitan and a bit turning people into a bit more of global citizens in a way because they spread out throughout Europe right now. And everybody, well, not everybody, but most of them are going to get back home. Yeah. And they will share the experiences with their families that live there. And I think it's going to have a huge effect also on the mindset because till now, I think Ukrainians are very Ukrainian in their nature. […] They like to stick to their culture. They don't …they are quite conservative, I must say. And this is going to change, I'm pretty sure of it. (KR-7, 94)

What follows is an analysis of how foreigners adopt strategies of citizenization, what are the contents they associate with it and how the consequential outcomes contribute to generating change in the urban context. The operational definition of citizenization provided earlier unmistakably presupposes embedding and a strategic understanding of social dynamics by the actors. Citizenization strategies are often pursued in a conscious way, because they are generated by the actor's interpretative framework of reality. It is an attribute of agency which, in producing effects, is oriented by specific determinations.

The Ukrainian respondent from Kraków, whose reflection on cosmopolitization I have just analyzed above, offers also an epitomic example of how a strategy of citizenization is implemented at the neighborhood level. She has been involved in the organization of TEDx Kazimierz talks and cultural events for several years. TEDx events are organized worldwide by local teams, and are connected with the American cultural organization TED Conferences[134]. Typically, local TEDx teams are organized themselves at the city level. The fact that in Kraków a local team has decided to choose spatial and cultural reference of Kazimierz (which is legally even a part of the urban district of Stare Miasto), is a confirmation of the shared observation that in Kraków residents organize themselves socially at the neighborhood level, rather than at the city level. It is also worth noting that the founder of TEDx Kazimierz was also a foreigner. Which has evidently adopted forms of interaction and self-activation typical of local residents. After two years since the start, the founder left the team for personal reasons. Our interviewee now has the leadership together with other members. As shown before, she deeply reflects on her

[134] TED.com. See: https://www.ted.com/participate/organize-a-local-tedx-event/before-you-start/what-is-a-tedx-event.

own activity, the products of her proactivity (citizenization), and interprets those in sociocultural terms:

> The community consists of individuals. So, as soon as the individual changes, then the community changes. I think, events like TEDx, they do change the community at large. Because if there's some dynamic going on … You know, if there is a stagnation, nothing's gonna change. But if there is an event like this, and only the fact that people attend the event, and people communicate between each other… You know, the talk, or the topic can be rubbish. But if the people come and they communicate between each other, and they even talk about this rubbish topic, then they can still share ideas between each other, and it still makes an impact. So, I think it does shift the mindset, and it does help. […] I think it's definitely changing things. (KR-7, 146)

The change mentioned above is investing the broader community (neighborhood scale). In fact, migrants' social endeavors are not without expectations. At times, the desire for transformative outcomes nudges to reframe their effort. Thus, the managing team of TEDx Kazimierz thinks of expanding activities beyond the neighborhood and reach the whole city scale:

> We are TEDx Kazimierz. And we are actually the only TEDx in Kraków. (Yeah). And for the past several years, we were active only in the Kazimierz district, because we are TEDx Kazimierz. So obviously, we are related only to the district. But starting this year, and we just received the license, by the way, we are going to actually be a bit more active in the whole city. (KR-7, 150)

Citizenization can be seen as an individual self-appointed mission of "making oneself a citizen". In this sense, self-activation and helping those who are living a similar experience are of fundamental importance to reach the goal. It is an evident case of production of bridging social capital (Putnam 2000), from which all those involved can profit, as another Ukrainian interviewee previously quoted, clearly explains:

> As I know Polish, it also gives me a very good chance […] to know what's going on around. And I always want and try to be more local and to know what's going, reading local news and talking to Polish friends, being in contact. And before the pandemic started, I was involved in social life. So, we were organizing events connecting Polish organizations,

> NGOs, foundations, projects, and expats who wanted to do something but didn't speak Polish[135]. (KR-8, 31)

A demand for citizenization is explicit, even if expressed in generic terms of being "more local". Moreover, the interviewee reflects on and endorses a role as a social network facilitator to himself. The facilitation takes shape starting from the mirroring of her own personal goals in those of fellow expats, and it proceeds to create connections between foreigners and organized entities of Polish society. It is in these dynamics that the effectual potential for social change can be perceived. Volunteering appears then to be a complex entry strategy, facilitating settlement, and most likely combining activities and practices that give shape to anchoring and identification,

In Kraków, citizenization is frequently configured in terms of self-organization of the individual, though constantly in the context of broader social organization, a condition that allows people to 'pass through' several scales (individual, neighborhood, city). Otherwise, in Poznań this appears to acquire less importance for foreigners. Among interviews conducted there, only one case is showing migrants' self-mobilization finding its way into contextual social organization. In sociological terms, it can be stated that bridging social capital appears to be more commonly practiced by foreigners in Kraków. Conversely, a possible instance of the production of bonding social capital among foreigners and Poles may be observed in Poznań, which will be addressed later in this section.

In Poznań, observations were made of two respondents highlighting a transgenerational character that citizenization can acquire. The respondent from The Netherlands previously quoted actually has a very precise and strong idea about it:

> You have to make people integrate, okay? Because if you don't do that, we can see the situations that we see in the Netherlands, for example. People who've been living there since the 1960s, and they have children and even grandchildren, but they don't speak the language. So how are you able to raise your children in a world that's not yours, but it will be theirs, and you don't speak the language? So, that's why I don't like myself for not learning Polish. Because it feels like being hypocrite. […] Because you're a guest. But your children are not. Because they will be citizens. So, you have to help them being citizens and not being

[135] Last sentence of this excerpt has been already quoted earlier, it is repeated here to permit a more extended analysis.

> outsiders. […] You are the bridge. Because if you're not the bridge, you know, your children will be lost in between the two worlds.
> (PZ-6, 210-214)

It is a short statement full of pragmatic and historical allusions. The respondent is familiar with the case he mentions, because the Netherlands are his country of origin. Besides, in other moments of the interview, he reports that he noticed what he refers to as prejudices of benevolence towards Western countries. Instead, he alludes to the fact that migration stories are problematic and that Poland may avoid future crises by learning from the negative experiences of others. It is out of this framing that his statements acquire full value. He sees it as essential for migrant parents to devote themselves to letting their children to live their lives in the host country in conditions of full citizenship. They need to commit themselves to fostering a process that we may define as *transgenerational citizenization*. In the respondent's view, whether or not the children will obtain formal citizenship, they need to be citizenized. He states this empathically, directing the same critical energy towards himself and his reluctance to learn the Polish language. However, it must be said, in his defense, that at the time of the interview, the interviewee had been living in Poznań for less than one year. Such a conception can be criticized in many ways and many questions remain open. For example, is it the exclusive duty of parents alone to prepare their children to be citizens? What should be the role of other socializing agencies, e.g., school? To what extent can parents socialized in a different society assure effective socialization for their children? And possibly the most important question: how to establish which model of citizenship to align with?

In the case of the next respondent (Italian living in Poznań, previously quoted) a diametrically opposite approach can be observed. Citizenization is not explicit, but is unmistakably expressed in connection with identification and anchoring linked to raising his family in the city, as discussed earlier. As he very nicely comments:

> My daughters were born Polish. They were all born in the famous 'Children's Factory'. I don't know if they ever told you about the 'Children's Factory' in ulica Polna [...]. Fantastic facility! They were born here, and their first language is Polish, they are indeed Polish Poles![136] (PZ-4, 51-55)

[136] Interview conducted in Italian, own translation.

This open acknowledgment displays several immaterial (sociocultural similarities, family value) and material (infrastructures of excellence) anchors. The citizenization process is presented by a parent who claims to have verified and validated the resources offered by the host country. While the previous respondent (from The Netherlands) refers to an ideal model of citizenization, inferred from its manifest absence in the country of origin, the present one speaks about his real first-hand experience. He expresses his satisfaction, the fact that his daughters were born and raised in Poznań is not a starting point, but the culmination of their citizenization. It must be noted that this holds true even if, despite having lived their entire lives in Poland, they are not necessarily Polish citizens. In fact, individuals are required to meet specific requirements to obtain Polish citizenship. The country follows the principle of ius sanguinis - the principle of citizenship by descent, not *ius soli* - citizenship based on being born in a country's territory. In all evidence, the functional relationship between citizenization and citizenship remains to be ascertained. Is the former a precursor of the latter? Could citizenization become a formally recognized prerequisite of citizenship? To give an example: could social volunteering, proactively undertaken by migrants, be recognized as an element of procedural validation? Nonetheless, a significant possibility arises: that the process of citizenization may be essentially free. The choice of which features need to be acquired in order to 'make oneself a citizen' may be a decision assigned solely to the individual. At the same time, the question *de facto* raised by the respondents is of relevant: citizenization processes are the result of autonomous choices but advance only in the context of reference which fulfills the function of legitimization (the host country). Citizenization therefore refers to the broader agency/structure sociological theme.

A Ukrainian respondent living in Poznań, whose narrative has been previously partially analyzed, is a social worker, employed by an NGO founded and run by foreigners. What catches the attention is the fact that the purpose of the NGO and the activities it organizes represent a corroboration of the Ambrosini's example cited above. Additionally, the respondent's NGO seems to take a step further in the practices of citizenization, e.g., with its focus on critical thinking or making use not only of volunteering but also of paid social work, provided by migrant workers. Here's the description of the functioning of the NGO:

> In general, our organization is focused on development of young people, critical thinking, migrants, and culture as well. And at the start of the war, we started to work on a big project […] which mainly was in Poznań actually, because usually we work, like interculturally, in different countries of Europe. And during this project, we had a lot of different activities. And some of them was cultural events. And the whole point was to create events that will be a good possibility to integrate Ukrainian refugees with Polish citizens and locals. I think we did a great job with that. (PZ-14, 14)

It is also useful to recall the previously cited description of the toll that providing support to refugees at the Polish-Ukrainian border had on her, as this work of assistance was organized by the same NGO. At that time, the NGO dedicated all its resources to responding to the needs of refugees, carrying out reception activities, in collaboration with institutions and other NGOs in the city of Poznań. What better representation hence of being "concerned for the common good" (Ambrosini 2020), than dedicating all resources to it in the time of emergency? Here it is possible to have a first insight of the relevance of the participation and citizenization of foreigners in defining the resilience of a city. Lastly, it is remarkable that the focus of the NGO is on young people. It would not be surprising if this had been adopted precisely on the basis of similar considerations to those structuring the conceptualization of *transgenerational citizenization*.

It is a common fact that foreigners, being abroad, form informal groups of various configurations. They can be in person or completely online. They can be gatherings around a common nationality, or international groups discussing and sharing interests on platforms such as Facebook and other social media. They can have various purposes: mutual support, leisure and sheer entertainment, from which the search for profit is not excluded.

It happens in Poznań that, thanks mainly to the dynamics of snowball sampling, some participants of some of these groups of foreigners are respondents in the research. And what is most remarkable is that some of the interviewees, who are active members of this kind of in person/online international groups (where active means that they are organizer, administrators, or simply active participants), know each other in person, because they weekly attend a very well know international pub quiz (in English) in a bar located in the Stare Miasto district, where Poles and foreigners mingle together. Another

interesting aspect is that the organizer is a Pole with migration experience. He explains what motivated him, as follows:

> "When I went to the UK, I was very young, I didn't know many international people. I think I didn't know any international people back in 2008, when I went to study in the UK. And then, you know, I met people from all over the world, and I started to speak in English. I really like this international vibe, international environment. I came back to Poland […] And I felt, okay, I need this international environment here in Poznań. […] Firstly, I went to the couchsurfing[137] meetings. And then I wanted to create something better that gather more people. And that's why I created those meetings back in 2016. […] I thought, pub quiz is a great idea because it brings people together. Before the start of the game, you need to kind of form a team […] That was my idea to kind of merge those two ideas. So, on the one hand, the international meeting, the old formula, where people just meet, and then the kind of British way of pub quiz. […]. And I decided to dedicate those quizzes either to some topics like movies, music or to nationalities or nations. I will have somebody from Italy, let's say and they will know definitely more than I do about this lovely country. So, they will prepare questions, talk about their country. People therefore we'll learn, kind of talk about this country, maybe learn some habits, some culture, some customs as well." (PZ-PL-1, 29-37)

The respondent has created a solid international social group by transferring strategies and practices (of citizenization and anchoring) that he learned as a migrant, to his country of origin, where he shares them with both his fellow nationals and foreign friends. This international group has a manifestly hedonistic focus. And precisely for this reason, by conveying normality, friendship through leisure and social well-being, it succeeds in fostering mutual understanding and shared practices. From below, bypassing the rhetoric that normally saturates the public discourse on migration and diversity, it facilitates paths of social cohesion which are inevitable premises of citizenization processes. However, it remains to be understood what type of social capital is effectively promoted by this kind of gatherings. According to the accounts of the participants, these meetings really stimulate the formation of friendships. However, the most important effect could be that of strengthening the bonding social capital produced by regular attendees of meetings, as can be understood from the words of one of them:

[137] see: https://www.couchsurfing.com/

> "Thanks to these quiz meetings I met a lot of really amazing people. And now mostly all my friends are from these quizzes. Because, this place has a good energy. People who are not stupid are coming there. You know, if you know something, you keep going there. Because if you are, like [knocks on the table], stupid a little bit, you will not come back, you know? And yeah, so this place collects a lot of smart and really nice people. And it makes you feel safer. Because we are all more or less at the same level, like, you know, everyone is from a different country. So, we are not at home. We have to stick together." (PZ-9, 183)

It can be hypothesized that the length of stay in Poland could be conducive of advancement in the process of citizenization. In the previously cited case of the Argentinian respondent that has been living in Poznań for ten years, it is possible to observe a clear distinction between the aspiration to acquire citizenship and the adoption of citizenization strategies. In fact, the respondent is adamant in regards to his will of getting the Polish citizenship, as he unmistakably replies to a direct question:

> I. Are you considering getting the citizenship?
> R. No, no. The residency, permanent residency. It is called European permanent residence[138]. I already applied for it. I should have had it. But you know, Poland's very, very racist. It takes too long, especially if you're not European. (PZ-3, 231-233)

Being officially recognized as long-term resident, in Poland and according to European Union laws[139], is the desired outcome of strategic determination and creative choice. While becoming a resident does not constitute an imperative for the individual, being able to act as if one were a fully recognized citizen (being *citizenized*, it can be said), as it is necessary and sufficient condition to safeguard the elements that let anchors be secured (house, job, wellbeing), requires making use of the regulatory framework available for whose reference is evidently supranational, The European Union. Being "practically" a citizen, "not legally", means optimizing the available resources, acting in a reflexive way, bridging borders and formal limitations in a creative expression of agency. It is worth mentioning at this stage that the kind of action the respondent is putting into practice has been defined cosmopolitized by Ulrich Beck, drawing upon the concept of *creative action* of Hans Joas:

[138] See: https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/legal-migration-and-integration/long-term-residents_en, retrieved on 31.07.2023.
[139] *Idem*

> In order to understand ‘cosmopolitized action’, it is useful to bring in the concept of ‘creative action’ (Joas 1996). ‘Creative action’ is about the ability not to accept existing borders of thinking and acting. Even more than that, one needs to be ready and able to translate existing borders into opportunities in order to achieve one's goals. The creativity of cosmopolitized action means that the rationality of action metamorphoses. The notion of ‘rationality’ is metamorphosed because of the ‘simple’ fact that the internalization of the world has become the condition for successful action.” (Beck 2016)

While the respondent’s strategy comprises explicit elements of anchoring, identification, and citizenization, the cosmopolitized character of agency is not acknowledged by him, it remains latent. This apparent inconsistency might be explained by yet another illuminating theoretical distinction made by Beck:

> It is useful to distinguish between action, which combines reflection, status and perception held by actors, and cosmopolitized spaces of action, which exist even if they are not perceived and used by actors. (Beck 2016)

Whether the quoted respondent perceives that he is acting in cosmopolitized spaces of action remains to be ascertained. Nonetheless, narratives like his constitute an important confirmation of the very possibility of overcoming formal (bureaucracy) or *de facto* constraints (institutional obstructionism). This type of agency emerges as entitled only to foreigners, and precluded to Polish citizens. In itself it is a modality that heralds further possibilities in terms of social change.

In the last paragraphs of this, I examine an interesting case that provides evidence that anchoring strategies may have developments (effects, in practical terms) outside the national context of the host country. Simply put: anchors created in the national Polish context produce outcome that are productive at a supranational scale - in the case examined, at the European and global scale. The respondent is a man from Egypt that has just concluded his five years of university studies in Poznań, thanks to a scholarship funded by the European Union. He works for an American corporation and finds himself at an intermediate moment in his migration experience. The family of origin, whose status is understood to be high, evidently constitutes a transnational anchor that provides security and material stability. Precisely for this reason, the decision to migrate was made freely and autonomously, not motivated by conditions of necessity. As he clarifies:

> I come from a good family in Egypt. But I chose, like, I don't want to depend on my own family to get me a good job. I could have gotten a good job, a very good job in Egypt, just from my family status and things like that. But in terms of my development as a person and independence in life, I think I'm in a much better place as a person, way of thinking, experience, everything. So, I like to think I'm moving forward. Yes, definitely career wise, for example, I think I'm in a very good place as well. Even if I go back to Egypt, now I can get a fairly good job. (PZ-10, 212)

The positive outcomes of the migration experience, considered positively at the personal level, in turn constitute an anchor that allows the interviewee to plan his own individual growth. He plans to get the permanent residency permit and to improve his Polish language skills to meet the requirement for Polish citizenship. As the official communication channels of the European Commission explain: "Any person who holds the nationality of an EU country is automatically also an EU citizen. EU citizenship is additional to national citizenship and does not replace it."[140] The 'additional' European citizenship offers to the individuals an array of opportunities, mainly linked to personal mobility and professional development. The interviewee is well aware of this state of affairs, and claims that:

> It doesn't matter if you're Polish, Italian, Spanish or British ... but not British, because they're no longer in the European Union [he laughs]. But that's why I said, it's not that I want to be Polish, I want to be a European citizen. And then let's see where life will take me. (PZ-10, 204)

Citizenship, as well as other legal statuses (for example, permanent residence), are perceived as anchors by migrants. It makes it possible to acquire rights, to stabilize one's presence in the country of arrival. And precisely to seize opportunities precluded to non-citizens (active and passive electorate, economic benefits, etc.). For the respondent, obtaining the Polish citizenship is not a question of adherence to national identity. Apparently, it is a question of access to resources:

> "That's why European citizens, because you really have so many opportunities that you can live here for a year, there for a year. Especially after the pandemic with the culture of working from home. So, I can even still be working for my same company here, but live somewhere for a year, live in another place for a year. Thanks to Poland and to Poznań, I

[140] https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/eu-citizenship_en, retrieved on August 14, 2023.

> have friends in every single European country that exists, literally. And in many different cities everywhere. I was two months ago in Italy, staying at a house for free in Milan. In Croatia, I have a friend there who took us, put us in a house, and left us to the airport again. In Spain. In South, North, East, West, whatever I have a friend to come and stay with me. It reciprocates for my friends. They would come to Egypt. An Erasmus friend came to us, stayed in my family's home, even if I'm not there, they would have found a house, a place to go. So, thanks to Poznań, all this has made all this connection everywhere. So, there is not one place I want to go but there are so many places I want to go. (PZ-10, 265)

The respondent's words outline a set of stable social interactions, developed starting from the sharing of the migratory experience in the city context, and propelled by an evident cultural openness. Moreover, these social actions and practices are the outcome of anchoring strategies intertwined with the dynamics of the social networks existing in the city (described in detail by the respondent in other passages of the interview). The anchors developed by the respondent are mainly social (friendships, social networks), material (work) and formal (the will to obtain citizenship). It is crucial to note that these anchors are structured at different scales. For example, friendships crowd the scale of the interviewee's personal life. Social networks spread through multiple scales such as the neighborhood, the city, but also the state and, as is clearly described, at the international/European level (not to mention the possible global extension). In the case of citizenship, the state scale is obviously manifest. The possible effects produced by European citizenship extend to both the European international scale and the global scale. For example, consider the availability of diplomatic assistance. I argue that anchoring can thus acquire a *transcalar* character. *Transcalar anchoring* primarily means that a given anchoring strategy can be understood if it is related to multiple scales, traversed (literally) by migrants during their migratory experience. Furthermore, it can be conducive to actions (for example, connected to friendships or work relationships) that have effects distributed on different scales, which is here represented by the possibility to visit another country while being the guest of friends or acquaintances. Finally, it is important to note that the *transcalar anchoring* strategies are situated: they originate in a place to which they remain attached, as the interviewee promptly reminds when he specifies "thanks to Poland and to Poznań".

During the research, the same anchoring modalities linked to the arrangements of one's own life trajectory were described by other interviewees. Here is an example provided by the previously quoted Azerbaijan student-worker living in Kraków:

> In my previous work in Azerbaijan, I saved money, because I wanted to come to a country in the European Union. Because I want to get a master's degree here. I want to change my life. Not to be monotone in my country, I want to see people from another country and live in another country. I think here there are many important opportunities for me. (KR-15, 62)

Table 31 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-13

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I work in a team that works with Italy. All my colleagues in my team also speak Italian and with some of these colleagues we have been working together for almost eight years."
	Social structure and groups	"We have friends I met eight years ago, but also friends we met last month."
Ontological	Safety	"We help each other... I always know I can rely on them."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"I live a lot in my neighborhood because, obviously, I go to work in my neighborhood, but I also go to the gym, in different gyms, always in my neighborhood"
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"When we organize meetings in places like this... it's a way to attract new people and satisfy everyone a bit."

Table 32 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-7

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	I remember first time I arrived in Kraków, I left the train … And I definitely felt it was my city.
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"This place is, I don't know, it just has good energy. And I feel it."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"And I feel that there is some impact that I can make. And maybe this can change somebody's life."
Ontological	Safety	"...as long as you build a memory base in some place, for the longer period of time, it actually becomes your home anyway. Even if partially."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"...I do love my country still. And I feel Ukrainian. But there's no the strong, strong connection that I used to feel some time ago."

Table 33 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-10

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Identity-related	Identity traits	“It's not that I want to be Polish, I want to be a European citizen.”
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I'm really integrated into these international places that are increasing also a lot now, the events for international people."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I like to think I'm moving forward. Yes, definitely career-wise, for example, I think I'm in a very good place as well."
Economic	Assets and activities	"I got a lot of experience, I moved up in my job a lot. As I said, I really liked my field of study."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"Especially for example, getting having a relationship here and family, usually, the girl's family don't speak English. So, you are forced to learn Polish anyway."

Migration as embodied and latent globalizing city

Scientific rigor requires acknowledging the inconvenience of constructing inferential and interpretative arguments based on a reduced, yet systematic, empirical basis, as presented in a study such as this. Theoretical argumentations may be contested and enriched through debate. The representativeness of empirical findings remains an open question when attempting to capture, understand, and interpret the social phenomena studied. To this condition, it obviously adds a certain degree of interpretative subjectivity that doctoral research exhibits, deriving from the positionality of the researcher, their theoretical frameworks of reference, and, consequently, their cultural biases. These constraints were rigorously considered throughout the execution of the dataset analysis.

The analytical examination pursuing regularities hypothesized by the research question has led to the detection of what I define as *initial evidence*, namely the emergent attributes and patterns of phenomena in their nascent state. These can be regarded as the earliest occurrences of "*emergent properties*, the properties of a whole caused by the interactions between its parts", as determined by DeLanda (2016). The occurrences in question are analyzed from within the set 'people' which, according to the operationalization derived from assemblage theory (see Chapter 1), concur in constituting the 'city' – a social whole - in combination with 'networks', 'organizations' and 'infrastructural components'. And, as mentioned several times, the analysis is conducted on a particular group of narratives from a specific group of people: foreigners, relying on their accounts of the experience of migration in a globalizing context to determine the occurrences. Furthermore, in interpreting the theme discussed in this section, it is appropriate to combine the analysis of the narratives of non-nationals with the analysis of those of Poles, as they also reveal globalizing elements emerging in cities, connected to the presence of non-nationals.

Although it is problematic to establish a direct causation, that is, a causal relationship between the elements of the analysis (people, city, global scale), thanks to the determination of initial evidence, I am in a position to formulate empirical generalization(s), which will be detailed in Chapter 5. Evidences of these occurrences have already been examined in the previous sections, particularly in relation to the features of cosmopolitization and citizenization detectable in the lives of migrants. In this

section, the complementary task of highlighting the elements of individual narratives that connect the lives and agency of non-national individuals to urban change in Poland, specifically in Poznań and Kraków, as well as to the global dimension, is undertaken, without overlooking the other scales at play.

The elements of the narratives examined present different degrees of factuality. This is because they are often composed of personal impressions, opinion and interpretations of facts or phenomena, as in the case of the example below. The Ukrainian respondent previously mentioned, who lives in Poznań and works in an NGO, provides details of her opinion regarding the changes the city is undergoing:

> I really believe that the city is changing, because of migrants and people who is coming here. And from the perspective of the culture, I think it is only developing and we will see really big difference through the next years. Because, still we need some time for, you know … to adapt to the new country. But already migrants are doing a lot of different events, artistic stuff, etc. here and it for sure will influence the city in general. (PZ-14, 167)

The researcher could not ask for a simpler, clearer statement that represent indeed evidence of the respondent's awareness of the ongoing sociocultural phenomena, which are stated to be changing and influencing the city. What she observes is the development of changes brought to the Polish city by a new urban demographic of the population that, at the time of the interview, she sees as still adapting to this new environment. The respondent therefore captures the novelty of the social process of globalization from below, which is already transforming the city of Poznań. Moreover, she provides a sort of factual evidence of the actions that the migrants are putting in place in the city, maintaining that these are already of considerable substance (a variety of events, artistic activities. It deserves attention at this time that the respondent appears to be well aware of the dynamics of processes that, nonetheless she fails (in lack of a better expression) to name. The ability or willingness to give a proper name to the processes under discussion constitute a repeating absence in the narratives of the research participants. As shown above, only three of them makes a reference to the process of cosmopolitization in the city (or at another scale), either directly (KR-2, KR-8) or indirectly (PZ-13). And only one other respondent, the French freelance living in Poznań, points out directly to the processes of globalization, though in his own language, as it happens in the exchange with the interviewer here reproduced:

R. This is a demographic thing, that younger people are coming to the biggest city and they are opening more to the world thanks to Instagram, Facebook, everything and so on. And so, they are more open, they are more open-minded, than the previous generation. […] We have a word in French for this and I don't know this in English, mondialisation?

I. Globalization?

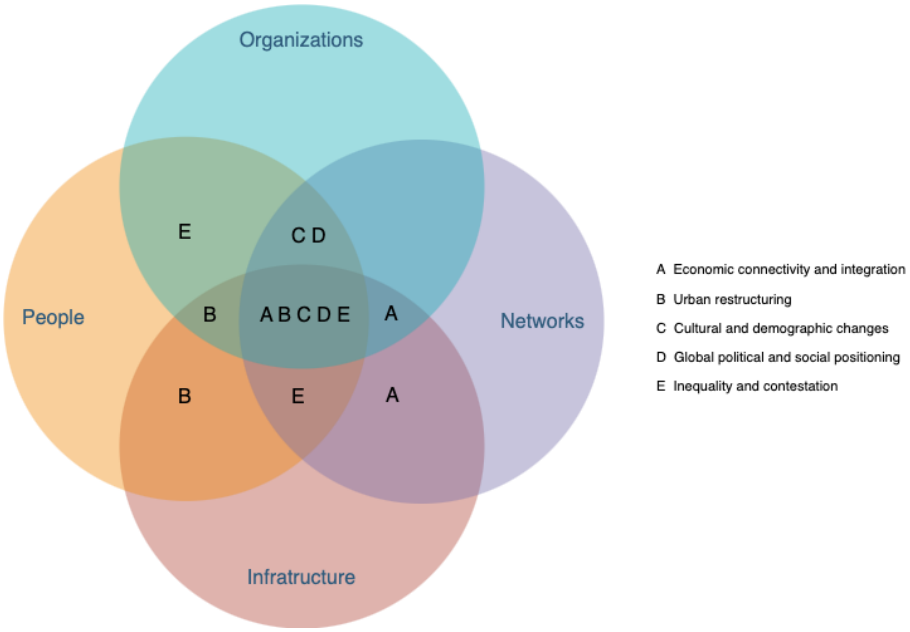
R. Globalization, this is it. (PZ-8, 172-176)

In relation to the globalizing characteristics emerging in the city, both respondents quoted above explicitly point to cultural and demographic changes, a category on which I will elaborate further later in this section. What is important to point out here is the fact that we are faced with the limited or absent connection of the phenomena observed with the processes of globalization and cosmopolitization. Paradoxically, this is evident in the narratives provided by respondents, where such connection is rarely, if ever, mentioned. This could derive from a low or non-present *indexicality* (Blommaert 2007) of the terms globalization and cosmopolitization in the Polish urban contexts. Simply put, these terms are not yet significant enough in the Polish cities examined; therefore, they are not used, not even by the 'protagonists', we might say, of the processes. The question therefore arises as to how it is possible to discuss such processes and indicate them with the specific terms globalization and cosmopolitization based on the narratives of the respondents. I argue that it is possible to analytically overcome this problem by referring to the literature. Thanks to the literature on the globalizing city (Brenner 2019; Marcuse and van Kempen 2000; Ren and Keil 2018; Sassen 1991; Taylor, P. J. 2004; GaWC 2021, 2024) it is possible to build an analytical grid that allows to recognize the processual elements of globalization and cosmopolitization present in the cities under examination. The grid is presented in Table 34 (below).

Table 34 Analytical grid for globalizing characters in cities

Globalizing character	Definition/Characteristic	Observations
Economic connectivity and integration	Transition to a globalized economy with finance, IT, and export-oriented industries.	Increased multinational investments; rise of export-oriented services; challenges of inequality in income distribution.
	Attraction of multinational corporations and foreign direct investment (FDI).	Emphasis on foreign capital. Foreign work practices.
Urban restructuring	Transformation of urban spaces to support global flows.	Urbanization prioritizes elite developments, possibly leading to displacement and gentrification.
	Development of global infrastructure (e.g., airports, business districts).	Focus on connecting with global markets through enhanced infrastructure.
Cultural and demographic changes	International migration creating diverse populations.	Cultural hybridity but potential for socio-cultural tensions due to inequalities among diverse groups.
	Adoption of global lifestyles, media, and consumption.	Spread of global culture alongside the persistence of local identities.
Global political and social positioning	Engagement with global institutions and events.	Positioning as centers of global dialogue and trade; strong emphasis on image building.
	Adoption of neoliberal governance models to attract investments.	Governance may favor investors over local populations, sparking resistance.
Inequality and contestation	Inequalities between elites and marginalized groups.	The globalizing process may exacerbate existing inequalities, leading to spatial and socio-economic divides.
	Resistance from local communities, NGOs, and social movements.	Grassroots efforts highlight the contested nature of globalizing cities' development.

Figure 5 Emerging characters in the globalizing city



In Figure 5, the intersections of the circles, representing the four sets, indicate the relationships forming between the sets, enabling the emergence of the globalizing characters[141]. Characters of different categories can manifest in the relationships between different sets. In the overlapping relationships between all four sets, all five categories of characters can and do manifest, as noted in the literature. Globalizing characters can also manifest in the relationships between just two or three sets, much like economic connectivity and integration can manifest in the relationships between organizations, networks, and infrastructures, or even solely in the relationships between networks and infrastructures (e.g., new communication systems).

Some of the globalizing characters presented in Table 34 relate directly to the quantitative indicators used in research on global and globalizing cities, such as economic connectivity and restructuring. As a result, the analysis presented here may allow a certain degree of (semantic) comparability with other types of research. Nevertheless, the analytical grid is specifically designed for the analysis of qualitative data. For this reason, a systematic quantitative calculation of occurrences is not carried out here. Instead, a discursive analysis of individual narratives is conducted. In the following paragraphs, the analytical grid is used as a tool for identifying the elements of the individuals' narratives that are connected to the emerging globalizing characters of the cities. These elements constitute the discursive occurrences, the initial evidence of the indeed already observable globalizing traits of the cities of Poznań and Kraków.

The demographic change of urban population is an evident trait of the Polish globalizing city. Possibly the most perceptible one. This is a central feature of urban diversification, which reconfigure not only the set of people in itself, in fact the set of people concurs in reconfiguring also the other sets that constitute the city, transferring to those an embodied character of the diversification produced. At times the presence of foreigners is exuberant as witnessed by a previously quoted Ukrainian respondent:

> Sometimes this city is full of foreigners. I actually see more Ukrainian on streets than Polish people, for example. (PZ-2, 221)

[141] The diagram is used here to facilitate the analysis of globalizing characters, but it can, understandably, be applied to research on other emerging attributes.

A young Ethiopian entrepreneur living in Poznań, describes why the presence of foreigner is increasing:

> I think Poznań is really famous now, especially in my country. […] Most of people from Ethiopia are coming to Poznań. Yes, because they like it, they think it's easy. And they have friendly people here, and they can work and they will see if it's good. (PZ-15, 154)

In his view Poznań has emerged as an attractive destination, it is perceived as a city that offers a welcoming environment but above all it is perceived as an accessible city for those who want to settle down either professionally or socially. This is motivated by the fact that a defining characteristic of Poznań is its local population, which is distinguished by a marked openness:

> I really like Poznań because you know, it's quite near to Germany it's like the people are more openminded. I visited a lot because I have a girlfriend who can show me around. So, I have been in many places. Even the capital city, Warsaw is not the same like Poznań. In Poznań people are more openminded. (PZ-15, 46)

Furthermore, the reference to the proximity to Germany confirms the role of Poznań "window to the West" and therefore a disposition of the city to have greater connectivity with the rest of the world.

In Kraków, a Ukrainian respondent previously quoted confirms the increasing presence of international people, beyond the expected effect of the strong touristic industry that each year attracts millions of tourists in the capital of Małopolska. She finds out that:

> They are actually everywhere. I think that Kraków is a very international city. And so, I'm also hiring people for my team. And like we have a lot of foreigners not only from Ukraine […]. We also have people from India, from Kazakhstan, from Azerbaijan, from Belarus, from different countries. Also, we have one guy from Congo. [...] We also had one person from Vietnam. […] And for example, my partner, he's working in a coworking, small one here in Zabłocie. […] When I am going there, there are a lot of people from different countries from USA, from Romania, from different countries. A lot of Polish people for sure, because, you know, it's Poland. And yeah, but also a lot of other foreigners, and they are everywhere and they're creating different communities. (KR-9, 54)

An element to note is the fact that foreigners appear to be predominantly professionally active. The example describes dynamics experienced in the workplace, and it is doubtful

that this does not entail consequences on work practices. These consequences can obviously be imagined, first of all, as the development of globalizing/cosmopolitizing work environments with reference to personal interactions, but we can also hypothesize the development of specific work habits within Polish urban contexts, configuring a sociocultural change. An indication of this is the presence in coworking spaces not only of foreigners but also of Polish citizens. All these workplaces, therefore, become the environment in which a globalized co-presence is structured. Moreover, the respondent utilized a type of listing (or enumeration) of the country of origin of foreigners that is a recurring narrative element. We can also refer here to the Ukrainian respondent (PZ-8), who claims to "have all the globe in my Instagram" and recalls a dinner with eight different nationalities present. These last two examples allow us to consider that migrants, in addition to confirming in their narratives the demographic diversification occurring in Polish cities, represent a dimension of daily life and social interaction that actively enters their lives through convivial meetings (dinners) or professional dynamics (staff diversity and coworking).

Unfortunately, official statistics do not allow us to corroborate these respondents' impressions since the system for recording the presence of foreigners in the city shows a recurring issue of under-representation. This issue was recently confirmed by an official statement from the city of Poznań, which, based on research conducted on mobile data by the Warsaw-based marketing agency Selectivv, stated that the city's real population in 2024 was underestimated by almost 25%.[142] Therefore, the perception of a significant increase in the presence of foreigners, as expressed by the research participants, may be interpreted as a signal of a greater extent of the actual situation.

One of the expected transformations concomitant with demographic change is the use of a vehicular language not only among foreigners but also between foreigners and Poles. In Poznań and Kraków the vehicular language is confirmed to be English. Apart from the general knowledge of the English language shared by all foreign interviewees, the essential role that English plays in social interactions frequently emerges in their narratives. The Dutch respondent, already quoted above, explains his view on the

[142] "According to the Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office), over 538,000 people live in Poznań. However, data obtained from mobile phone logs indicates that the actual population exceeds 716,000. Moreover, nearly 1,000,000 people use the urban space daily." Own translation. Retrieved January 27, 2025 from https://www.poznan.pl/mim/info/news/ile-osob-mieszka-w-poznaniu,245720.html

importance of the vehicular language by comparing it to his previous experience in China and considering it one of the traits of accessibility in Poznań:

> I think it's very accessible for a foreigner. And the most important factor for that I feel is always language. Because that was the big issue in China. I arrived, and I didn't speak any Chinese. […] I started to learn Chinese, just sort of a hobby, and a gateway to society. […] And then it really opened up for me. So, in the way of accessible cities, I would say here is very accessible, because with English you can manage. And if you can manage the language, you can manage everything. So, in that way, I would say Poznań is, is very open." (PZ-6, 85)

The diffusion and vehicular nature of the English language are confirmed with surprise by the French respondent. As he put it:

> In my opinion, everyone speaks English! […] Even the homeless people are speaking English, [..] small talk, but true. I was surprised, and when I travel, I like to visit the international events, couchsurfing and so on. And that's how I found here in Poznań, there is an international Poznań group. And that's how I found that we have so many different people from different culture here in Poznań, and it's just amazing. (PZ-8, 42)

An Ethiopian respondent describes an adaptive linguistic strategy for managing daily tasks. He explains his shift from relying on computer translation tools to engaging with younger people, who were more approachable due to their ability to communicate in English:

> When I came in, I needed to figure out everything by myself. And I didn't speak the language, the first time. And it was kind of difficult for me. But I was using Google Translator when I went to shop or something like […] but majority of the young people they can speak English, so this is a great opportunity. And it wasn't difficult. (PZ-12, 58)

In his narrative, we can glimpse the formation of a cultural anchor based on cultural and linguistic exchange.

The almost exclusive use of English as a vehicular language, also in Kraków, has already been mentioned above by the German respondent (KR-2) in reference to the "bubble of expats' international environment. To this consideration, one can add the perception communicated by one of the Mexican respondents from Kraków. He confirms the pervasive diffusion of English, and also of other language, especially in the central districts. As he explains:

> I would say that in the city, very specifically in the center of Kraków, or in Kazimierz, which, as you know, is a very popular neighborhood, […] you hear English all the time. And also other languages. I hear a Spanish all the time, because there are many people from Spain, living here in Kraków, either for Erasmus or working. So, you hear many languages. I would say that, no, it's not that the international communities are lost or not visible. It is the other way around: it's very common to hear English everywhere. (KR-5, 82)

During the interview he confirms that the working language of his workplace, the office of an international company is English, even if the majority of his colleagues are Polish. Finally, he also notices adaptive responses to these linguistically diversifying developments as they emerge in the city, at the institutional level:

> Lately, Kraków and especially the local government, has been making lots of efforts to make the international community feel more welcome and more integrated in the city. For example, we have the Multicultural Centre of Kraków that started operations not many years ago. And the one of their main aims is a to integrate the international community and to provide services in English or in other languages available for them. Also, the city of Kraków is promoting lots of events, throughout all the branches that they have, of which you can find information on the websites, and of activities that they have. Usually, they have the information available in both languages in Polish in English. Lately, also in Russian and Ukrainian. (KR-5, 62)

A similar adaptive communication strategy is noticed by an Italian participant previously quoted, but at a more informal level. As she tells, she tends to stay busy, and her ability to stay informed through English is a positive aspect for her: now there are so many parties where the descriptions are also in English.

> Now there are so many parties where the descriptions are also in English. […] There are also a lot of workshops for people who speak English, so I see that the interest is there and increasing. Obviously, I can only be happy about it because, as I was saying, I am always looking for new things to do, right? (PZ-13, 119)

A noteworthy problematization of this transformation comes from the aforementioned Polish musician from Kraków, who highlights how the international dimension has become part of her personal life - not only due to the presence of international musicians but also because the audience itself has changed. Quite understandably, these opportunities require her to adapt her interactional habits, for example, when her band performs in one of the city's clubs:

"Sometimes I don't know which language I should use when I am on the stage. Because we speak English with each other in my band. And when we perform, I don't know if I should speak Polish or English. […] And usually, I speak actually English because everyone understands it." (KR-PL-7, 62-66)

The spread of vehicular English is connected, as one might expect and as confirmed by respondent, with its prevalent usage in international professional interactions. This prompts consideration of the fact that economic connectivity and integration emerge as the most prominent globalizing character in respondents' narratives. In particular, thirty-three out of 47 respondents - both foreigners and Poles[143] - explicitly mentioned international companies, international business, and transnational corporations during the interview, as well as transnational work practices and arrangements relevant in their city, either Kraków or Poznań, but also in the country. In individual narratives, the presence of foreign businesses is presented as a constitutive feature of the city, as exemplified by the Zimbabwean respondent (PZ-11) mentioned above, observing the growth of international businesses in Poznań. In several cases, non-nationals actually work for transnational corporations in offices (or remotely) located in their city of residence. One American respondent living in Kraków clearly manifests a certain degree of pride when describing his employer:

R. I work for Jamesons [144]. It's a global engineering architectural firm.

I. So, they build. What do they build?

R. Everything… They are enabling the next mission to the moon. They're building tunnels. They're building buildings. They're building railroads, bridges, everything. (KR-14, 78-82)

The respondent's company has an office in Kraków and is indeed one of the largest global corporations, listed in several rankings, including, for instance, the *Forbes Global 2000*[145], which ranks the world's largest public companies. However, I argue that it is not merely the presence of transnational corporations *in situ* that causes globalizing features to emerge. Adding to this, is the evidence that in fact migrants can establish new modes of interaction that modify courses of action and potentially influence professional and

[143] Respondents include: PZ-1, PZ-2, PZ-3, PZ-6, PZ-8, PZ-9, PZ-10, PZ-11, PZ-12, PZ-13, PZ-PL-1, PZ-PL-2, PZ-PL-3, PZ-PL-4, PZ-PL-6, PZ-PL-7, PZ-PL-8, KR-1, KR-2, KR-4, KR-5, KR-7, KR-8, KR-9, KR-12, KR-14, KR-15, KR-PL-1, KR-PL-2, KR-PL4, KR-PL-5, KR-PL-7, KR-PL-8

[144] Fictious pseudonym created to ensure anonymity.

[145] Retrieved December 12, 2024 from https://www.forbes.com/lists/global2000

social practices, possibly through their routinization. In this sense, non-nationals embody both migration and processes of globalization, as the respondent explains in a rather illustrative way:

> I think I have a direct participation in that kind of effect, in my role every day, maybe not changing how Kraków or Poland looks. But you know, right now, the work that I do is architectural work. But I'm working as an architect for projects in the United States. And I have other architects here and Polish architects work with. And both older, more experienced architects and younger architects, and I leverage my knowledge of American ways of construction and documentation and designing. And I help to train and help my colleagues become more familiar with those kinds of standards, and essentially enable them to do a better job supporting our offices in the United States. (KR-14, 86)

The existing connectivity enables the interviewee to work from Kraków "for projects in the United States". Even if he conceives the possibility of not directly changing the city or the country, he nevertheless recognizes he is having a direct impact. And we can assume that this actually occurs, if only due to the need of implementing the work plans in which he participates alongside his Polish colleagues. It is also evident that we can distinguish the various dimensions of emerging globalizing characteristics mainly in an analytical sense, as, in reality, they exhibit integrated characteristics. In this particular instance, we observe that work practices are the means through which elements of a new work culture are introduced into a workplace that is simultaneously global and Polish. It is reasonable to assume that such practices produce correspondingly new and more extensive cultural effects (i.e. outside the workplace), that transcend both exclusively global and exclusively Polish dimensions. This narrative makes it clear how migrant individuals not only embody migration and globalization (and cosmopolitization) individually but are also both their subjects and agents. They are actively involved in these processes from within the organizations they are part of, embodying them precisely because they constitute a tangible – both to local residents and, reflexively, to themselves and other foreigners. Above all, they are the embodied and perceptible agents of these processes, as they bring with them and spread globalizing cultures and practices. It also appears that the positions occupied by non-nationals are of an apical nature, as detailed by an already quoted Ukrainian respondent from Kraków employed by an international bank:

> I am actually working in the private equity department. So, we are working with big investment funds that are investing in private companies and different interesting stuff, I would say. So, my position for now, I'm manager of the financial team. (KR-9, 14)

A situation like this may suggest the existence of conditions that enable migrants to experience significant upward mobility. This possibility is confirmed beyond doubt by the already quoted Egyptian respondent living in Poznań. According to his account, he was able to quickly elevate in his job at the American company he works for - quicker than his Polish colleagues. As an Egyptian, he perceives himself as more innovative, willing to "think outside the box" and not strictly adhering to rules, even when career advancement requires experience that he does not yet have. It appears that his cultural capital – in a broader sense, his Middle Eastern man habitus - positions him to gain a competitive advantage over his Polish colleagues. As he explains:

> This is part of my success in my work. And I saw it because I'm not the only Egyptian that quickly elevated in the work into higher jobs. I was like an agent, just working in customer support for only six months. I remember the woman interviewing me […] she told me: "I feel, from the interview, I was interviewing for a managerial job". I told her: "Well, if there is the opening, I will apply." […] Six months later, there was a team leader job opening in my company. And one of the requirements was one year of experience. I didn't care about that. I wrote to my manager, I said, I know it's one year, but I want to apply. And even if I don't get accepted, I get experience. I applied. And they told me I was the best person in the interview. So, I got the team leader job after six months, and Polish people didn't even think of applying. (PZ-10, 248)

Dynamics specific to the workplace, such as the one presented, may appear exceptional. However, it should not be underestimated that they are part of broader dynamics related to the globalization of the professional and economic landscape of Polish cities.

Notably, despite the challenges of obtaining reliable and, more importantly, comparable data, it appears well established that the largest companies operating in the two cities are major transnational corporations. They are, in fact, the largest private employers. In Kraków, the top private employer is the HSBC banking group, employing 5,200 people in 2022 (Buła, Thompson, and Żak 2023). In Poznań, the Volkswagen automotive group, employing 11,000 people in 2021 (ManpowerGroup 2021). Furthermore, if we look at the top five companies in the two cities, as presented in the

sources cited above, we can notice a significant difference between them. In Kraków, in 2022, the top five private companies are, in order: HSBC (banking), Shell (energy), UBS (banking), Comarch (software/hi-tech), and State Street (financial services). In Poznań, in 2021, the top five private companies are, respectively: Volkswagen (automotive), Clar System (cleaning services), Kompania Piwowarska/Asahi (beverages), Bridgestone (tires), and Eltel (telecommunications systems). A revealing observation to be made is that among the first five, only one major Polish company is based in each city: Comarch in Kraków and Clar System in Poznań. It is therefore appropriate to hypothesize that such a significant presence of global companies is one of the emerging characters of globalizing Polish cities. Understandably, this empirical guess will need to be validated through quantitative surveys.

Moreover, it is also possible to observe that the two cities appear to be characterized by two different business landscapes or dynamics. It is, therefore, relevant to revisit the hypothesis formulated in Chapter 2 regarding the possible transition towards a post-Fordist economy that would characterize Polish cities under the stimulus of foreign direct investment, since it has primarily affected the major urban centers and would have been oriented towards financing research-intensive industrial sectors, as noted by Krätke (2007). Since the 1990s, the development of both Kraków and Poznań, together with other Polish metropolises have been marked by robust expansion where the economic "symptoms" of globalization (Wdowicka 2011), have become apparent. However, the two cities appear to be following different economic trajectories. It is evident that Kraków has a prevalent presence of companies dedicated to financial services and IT, as well as large industries, for example in the energy sector. And it absolutely cannot be overlooked that Kraków is characterized by a thriving tourism industry, which has led the city to experience the consequences of overtourism. Additionally, a widespread cultural and artistic production, connected to the organization of events and conferences, makes the capital of Małopolska a city that can be framed as post-Fordist[146]. Poznań appears to exhibit an economic pattern in which Fordist elements, such as heavy industries (particularly automotive), are dominant. However, its economic landscape does not adhere to a strictly Fordist arrangement. Instead, it has adopted a more nuanced configuration, embracing a mixed model in which large and medium-sized manufacturing

[146] For an overall study on the socio-cultural and economic changes that have affected Kraków in recent decades, see *Urban Change in Central Europe: The Case of Kraków*, edited by Jacek Purchla (2023).

industries coexist with BPO (Business Process Outsourcing), IT and creative sectors. Indeed, the attractiveness of the capital of Wielkopolska for knowledge and creative professional has been consistently studied since Poland's accession to the EU (Stryjakiewicz et al. 2008, 2009).

Arguably, a more pronounced transition towards a globalized post-Fordist economy appears confirmed in the case of Kraków if we examine the key economic indicators and the structure of the corporate sector of the two cities presented in Tables 35 and 36 (below), respectively. This analysis is based on official statistical data.

Table 35 Key Socioeconomic indicators of Poznań and Kraków (2024)

	Poznań	**Kraków**
Population as of June 30, 2024	536,818	807,600
Average gross salary in the corporate sector (PLN)	9,410.99	10,678.92
Unemployment rate	1.0%	2.0%
Entities of the national economy	134,375	185,556

Note. Own elaboration of data from https://poznan.stat.gov.pl and https://krakow.stat.gov.pl Retrieved January, 24, 2025.

Table 36 Corporate sector overview in Kraków and Poznań (2022)

Corporate sectors	Enterprises per sector		Assets of enterprises as of December 31, 2022 in million PLN	
	Kraków Number of enterprises	**Poznań** Number of enterprises	**Kraków** Grand total	**Poznań** Grand total
T O T A L	**1968**	**1373**	**69553.1**	**75206.5**
public sector	45	42	2732.3	7683.5
private sector	1923	1331	66820.8	67522.9
of which:				
Industry	273	241	20371.7	23944.1
of which:				
manufacturing	247	217	11543.8	17651.7
Construction	211	114	7752.8	3451.2
Trade; repair of motor vehicles	405	332	23297.5	23280.5
Transportation and storage	55	57	1705.9	1180.2
Accommodation and catering	100	24	352.3	68.6
Information and communication	287	166	5672.5	4200.4
Financial and insurance activities	18	33	631.8	11446.5
Real estate activities	83	44	1793.2	1131.4
Professional, scientific, technical activities	291	183	5856.7	3098.5
Administrative and support service activities	112	101	1064.3	1353.2
Human health and social work activities	80	42	805.8	398.9

Note. Own elaboration from „Urząd Statystyczny w Poznaniu / Dane o województwie / Stolica województwa" and „Urząd Statystyczny w Krakowie / Dane o województwie / Stolica województwa, by Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2023

The data in the two tables allow for an economic comparison between Kraków and Poznań; however, this analysis is not exhaustive, as the economic situation remains highly dynamic. Poznań has a stronger industrial base, with higher enterprise assets in industry (23,944.1 million PLN vs. 20,371.7 million PLN in Kraków) and manufacturing (17,651.7 million PLN vs. 11,543.8 million PLN), highlighting Fordist mass production characteristics. Kraków has more construction companies (211 vs. 114) and, in this sector, larger assets (7,752.8 million PLN vs. 3,451.2 million PLN), which suggests stronger urban development which aligns with a growing service and real estate sector. Conversely, Poznań has been a depopulating city for several years. In the commercial sector, however, the two cities have similar levels of enterprise assets (23,297.5 million PLN in Kraków and 23,280.5 million PLN in Poznań), indicating that both cities maintain

a strong commercial base, reflecting a mix of Fordist and post-Fordist characteristics. The accommodation and catering sector, providing essential services to the tourism industry, expectedly expresses a significant dissimilarity between the two cities, with Kraków having 100 enterprises compared to just 24 in Poznań and considerably larger assets (352.3 million PLN vs. 68.6 million PLN). It is evidence of Kraków's reliance on tourism, which is conceivably based not only on the persistent increase of flows of international visitors, but especially on its historical significance, cultural dynamism and attractiveness. The latter are the distinctive elements of Kraków in terms of *'quality of space*,' that is, the "unique set of characteristics that defines a place and makes it attractive" (Florida 2012), present in the narratives of non-nationals. In services and knowledge-based industries, distinctive of post-Fordist economies, the differences between the two cities remain evident. In fact, in the information and communication sector, Kraków has a greater number of enterprises (287 vs. 166) and larger enterprise assets (5,672.5 million PLN vs. 4,200.4 million PLN), confirming its growing role as a tech hub. Kraków also leads in the professional, scientific, and technical services sector (291 enterprises vs. 183), with almost double the assets (5,856.7 million PLN vs. 3,098.5 million PLN), indicating one of the strengths of the capital of Małopolska: its knowledge-based economy. In the financial sector, Poznań dominates in terms of assets (11,446.5 million PLN vs. 631.8 million PLN), which can be explained by the supporting role that this sector plays in a production-driven economy, induced by the strong industrial base and confirmed by the lower unemployment rate. On the other, Kraków's higher unemployment rate (still considerably lower than in many Western cities) and stronger wage levels, might suggest greater labor fluidity - a characteristic of a flexible, service-oriented, and knowledge-based economy.

The presence of transnational corporations not only determines consequences related to the economic structure and outputs of the urban system, but it is also revealed through the processes of urban restructuring that introduce new elements of urbanization. Thus, the Italian respondent already quoted above discusses the concentration of architectural elements in the fourth district of Kraków, Prądnik Biały, describing:

> The agglomeration of multinationals that are there, because they are a series of small skyscrapers, small buildings. […] I would define it as an industrial area, an office area, a

> working area. […] you got on the bus and you could hear all the foreign workers of these multinationals. There was some Polish, however, there was a Babel, yes, absolutely […] There was this internationalization, this international atmosphere, precisely.[147] (KR-1, 82)

Urban restructuring takes on globalizing characteristics as a consequence of the "intensified clustering of transnational corporate headquarters" (Brenner and Keil 2014), and the concomitant presence of foreign individuals, which are audible in public spaces and transport.

A Cracovian Polish interviewee describes a dynamic of urban diversification that also affects the built environment. In her narrative, the globalization of the urban economy develops as an interconnected process with the transformation of urban spaces, restructured in order to accommodate incoming global flows, thereby reflecting demographic changes. She identifies a remarkable concentration of foreigners in the Ruczaj estates, in the Dębniki district, and provides the possible reasons as for why this is happening:

> There are definitely some neighborhoods that are more used by expats and they used to be also before the war, like, for example, Ruczaj. So, this is where the Corporations are. And this is also where all of these new blocks of flats are, and it's easier to have a nice flat there, if you like a modern, you know, building with a garage and this remote control for everything. My father lives there. And in his block of flats, I think [there are] maybe two or three Polish families, all others are Indians or Ukrainians or Western Europeans, because everybody works in these corporations. And it is obvious that this Ruczaj became a kind of district that is desired by expats. (KR-PL-5, 119)

Thus, Ruczaj estates serve as a tangible example of a phenomenon characterized by the intertwining of functional and residential clustering, which modifies the urban fabric in a globalizing sense. Such a coordinated trajectory of globalizing processes does not appear to have (according to participants' narratives) equivalents in Poznań. In this city, modifications to the urban fabric resulting from developers' investments are not linked to the presence of foreigners or their use of specific parts of the urban landscape.

Nonetheless, globalizing transformations are also observed by the respondents in Poznań. New elements of the urban fabric are represented by the arrival of one of the

[147] Own translation from Italian.

largest global hotel chains in the city, the construction of a new skyscraper[148] what has become, over the years, one of the clusters of transnational companies, near the Old town, and the development of massive new shopping centers. In a short passage, a previously quoted Italian interviewee vividly describes these urban transformations of Poznań:

> I remember that the Sheraton Hotel opened and then the Andersia [Tower]. I still have the plaque they gave me as I was guest number five. I lived it, Poznań. I saw it changing. […] You notice it, if you go to supermarkets, […] which used to be tiny little shops. Now if you go to Posnania[149], they are crazy massive structures.[150] (PZ-4, 24)

During the data collection period, the Old Town of Poznań was undergoing a general renovation that affected the daily lives of residents in other areas as well. This situation captured the respondents' attention but did not prevent them from relating it to transformative dynamics that extended beyond the urban perimeter. The narrative of the French-Polish interviewee resonates with that of the Italian:

> I was here when I was a teenager. I came like five years later and everything had changed! The shops … knew the small shops in Poland and now there are many different malls and huge malls. Even in Paris, it's not so huge. Everything is new and huge. We have huge cinemas, we have huge malls. I'm talking about Poland, right. We have new highways, we have new infrastructures, everything is new. Actually, Poznań is rebuilding everywhere. And people are complaining about that. But this is good. It will be really great in few years. And I think this is the thing: when Poland entered in Europe, it changed many things and it brought many opportunities. (PZ-8, 90)

This is the same research participant mentioned at the beginning of the section. He expresses a clear interest in the systemic aspects of the transformations he observes in the infrastructure of both the country and the city, as well as in the materialization of the opportunities that arise with accession to the European Union. In an exercise of reflexivity, he situates these changes within a broader context of global and continental transformations, viewing them as opportunities for positive growth within the national system across multiple scales.

[148] An interesting comparison of the development of High-rise architecture in the two cities can be made thanks to the skyscraper diagrams available at https://skyscraperpage.com/diagrams/?cityID=782 and https://skyscraperpage.com/diagrams/?cityID=879.
[149] Large shopping center in the Rataje district.
[150] Own translation from Italian.

Urban change has systemic characteristics but can be embodied by a single individual and be conducive to sociocultural change. This is precisely what we learn from the story told by a Polish respondent, a politician from Poznań, about an example of the transformation of urban space from below, carried out by an Italian who opened a pizza kiosk in one of the city's market squares:

> That's the best thing that we have from foreigners: different perspective. This kiosk, and this market, in this shape was working, for 15 years. And nobody ever thought there could be a pizza place. Just this Italian guy came there and thought: "Okay, maybe here, why not?!" And it completely reshaped the place. And now you don't have just flowers, vegetables, etc. But you also have a pizza place. And you could sit around surrounded by those flowers. And it's one of the best gardens for a coffee or pizza slice in our city. (PZ-PL-4, 89)

Analytically, one can consider individual emerging globalizing elements. In reality, however, these elements are inherently interconnected. Thus, in the example just mentioned, the functional modification of a public space, represented by the opening of a food stand – previously absent - is integrated with cultural change, because commercial spaces take on a recreational and social function, driven by a demographic novelty: the arrival of an Italian migrant. We may say that, it is the respondent himself who applies, perhaps unconsciously, the principle of the hermeneutic circle in his narrative to analyze how the simple opening of a new business transforms the entire market, at the neighborhood scale, with noticeable effects at the city level. And furthermore, for the interviewee, this is not an isolated fact. In fact, he also enthusiastically presents the case of a Spaniard who became an entrepreneur in the city:

> These are stories that are amazing for a film script or a book. There's a great story about a guy from Spain who came here for Erasmus. He fell in love, he stayed. His father was producing wine in Spain, but he never was interested in wine. So, he wanted to stay here in Poland. […] And that's how first, he started to his own wine merchant business, selling wine for restaurants. And then he opened his own bar […]. And then he invited more Spanish friends to come and work with him. And then they invited more guys. More guys fell in love with other Polish, boys and girls, and they've also stayed here. […] And I see a big Spanish family that it's not just about being here, working in a factory out of the city. But creating the city and building this culture together. And right now, it's reason to come here (PZ-PL-4, 81)

The modalities described by this Polish participant have become distinctive of how non-nationals who live in Polish cities participate in the production of the city or in city-making, as the latter term has been adopted as a discursive label in both public and academic instances, associating it predominantly with the role of individuals and their agency in shaping urban life. We can define it as a form of bottom-up urbanity, similar to the one advocated by Jane Jacobs in The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961). It is also possible to define these modalities in term of globalizing city-making, expanding the findings of the work of Çaglar and Glick Schiller, significantly because they argue for approaching migrants "as social actors who are integral to city-making as they engage in the daily life of cities through different and varied forms" (Çaglar and Glick Schiller 2018). Their work focuses primarily - yet not exclusively - on the features that we can categorize as global political and social positioning, as well as inequality and contestation, according to the analytical grid. This does not apply to the present study, not due to a lack of research interest, but solely because these dimensions did not emerge in the findings of the data. Drawing upon Çaglar and Glick Schiller, we can consider the globalizing characters emerging in Polish urban context as an instance of migration-driven diversification. Therefore, non-national individuals act as city-makers. The working definition of 'city-maker' that I adopt in this analysis is the one understood in a broad sense by Cremaschi and Solazzi in a recent report on urban policies:

> The city-maker is usually identified with a third subject with respect to the actors who traditionally deal with transforming the city in its physical component, namely the public decision-maker and the developers. As we are used to understanding it, the city-maker comes from civil society in a broad sense, therefore including a wide spectrum of actors characterized by a different degree of organization: from individual citizens and informal groups to legally recognized associations and social enterprises. In the broadest sense of the term, city-makers are all those who carry out initiatives in the city from below and build (directly or indirectly) urban policies. (Cremaschi and Solazzi 2020)

In the words of the above-mentioned respondent migrants are city-makers that create the city and develop patterns of culture. This represents the broadest sense in which we can examine, interpret and understand cultural and demographic changes induced by migration-driven diversification. Simply put, in the narratives of the research participants, the growing presence of foreigners in cities is, at the same time, evidence of the globalizing characteristics of the city and an embodiment of these characteristics, as it

makes tangible the adoption of global lifestyles and modes of consumption that align with a globalized urban economy and the spread of cosmopolitizing culture.

Instances of individuals “who carry out initiatives in the city from below” emerge in the narratives of the research participants. These are individual that commit themselves to creative action in order to obtain an effect on society. They are normal people, acting alone, and in one case together sociocultural innovation in Poznań and Kraków. I would not define their endeavors as political activism. Rather, they are initiatives and actions undertaken with the aim of achieving a sociocultural outcome. Even if their initiatives are not part of, or do not become urban policies, I argue that they have a globalizing and transformative character, primarily because they are embodied by foreigners. A first example is embodied by a Spaniard who lived in Poznań[151] and who indeed defines himself as an activist. But one of a singular character, as he maintains:

> If you are an activist, you are an angry person with a bad face, complaining about something. But for me activism is not about complaining, it is not about an angry face, it is not about talking to a video. You can also do it in secret, when nobody sees you (PZ-7, 34)

After starting a series of actions that he dubbed "No More Cigarette Butts on the Ground" in Barcelona—where he collected cigarette butts to raise awareness about healthy public spaces—he decided to focus on all types of trash when he moved to Poznań. With the goal of conveying the message that "cleaning is more elegant than littering," he alone picked up trash while dressed in a suit every morning (around 6–6:30 AM) for several weeks. He actually tried to engage the local community - both Polish and international residents - by organizing cleaning events on Saturdays and "VIP cleaning" where he would go to someone's neighborhood and clean with them before they went to work. When he started sharing videos on social media, they began to gain attention from the local media. At some point the national broadcasting channels (TVN, Polsat) became interested and amplified the reach of his actions. This is how he describes the reaction to his actions:

> For them it was like: "How is it possible that a Spanish guy that has just arrived in the city is doing more than the city and the citizens and all the politicians, that are there saying we

[151] This is the only research participant who was not living in the city at the moment of the interview.

> love Poznań, vote for us?!" Or schools, or everyone that ... day by day sees the problem does not do anything. So, I just gave an example. (PZ-7, 46)

With his actions, the respondent intended to demonstrate that it is possible to transform and improve Poznań through some kind of low-intensity daily activism while simultaneously trying to inspire and empower local residents to take action. And, as he explains, his actions produced some effects, albeit temporary:

> I go cleaning in some place, to give an example: the Stadium of Poznań, where you could not see any [trash] container on the street. And then when I was doing the clean action, they put containers every 100 meters. You could see a very big container. So, people could put the trash there. After I finished the action, they forgot about that. And they removed the containers because I am not doing action anymore. (PZ-7, 38)

Although the duration of the effects was truly limited, the respondent's action was certainly significant in that it produced effects that did not go unnoticed, and this may serve as a basis for the development of other forms of activism induced by the presence of foreigners in the city.

In the participants' narratives, two cases emerge - one in each city - of individuals whose globalizing actions are implemented through the group organization of events in public venues. Both cases, which I discuss in the following paragraphs, have been briefly analyzed above in relation to citizenization strategies. However, I think it is important to resume their analysis here to fully recognize their transformative value. It is important to emphasize that snowball sampling was chosen to recruit individual respondents. The identification of these two groups of foreigners coordinating their strategies and actions is, therefore, a significant finding of the research. The collateral elements, not directly derived from the interviews, included in the analysis are the result of two participant observation sessions[152] that I conducted during the following events: the TEDx Salon in Kraków on March 7, 2023, and a pub quiz held in Poznań on September 23, 2023. All interactions observed happened exclusively in English.

The first case is represented by the group that organizes events in the Kazimierz district under the banner of the global cultural brand TEDx - specifically, TEDx

[152] Since I employed the participant observation technique to gather additional elements for the analysis only on these two occasions and not systematically, it has not been included in the previously presented description of the used research techniques.

Kazimierz. The steering committee includes both Poles and foreigners, among them three of the research participants (KR-2, KR-7, KR9). The organized events are predominantly cultural, aligning with the general TEDx script - i.e. with a focus on themes related to scientific discoveries, education, interaction, and social innovation. The Ukrainian respondent quoted before clearly explains her cultural commitment to the neighborhood:

> I feel so attached. And I know it sounds very egocentric, maybe. But I feel so attached to what I do in terms of TEDx […] I feel that I have some bigger things to do in Kraków. And I feel that there is some impact that I can make. And maybe this can change somebody's life. And that's what actually is keeping me very much here. (KR-7, 134)

This participant confidently expresses, albeit in abstract terms, a vision of social change as the embodiment of her own agency. At the same time her agency is configured as an anchor, through the "tool" TEDx. The motivational strength she derives from such a configuration is apparent. Besides, motivation appears to be constructed on the basis of evidence materializing in the positive changes that TEDx initiatives bring to the lives of volunteers and attendees, as she illustrates:"

> TEDx has been impacting in so many lives. For example, last year we had we had high school students that were volunteering for us. And that experience actually helped them to enter the university, the best universities that they dreamed of. And also for the same attendees, they come to the event, they hear an idea and they think and, in a way they, it also shifts something in their brains. (KR-7, 142)

Another respondent hints to a sort of higher preparedness of Poles and Ukrainians to the fruition global cultural format, while expats are attending in supposedly fewer numbers, as he articulates:

> Mostly my interactions are, of course, with expats, but from really different countries. […] When it comes to communities and projects, I would say they are partially run by expats. […] TEDx is interesting because it seems that more Polish people and Ukrainians know about TEDx, which is a global format, than expats, I see that normally we had attendees between 20 to 200 people. 20 during the pandemic. 200 in October [2022], during the last main event. And really, we can also see the origin. The demography clearly says that when you have expats attending events, they are minority, first of all, but also they have a reason: they want to connect with other people. (KR-2, 96-100)

Here, the clear purpose of social interaction emerges as one of the strategic social assets that can be pursued through the attendance of cultural events. It is, of course, an instance in which the foreign participants can be thought to be at an advanced stage of settlement in the city, allowing them to devise strategic ways of building bonding social capital. But we can also hypothesize that, for non-nationals, this kind of event serves as a gateway that may provide access to resources obtained through new social interactions. The third respondent involved in TEDx Kazimierz has a slightly different perception on the relative proportions of participants and reveals important information about the start of this kind of events in the city:

> I'm also organizing the conference TEDx Kazimierz. […] So, we organized, with [KR-9], this conference. […] When we see the people who are coming to us, it is half and half. So, half of people are foreigners and half of people are Polish people. Also the person with whom we started the organization of this conferences […] He has also Polish citizenship now, but he's from England. Yeah, so he's from UK and also he's been living 20 years here (KR-9, 54)

In this narrative, the participation of non-nationals appears to be more significant. Furthermore, reference to the founder of the TEDx meetings allows me to make a small digression. The individual in question, who unfortunately could not be interviewed, appears to be one pioneer migrant equipped with a strong agency, that proactively devise and implemented creative actions to overcome the lack of social networks and social capital (Wessendorf 2018). I argue that he probably can also be defined as a city-maker since some of his initiatives, started at least a decade ago, continue to be carried forward by other non-nationals. In addition to TEDx Kazimierz, he is also the initiator of the Kraków Newcomers Welcome Club, an informal non-institutional initiative that currently managed through a Facebook group. The goal of Kraków Newcomers Welcome Club is to organize periodic welcome and socialization meetings for newly arrived foreigners in the city, thereby producing social capital. Furthermore, an additional element of globalizing culture is introduced in Kraków, precisely the Newcomer Welcome Clubs format. It is also possible to see a stabilizing effect of non-national social networks in the city. Indirect proof of this is the fact that one of the research participants (KR-3) is still among the administrators of the Facebook page Kraków Newcomers Welcome Club and other online groups of migrants living in Kraków. The broader interpretation that we can make of TEDx Kazimierz and the group of non-nationals who animate its activities is that

it is not a temporary and exclusively cultural experience but rather represents one of the incarnations of migration paths in the city, endowed with a transformative added value precisely because it is a vehicle for globalizing transformations, localized in a district of the city but capable of involving the entire urban area. Moreover, these transformations do not only affect foreign residents but also involve Polish people.

The situation in Poznań is different. The group of foreigners there formed around pub quizzes organized by the Polish returnee mentioned above (they are PZ-6, PZ-8, PZ-9, PZ-10, and PZ-PL-1,), and the interviewees' narratives depict this individual in a clear leadership role, while the organizing group of TEDx Kazimierz exhibits a more distributed division of responsibilities. Participants are prone to bonding and developing relationships of friendship, most likely due to the high degree of informality and low level of responsibility that characterize the organized activities, whose focus, as I have already mentioned, is predominantly hedonistic and whose content is exclusively leisure-related. This is confirmed by a Ukrainian interviewee:

> I am really so thankful to [PZ-PL-1] for these events and for his energy, because thanks to these quiz meetings I met a lot of really amazing people. And now mostly all my friends they are from these quizzes. Because this place has a good energy. […] This place collects a lot of smart and really nice people. And it makes feel you safer. Because we are all more or less at the same level. (PZ-9, 183)

Participation in lighthearted group activities does not hinder but rather promotes the formation of safety anchors, mainly represented by the group itself, as it is composed of individuals appreciated for their personality traits. The anchoring also extends to the physical space, to which the positive energy that characterizes the individuals is transmitted. According to the Franco-Polish respondent already mentioned, this group has unique characteristics, compared to other groups of foreigners in the city. Here is how he explains it:

> In every city you can find some kind of couchsurfing events where you can find the international people. And here in Poznań, I tried three, four or five different groups. And this one the international Poznań group was for me the friendliest. I think it is really easy get in contact here whit this people, because in the other groups people are shyer or I don't know. Or maybe the other your other couchsurfing group I found it's like, really “ethnic”, if I can say this, like you have a Spanish group, you have a French group, you have a UK group. And here international Poznań, you have literally everything. […] And as you

> mentioned, it's a great opportunity to find some work, because this is social networking. So, you talk to people, they need something. And slowly I started to work with this. I started to make pictures for these events. And now we are working in partnership to organize other events in Poznań. So, it's growing. In the beginning, it was just to just to meet people. (PZ-8, 54)

A fundamental piece of information obtained is that there are other groups of foreigners in the city, among whom a selection can be made based on the fact that these groups are formed primarily according to national belonging or, more generally, on the quality of interactions they promote. Importantly, this narrative presents a detailed description of strategic settlement and formation of social network available to foreign individuals and "the relation of this network to job information and opportunities" (Granovetter 1995). In the case of the respondent, the variety of opportunities provided by the group may correspond to the potential services offered by the respondent, who is a freelance photographer. The most relevant aspect is that the informality of the group and its functional flexibility allow for a differentiated use by its members, responding to their individual needs (mainly of a social nature), as confirmed by the previously mentioned respondent from the Netherlands, who maintains that:

> Those meetings really make me … and I know also from a lot of other people, they make you feel sort of grounded in the society. And what I really like about it is that […] I would say, it's half- half, half foreign, and half local people, Polish people who work here, who have a very open view on the world and also on other cultures and languages. (PZ-6, 49)

It appears that the experiential aspect of the interaction that actually takes place during these meetings engages participants more on a personal, embodied level. Due to the nature of the meetings themselves, attendees are gently compelled to interact as members of competing small teams, which must find collaborative solutions to complete the assigned tasks. In contrast, in informative educational "talks," such as those organized in the TEDx format, we are likely dealing with a seated audience in front of one or more lecturers.

Thanks to the insights obtained through direct observation (participant observation), it is possible to highlight some comparative elements. The group formed around the organization of TEDx Kazimierz events has established a cultural mission for itself, aligning with the global format it follows. In contrast, the Poznań group limits itself - albeit in a positive sense - to building opportunities for interpersonal encounters, promoting an international dimension, which remains an essential element of its identity.

In the first case, the objectives of social transformation are clearly defined and focus on introducing cultural aspects that support the city's transformation in a globalizing sense. In the case of the Poznań international group, these elements are neither formally expressed nor actively implemented through structured initiatives. Rather, they are enacted and put into practice through the cultivation of productive personal relationships. For analytical purposes, it is useful to classify the type of social capital (Putnam 2000) produced in these two different contexts. In the case of the Kraków group, bridging social capital is predominant, while bonding social capital production is prevalent in the Poznań group. Specifically, the Poznań group appears to function as a social circle with close-knit ties, open to new members but relatively closed to possible evolutionary dynamics. Instead, the TEDx Kazimierz group seems bound to the dynamics dictated by the statutory rules of the format. In this regard, it is important to remember that in order to use the "brand," one must apply for and obtain a license.

Although there is no available data to measure the impact of these different approaches and modes of action, both appear to have transformative potential. The widely held perception is that both experiences are acknowledged and appreciated in their respective cities and continue to attract new participants. In both cases the attendance comprises both Poles and foreigners together. On the other hand, the organizational effort in terms of time and energy differs significantly and affects the frequency of the events held. In the case of the Kraków group, a limited number of events are organized each year. In contrast, the Poznań pub quizzes and other related events take place on a monthly or even weekly basis. This temporal aspect also plays a role in determining the relative importance of the two experiences within their respective cities.

I believe it is significant to conclude this review of relevant instances of city-making emerging in the data, by discussing the unique case of the Jewish Community Centre (JCC). Although the aspects of interest that the JCC presents for the research may be connected to the phenomenon that commonly goes under the name of ‘Jewish heritage and cultural revival’ (Zubrzycki 2022), which obviously has one of its most evident places in Poland[153], they are examined primarily for their transformative value within the

[153] I do not address the theme of 'memory politics' here either, even though this topic remains crucial for the Polish scientific community, as demonstrated by the brilliant volume On the Banality of Forgetting: Tracing the Memory of Jewish Culture in Poland (2018) by Jacek Nowak, Sławomir Kapralski, and Dariusz Niedźwiedzki. Their research focuses on the concept of 'non-memory' regarding the presence and contributions of Jews in Poland.

Cracovian urban context. The JCC, whose headquarters are located in the Kazimierz district of Kraków, is a Non-Governmental Organization, not the official representative body of the local Jewish community[154]. The mission statement of the organization, which can be found on their website, as well as on posters, flyers for initiatives, and official statements is "Building a Jewish future in Kraków" („Budujemy żydowską przyszłość w Krakowie"). The statement conveys a positive and forward-looking approach, presenting a clear strategy of collective and inclusive effort, almost as if envisioning an immediate future. The policy of the JCC is to "establish an open, pluralistic, and inclusive community that welcomes all", in an effort to "engage Krakowians through intercultural educational programming and events"[155] This approach is illustrated in detail member[156] of the NGO's governance, as follows:

> On one level, the Jewish community here was a very strong community, obviously. And there are still people who are finding out that they have some Jewish background, and we want to offer them the opportunity to connect. So, part of it is helping to fix history a little bit. Because we can't do anything about the Jews that were killed. But we can do something about the Jews that were lost. Right, sometimes lost is killed, but lost can also mean not being connected to your identity. So, I think we have a responsibility there, to do that, in Poland, in Kraków, for us, but in general in Poland, and this is very much what our institution is about. […] And I think we're trying to have an effect on the city by showing what Jewish life looks like, and to have an open, welcoming, colorful, hopeful, optimistic center, and having many people come in. And I think that this model is something very different for the city. One, the Jewish aspect, but I think even not the Jewish aspect, I think that we're a community center. We're standing with women and the LGBT community and all of this […] we stand for something. […] There are other institutions, but as an open community center, I think that's something important and innovative in Kraków. (KR-PL-3, 19-20)

JCC's transformative agency operates on three scales simultaneously. At the perceptual individual level (body scale), possibly producing positive personal and group identification processes. At the neighborhood scale, it promotes and embodies local engagement - as the respondent states: "Our building is in Kazimierz, so we are helping

[154] The official representative organization of the Jewish community in Kraków is the Jewish Religious Community in Kraków (Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska w Krakowie). This organization is part of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities in Poland (Związek Gmin Wyznaniowych Żydowskich w RP),
[155] retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.friendsofjcckrakow.org/what-we-do
[156] The interviewee is categorized among the Polish respondents; in fact, he is the only individual with multiple citizenships at the time of the interview - American, Polish, and Israeli.

people in Kazimierz." (KR-PL-3, 25). Finally, at the city scale, the organization provides an innovative model of collective action. According to the respondent, the feedback the organization is receiving appears to be positive and appreciative, confirming the possible impact of its initiatives in the broader urban context:

> I think we're just seen as a forward-thinking NGO that's trying to make our community better. Not only the Jewish community, but the Kraków community, […] We understand that it's not only about helping ourselves, that we want to help the larger Kazimierz community or Kraków community. I think people see that. (KR-PL-3, 29)

JCC receives more than 100,000 visitors every year, mostly foreigners, both Jewish and non-Jewish, contributing to the globalizing dimension of Kazimierz and Kraków. However, the symbolic importance and global position of the city of Kraków result not only from the significance attributed to it by historical events but also from mass tourism itself, especially in comparison with other cities important to the Jewish history of the country. This is recognized by the participant, who comments as follows:

> Kraków is a cosmopolitan city with an airport. With international tourism. And Kraków is the city next to Auschwitz. Kraków has millions of tourists a year, Zamość is a small place and Poznań is not a place that's very visited. So, tourism is a big part of this. (KR-PL-3, 48)

The composition of the membership itself is evidence of the globalizing nature of the organization, which has more than a thousand members, the majority from Poland but also from Israel, Ukraine, the United States, France, Belarus, Russia, Canada, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Brazil, Croatia, the United Kingdom, Latvia, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Colombia and Sweden[157]. Surprisingly, the very starting point of this experience has an unconventional global character too, since JCC was established and opened by Charles, Prince of Wales (now King Charles III of the United Kingdom), in 2008. Nonetheless, it is through the implementation of its inclusive policy and the carrying out open activities that JCC will demonstrate the extent of its globalizing impact within the context of Kraków. This will be determined by the joint participation of both Poles and foreigners, as well as by the sociocultural transformations it fosters.

[157] All information is sourced from the JCC websites, retrieved October 10, 2024, from https://www.jcckrakow.info/

After the main traits of globalization have been identified and categorized - according to the analytical grid - as cultural and demographic changes, economic connectivity and integration, and urban restructuring, empirical grounds are established on which it is then possible to make generalizations about the actual globalizing character of the cities of Kraków and Poznań. Before formulating such generalizations, however, I deem it appropriate to attempt to establish a reasonable hypothesis that allows for an interpretation of the fact that the term globalization[158] is not actively utilized by research participants to determine or indicate the phenomena they discuss. It cannot be entirely excluded the possibility that this term is unknown to the participants or that they refuse to use it. To have certainty, a terminological question should have been directly posed during the interview. However, this was intentionally avoided, as was the use of questions and prompts that could stimulate responses perceived by the interviewees as desired. The question raised could be judged as an exercise in excessively meticulous analysis. I deem, instead, possible that the disregard manifested by the participants is an indication of latent content. The reference here is not to the concept of latency developed by functionalist theory but to common language. To begin with, we can consider the meaning of the adjective 'latent', from the Latin verb *latere*, meaning "to be hidden". Latent is therefore that which does not appear externally. In the English linguistic sphere, the adjective then takes on a further nuance, meaning "present and capable of emerging or developing but not now visible, obvious, active, or symptomatic"[159], that directs attention to a possible process that is underway and has the potential to manifest itself. It is precisely in this sense that themes that can be identified at a latent level, that is, "underlying the phenomenon" (Saldaña 2016). We can therefore extend our chain of arguments and hypothesize that a latent character is an attribute of the process of globalization. In this sense, we can speak of latent globalization. At this point it is possible to formulate different types of hypotheses. One could hypothesize a limited scope of the latent aspects of the phenomenon of globalization, such as the absence of identification by the actors participating in the process itself. Alternatively, it is possible to hypothesize the existence of concurrent phenomena that contribute to determining the latent character of the globalization process, and that these concurrent phenomena might have the characteristics of epiphenomena, meaning collateral manifestations, secondary aspects, or symptoms of

[158] In these paragraphs, for clarity of argument and readability, I articulate the analysis using only the term globalization.
[159] See: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/latent Accessed October 18, 2024.

globalization. This second type of hypothesis is the one it is possible to investigate through the participants' narratives.

From the examination of the participants' responses regarding the modality they adopt to obtain information about their city of residence, a pattern emerges: their reliance on social media and digital platforms for their activities, not just to stay informed. The use of social media and platforms clearly extends to mediating social interaction, organizing events, and promoting public and private activities, particularly professional ones. The use of social media and platforms appears to be decidedly prevalent compared to other means of communication; in fact, the press and television are almost completely absent, as can be deduced from the interview extracts reported below. After each extract, a brief summary of the type of use made of social media is provided.

> We have the group of people who are living in this building on Facebook, and we are chatting. (KR-9, 26)
> Yeah, it's working, for example, someone's cat is lost... or someone says, I bought too much bread today, would you like to share it with me? (KR-9, 30)
> This group works very good. We have a pretty young community... so I think that's why we have this connection and nice chats. (KR-9, 34)
> Generally, I will like have this information from Facebook and from Instagram. Some profiles that are created about events in Kraków. (KR-9, 74)

The respondent uses Facebook groups (and other social media) extensively for practical group interactions within their community and follows Facebook and Instagram profiles to stay updated about events and social gatherings in Kraków.

> I created this fan page Poznań International Events, PIE for short. And that also helped me a lot to market. And also later, I became the host of International Poznań radio show, which gave me the access to the group called the International Poznań Friends, which is the biggest international [Facebook] group in Poznań. (PZ-PL-1, 53)
> I think Facebook is much better for promoting events than Instagram even now. So, I still use mostly Facebook to promote the events. Yeah, because I'm an administrator of most of the groups in Poznań in terms of the international community. (PZ-PL-1, 57)
> He organizes the Italian meeting... he goes to not only my meetings but to other meetings as well. (PZ-PL-1, 69)

The respondent relies on social media platforms, particularly Facebook, to organize, promote and attend events and engage with international communities in Poznań.

> I think Facebook tells me I've got something like 26 groups and 19 pages, but I think it's more. And most of these are relevant to Kraków. […]. Then I became the admin for Kraków expats, […] and across my other groups I have between 60,000 and 70,000 members in and around Kraków. […] That gave me a real insight into what's happening in the international community, what the issues are. […] And it also gave me the benefit of a great platform, a good network where I could share any important information. (KR-3, 30)

The respondent extensively utilizes social media, particularly Facebook, to engage with and manage online international communities related to Kraków.

> My biggest source of information for what's happening in the city would be the internet, but through what we call this, like groups, newspaper, or don't say newspapers, articles, yes, news feeds. Okay, so through some news feeds that always pop up. (PZ-11, 118)

The respondent relies on news feeds and Facebook groups and online news feeds to stay updated about city events in Poznań.

> I follow social media actually. So, Instagram usually, and Facebook ... I know everything from social media, like what concerts are happening. And yeah, so music. That's the main way. (KR-PL-7, 130)

The respondent relies on Instagram and Facebook to stay updated about social events, particularly in the music scene in Kraków.

> I also see something that has changed, for example, the level of events for international people that are now on Facebook, for example, is much higher. (PZ-13, 117)

The respondent discovers international events in Poznań, through Facebook.

> I'm on social media a lot. And I think I've done well, in terms of learning the languages of this particular social media platforms, and using it to my advantage as a musician and an artist. (KR-10, 236)

The respondent actively uses social media platforms to build visibility for his music career in Kraków.

> Yeah, of course Facebook groups and some events on Facebook for example, but also from my friends, because you know art community is quite small group usually in in Poland but also in Kraków. So, if something is happening, usually, you know from someone but yeah, but also like Facebook groups and websites and also magazines about the art. (KR-13, 148)

The respondent uses Facebook groups and websites as primary sources for art-related events and community updates in Kraków.

> You hear main news, important news […] on social media, Instagram, Facebook. You know, if you live in Kraków, you can place some posts about, say about the important news. (KR-15, 218)

The respondent uses Instagram and Facebook to receive and post updates about current news and events in Kraków.

> Surely there is Poznań International Group. This group for exposure and international meetings. (PZ-12, 215)

The respondent mentions the importance of Facebook groups for international communities to meet and organize events in Poznań.

> So, this guy put in his social media and many people could see that so the television. Polsat was the first television to contact me. And from there I went to TVN. Then all the, let's say, the first leak of communication. Also the radio. (PZ-7, 38)

The respondent uses social media extensively to share actions and gain visibility in Poznań.

This finding, the regularity in the use of social media for social interaction and cultural participation, allows for the formulation of an open hypothetical explanation regarding the latent nature of globalization detectable in migrants' narratives. It is also useful to recall the notable absence of self-identification as 'migrants' and/or 'expats' among the research participants, i.e. according to supposedly mainstream categorization. Hence, in individual narratives, we observe a ‘non-emergence’ of two elements commonly used in the sociological framing – and public discourse - of migratory phenomena. As already mentioned, I argue that it is necessary to search for possible concurrent phenomena that may be hidden or not yet sufficiently framed in scientific discourse. It is possible to frame the massive use of social media for interactions carried

out by respondents within the recent developments in capitalist restructuring, known as platformization[160] (Mezzadra et al. 2024; Strüver and Bauriedl 2022). These developments are connected to the process of datafication[161] and are characterized by the opacity of the economic transactions and social relations they produce. Many scholars frame opacity of transactions and other interactions in terms of invisibility. For example, Mara Ferreri (2023) discusses of "algorithmic (in)visibility", which obscures the people involved, and argues that opacity exists both in the design and application of algorithms to understand, govern, and predict social processes. Indeed, along the preliminary steps of analysis and interpretation of data I tried to consistently frame the latency of globalization in terms of invisibility[162]. Indeed, during the preliminary steps of analysis and interpretation of data, I tried to consistently frame the latency of globalization in terms of invisibility. Yet, one internal consistency of this research is that it was made possible by snowball sampling, the application of which was, in turn, possible exactly because respondents made themselves quite visible and approachable on social platforms (especially in Poznań). Therefore, we are faced with a strong ambivalence among the people involved - between their visibility as (generically) international people[163] and their invisibility as migrants. This ambivalence can be productively understood acknowledging a specificity of digital social interactions as illustrated by the Swedish media scholar Simon Lindgren:

> Another idiosyncrasy of digital sociality is that it has the potential to make us relatively invisible. This is no pure invisibility, however. It is about a potential for relative invisibility or anonymity. […], the internet indeed in many ways makes us less rather than more invisible, and a key feature of social media culture is that it focuses on visual presentation and self-expression. (Lindgren 2022)

Hence, digital interactions can produce at the same time invisibility and enhance visibility through self-presentation. This duality plays a role in how globalization unfolds – paradoxically, how it is digitally embodied – in latent ways. Simply put, to understand

[160] "One concept that allows us to grasp the effects of the spread of digital platforms without homogenizing them is "platformization", which encourages an analysis of the effects of the operations of platforms even beyond their specific domains. […] We elaborate on the concept of platformization based on an understanding of platforms as digital infrastructures that increasingly build the conditions of possibility of social relations - of "intersections" (Mezzadra et al. 2024)

[161] "Datafication is a contemporary phenomenon which refers to the quantification of human life through digital information, very often for economic value." (Mejias and Couldry 2019)

[162] Much of the new literature on platformization focuses on the invisibility of workers.

[163] On social platforms the use of the term 'expat' is expectedly ambiguous and often appears to be used in an implicitly contrastive sense to the term 'migrant'.

the latent character of globalization, we need to recognize that it is connected to the specific ways people interact online. The question of latent globalization is not merely constituted by a ‘loss of interest’ from some of its individual actors. On the contrary it is conducive to the problematization of concurrent phenomena.

The data collected do not allow for an analytical understanding of latent globalization, as the research focus lies elsewhere. Nonetheless, I argue that further empirical research on this topic would benefit from being designed to integrate the theoretical conceptualization of deep mediatization developed by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp in their book *The Mediated Construction of Reality* (2017). Their work is ambitious. While re-problematizing and expanding the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), they provide an account of how 'media and communications are embedded in everyday life' today. The two scholars understand mediatization as the

> Shorthand for all the transformations of communicative and social processes, and the social and practical forms built from them, which follow from our increasing reliance on technologically and institutionally based processes of mediation.” (Couldry and Hepp 2017).

In the historical reconstruction of the development of mediatization processes, they identify four major shifts in the media environment, defined as 'waves of mediatization'[164]: mechanization, electrification, digitalization, and datafication. For Couldry and Hepp deep mediatization corresponds to the last two waves od mediatization as media, and in particular social media today, become massively embedded in social processes. Setting the possible framing for an enhanced understanding of the processes of globalization, the two scholars affirm that:

> “The deepening of mediatization is a matter of the increased reliance of all social processes on infrastructures of communication on scales up to the global. (Couldry and Hepp 2017)

[164] The history of humankind then gets read as a sequence of media-dominated cultures: ‘traditional oral cultures’ are superseded by ‘scribal cultures’, followed by ‘print cultures’ and ‘global electronic cultures’

Table 37 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-15

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"Poznań is really famous now, especially in my country."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"Most of people from Ethiopia coming to Poznań... everybody wants to [come to] Poznań because you'll feel like at home a little bit here."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"But I have family here who I really have to take care of... so that's why I feel at home."
Economic	Assets and activities	"I guess Poznań, you see, for business men it's okay. For someone who wants to study, also… Because you can be whatever you want."

Table 38 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-9

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I love cafés in Kraków. I have my favorite one … Also services, some kind of beauty services in Kraków. I know a lot of places where I can go."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"First thing that is keeping us here is our community, let's say our friends, the people with whom we're now interacting."
Ontological	Safety	"We feel just very, very comfortable here, you know, like it's our like comfort zone … we decided to stay here."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"We are more connected with Polish people. You know, like I said, culturally, definitely."
Economic	Assets and activities	"Rent prices are lower in Kraków, for example, than in … Warsaw."

Table 39 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-14

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"I don't think I would live outside of Kraków, in Poland."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"My in-laws are close enough that they're easy to visit and they're very helpful with the grandkids."
Identity-related	Identity traits	“Being an architect, I'm very sensitive to the urban development, the urban situation. And I very much appreciate the European style life… I love it here. I love it that I have everything that I need around me. In my neighborhood, which is right here, downtown, Stare Miasto.”
Ontological	Safety	"I feel comfortable walking the streets at night, my wife feels comfortable with walking in the streets at night."

Table 40 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee KR-10

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"First time I came here was 2014. I stayed for a couple of months. I checked the city out. And then did some traveling again … at the end of 2016, I sort of decided. Okay, I think it's going to be Kraków.
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	"So, to be in a place that … is filled with so much history and tradition and beauty, was really to my advantage as a musician, as an artist.”
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I’ve managed to really make a contribution to Kraków, to the city of Kraków, especially in a way that I don’t think would have been possible in South Africa."
Identity-related	Identity traits	"Home in my mind is actually here, is actually Kraków."

Table 41 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-12

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	"Actually, when you become a student … we do the normal routine, every time: wake up, go to breakfast, go to class and come back home, do the assignment or the work and go to gym come back. This is the day to day. And social life."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"And I think the most important thing was, which has helped me … the diversity."
		"Because the environment where you're staying can influence your stuff in different ways…. from my perspective, I found [it here] very good and friendly. So, because of this, obviously, I'm staying here."
	Social role and position	"Right now, I am working as a startup company."

Table 42 Types of anchors in individual narrative. Interviewee PZ-7

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Embodied and Behavioral	Body and practices	When I moved to Poznań, I decided that I wanted to continue doing something but this time something different … I started cleaning always with a suit on to give the message that cleaning is elegant."
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"One hour action of cleaning in my neighborhood, next to where I was living, next to the stadium."

Table 43 Types of anchors in individual narrative.

Interviewee KR-3

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based anchors	"To come to Kraków and drink coffee in Kraków's cafes, that was my retirement plan."
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	"I got involved in a Kraków expats group."
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"I spend a lot of time helping other people."
Cultural	Language and cultural exchange	"What do you do with kids in Kraków? There wasn't something in English, I created a Facebook group called Families Time.

Table 44 Types of anchors in individual narrative.

Interviewee KR-6

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Social and Professional	Social structure and groups	“When you have social confrontation, fights … This is the moment you understand that you're really close.!
Spatial and Environmental	Place-based	"For me, I am really happy when I can have this, to buy something or have the service in a place which is run by foreigners."
Embodied and behavioral	Body and practices	"I smoked only tobacco. And I have this small shop in Kazimierz. And I buy tobacco only there."
Ontological	Safety	“It's hard to me too to tell you now, I feel like at home … sometimes I'm bored with this place, but I like to go somewhere else to see something new like to experience the thing that I do not have here, but then I want to come back. So probably it's like feeling of belonging.”

Table 45 Types of anchors in individual narrative.

Interviewee KR-12

Category	*Anchor Type*	*Example from the interview*
Economic	Assets and activities	“I created a travel gig based in Kraków. I'm not going anywhere.”
Social and Professional	Social role and position	"My wife has a business as well. So there's a lot of practical things that are keeping us here."
Symbolic and Emotional	Emotional sites	“Dolnych Młynów was this area with this old abandoned tobacco factories. And this to me was the most real thing in Kraków."

Policies as an adaptive response by host society

As highlighted in the previous section, although the investigative focus of the research is on the set 'people' (in assemblage theory terminology) the transformative dynamics introduced by the processes of globalization affect the Polish cities of Kraków and Poznań in their entirety, as a 'social whole', and are configured along their multiscalar dimensions. This means that it is possible to trace aspects of change also in the other sets that make up the social whole social 'city'. This is indeed the case for the set 'organizations', whose globalizing transformations are highlighted in the narratives of the Polish participants in the research - an instance not necessarily surprising, as these same participants are representatives of Polish or international organizations and institutions. The subsequent paragraphs provide a concise analysis of narratives focused on strategies and policies, which emerge as a distinct theme (although limited of occurrences). Throughout the analysis, the concept of policy is understood in a broad sense, as a set of principles, practical norms and actions deliberated by organizations to regulate various aspects of their functioning, particularly in relation to specific issues such as the transformations induced by migrations. For analytical purposes, we can view policies as strategies that have achieved some degree of explicit formalization.

As we will see, strategies and policies represented here can be divided into two broad categories. On the one hand, there are strategies and policies implemented by transnational organizations, where we observe a transfer or application of policies from the global scale to the scale of the Polish city. On the other hand, if the organizations implementing the policies are Polish, strategies and policies may represent an 'adaptive behavior' determined by the presence of foreigners and the need to address the transformations brought about by their presence.

It should be noted, incidentally, that the Polish State has been without a policy or a strategical assessment regarding migratory processes until October 15, 2024, when the Polish government approved the controversial document *„Odzyskać kontrolę. Zapewnić bezpieczeństwo" Kompleksowa i odpowiedzialna Strategia migracyjna polski na lata 2025–2030 („Take back control. Ensuring security" Comprehensive and responsible Polish Migration Strategy for 2025–2030)*[165]. For this reason, migration strategies and

[165] The document does not permit citations as it lacks the necessary indications for proper referencing.

policies developed in the Polish context, have been promoted and formalized autonomously by metropolises and cities, outside of national or supranational regulatory frameworks. This has been the case for Kraków since 2016 and for Poznań only since 2023. The strategies and policies pursued and adopted have different histories as highlighted in Table 46 (below) which allows a swift comparison.

Table 46 Immigration strategies and policies in Kraków and Poznań

Kraków	*Poznań*
Population dynamics: Kraków's population includes approximately 64.5 thousand foreigners, primarily from Ukraine, Belarus, and India.	**Population Dynamics**: Poznań's metropolitan area houses around 50,000 Ukrainians, who became the most visible foreign group following Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine.
Policy development: Kraków introduced the *'Open Kraków' Programme* in 2016 as a response to growing migration, emphasizing integration, education, and contrasting xenophobia.	**Policy development**: unlike Kraków, Poznań adopted local migration policies later, mainly after the 2022 refugee crisis. The 2023 adoption of the *'Policy for the Integration of Migrant Women and Migrants'* marked formal recognition of migration challenges, though it occurred years later than Kraków.
Multicultural Centre: key role played by the Multicultural Centre in providing information and support for foreigners through collaboration with NGOs and expert institutions.	**Migrant Info Point (MIP):** key role played by NGOs: MIP originating from the academic sector, and other organizations played leading roles in assisting refugees and foreigners.
Economic context: Dominance of the Shared Services Center (SSC/BPO) sector employing around 100,000 people (23% of all employment), which attracts international labor.	**Economic context**: structural labor shortage characterizes Poznań's economy, focused on manufacturing and trade, has a low unemployment rate (1%), driving demand for foreign workers
War refugee response: Kraków served as a crucial hub during the Ukrainian refugee crisis, coordinating grassroots and institutional assistance effectively.	**War refugee response**: bottom-up response, initial aid and integration initiatives emerged from grassroots efforts and NGOs, with the city supporting these initiatives financially and logistically.
Expert support: the *Multiculturalism and Migration Observatory* (OWiM) draws up reports and provides research-based insights to support migration policies.	**Expert support**: not formally provided.

In interviews with an operator from the Multicultural Centre in Kraków and an operator from the Migrant Info Point in Poznań, common narrative traits emerge revealing that they face challenges such as international migration, and particularly the

refugee crisis caused by the war in Ukraine, while lacking regulatory frameworks and implementation tools, often having to resort to insufficient or improvised resources. The operator for Kraków depicts a clear picture of the present situation in a fast-changing city, where despite the purported implementation of immigration policies, there is a lack of real guidelines and functional practices to effectively manage the increasing phenomenon of immigration. As she states:

> Kraków used to be quite different town from the others. It was a student town with a lot of universities and a multicultural environment. […] Nowadays, as you said, before COVID, before the war, we used to have also a lot of foreigners. We've had a lot of Ukrainian people, call it in sociology, economic migrants. […] Nowadays, numbers are different. […] what I observe here locally and on this our national level, I don't see any program. I don't see any people who knows how to manage the conflicts in multicultural societies. […] How to resolve some problems with access to some services. There is nobody who is in charge and who'd like to take this responsibility, also in the political meaning. (KR-PL-4, 58)

The operator is a social scientist, employed through a foundation, who manages the daily tasks of addressing migrants' need. Her perspective is therefore twofold, allowing us to understand the real situation faced by operators in the field, beyond the official communication rhetoric. The operator also describes a situation in which she experiences challenges in interacting with local government employees, and in jointly developing implementable strategies.

The operator of the Migrant Info Point in Poznań is also a scholar who works as a social worker. Her role presents a slightly different situation, as it is embedded in a completely private work context, even if partially supported by public funds and characterized by a proactive personal approach aimed at achieving the maximum possible results, both in terms of developing the municipality's migration policy and in terms of effectively implementing activities to support the migrant population in the field. She explains that:

> This is something which is very important for us, the relationship with the City Hall and connected with the project which was finished. That in the project we somehow had to create the integration policy for the City Hall. And finally, it happened. And we have one and it was already accepted by the Rada Miasta [City Council]. […] there were some people who were drafting the project. I was also there. So, we were thinking what role could be each actor having? We discussed it. And I also tried to push it a bit, that it is really good

> idea to write down that the City Hall will try at least to draft the integration policy. And it was written and only because of that, that it was written, they had to finalize the project. They did it. (PZ-PL-6, 59- 81)

Conversely, when managers of transnational corporations engage in implementing global professional policies or university professors participate in drafting internationalization policies, the issues at hand are of a completely different nature and level. It is not a matter of competing to access scarce public resources, advocating for structured policies, nor is it a question of working face-to-face with struggling or traumatized people. Rather, they operate outside of crises or emergency situations, in the normal execution of their functions. For the individuals the focus become one of global political and social (and professional) positioning - one of the globalizing characters identified through the analytical grid.

In the thematic section on the transformative experiences of settlement, I have highlighted the shift toward standard cosmopolitized practices observable in multinational organizations. I have quoted a Polish junior manager (PZ-PL-3) from a transnational corporation in Poznań, who describes the adoption of globally shared company practices in their Poznań branch, and in particular the American model of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR can be framed as a voluntary corporate policy through which companies engage their employees in various initiatives for charitable purposes, such as solidarity events and environmental conservation and protection activities.

Similar dynamics are observed in Kraków. Conveniently, the description of a Polish human resources head manager of a transnational company presents a rich example of how it is possible to draw on legal, social and cultural resources developed in different countries, considered more advanced because they are able to provide a range of possibilities that guarantee equal opportunities. As she explains:

> The leadership team of the group is in the UK, however, it's mixed Spanish and British. […] We must follow that legal requirement, which in the UK are much more advanced from the perspective of diversity, equity and inclusion. So, it's obvious that we need to have proper policies there. So, if we do anything in the UK, we automatically spread it to other countries. So, that's why somehow, we are using the best approaches and outcomes from other countries. For example, in Spain, on the other side, there is the quite advanced law

> supporting different situations like […] this new law regarding having time off when you feel not very well because of the menstruation period. So, somehow, being in Poland, we are absorbing from different legislations and different countries trying to provide equal and similar opportunities to everyone, regardless where they are. Because, at the same time, we have managers who manage people sitting in different locations. So, we want to give them the one common approach relate to the people and not to discriminate anyone because the law is different. However, it's not so obvious, because in one aspect Polish law is much more beneficial, like, for these parental aspects, than UK and Ireland. On the other side, it's much stricter, like for example, reporting some type of diversities. Once in UK, it's quite flexible. That's why it's an additional, complex approach for us in HR because we're absorbing from different sources and trying to provide common opportunities for everyone, regardless where they are. (KR-PL-8, 74)

Here, the full and conscious exploitation of the opportunities offered by 'cosmopolitized spaces of action' can be observed, to the point of being formalized in policies applied at the global corporate level. These last two cases are particularly interesting for discussing how the host society is transformed through the implementation of policies with a clearly cosmopolitized structure.

Some experiences of transnationalization become significant in an unexpected sense. This is to say that, in some cases the implementation of practices based of globalized standards and policies may become mandatory. A researcher from the Jagiellonian University of Kraków makes it clear in her account:

> I was working for four years […] for the internationalization. […] The things that were the most significant, were done by a very narrow group of people, kind of visionaries who believed that internationalization makes sense. And it's useful, and it's a future, while majority of the academic community either didn't give a damn, or were just like, semi-hostile. So, the support towards this process from the inside was actually very little at the beginning. But there were incentives, especially financial ones. There was a pressure coming from outside, from European Union, but also from our partners abroad. So, for example, just to give you an exact example, […] internationalization strategy, we never had any […], we worked on that back in 2012. And we developed it after working really hard for a year consulting everything with everybody. It was an outcome of quite a big discussion that we had within the university. And then this internationalization strategy was adopted, I don't want to say implemented, because that's exactly when problems started. […] But they wanted to have it because there was a pressure to have it. That was the first step when ... the

> pressure was external, okay, but also slightly internal. […] But then when, for example, European alliances like Coimbra Group said: "Well, guys, everybody has internationalization strategy. What about you?". They said "Okay, so let's Have it." So, we wrote it. And for around five years, nothing was really happening with it. (KR-PL-5, 34-38)

This description reveals that the possibilities of action resulting from cosmopolitizing processes do not necessarily involve free adherence and, what is most important, actual implementation. On the contrary, dynamics inherent to global institutional position are triggered which present a strong stimulus to conformity, not exclusively formal, and also to proper sociocultural compliance. Remarkably, the potential for institutional and social change, free or forced, apparent in these dynamics can become extremely significant impactful. Strategies of passive resistance to globalizing dynamics are also evident.

Conversely, a proactive stance is evident in the narrative of a Cracovian politician, who presents a complex vision of the desired policy emerging at the intersection of political messaging and an envisioned growth scenario for the city, as he explains:

> We have many new residents from many different countries. […] We also have a lot of people who are in multinational corporations, big corporations. […] I think that maybe between 20 and 30% of Kraków residents are not Polish, but foreigners. […] And I have to say that I'm quite happy that Kraków is such a magnet, such a place, which is attractive for foreign people from different cultures, because it makes our city richer, in cultural terms. […] I think that the, the critical issue is whether we will be able to hold them here, to make Kraków so attractive for them, and to make them assimilate. […] I think that the job of the member of the city council, and of the mayor, is to convince Polish people, that there are more advantages, if foreigners come here, than disadvantages, that's my very strong opinion. I believe that the best cities in terms of economic and social development are these cities that have multinational inhabitants, that have a very rich culture. I think you cannot build a just a city that will develop fast and that will be convenient for residents, if it's just one nation, it's very difficult. […] What is very important is that they assimilate and that Polish people accept them. […] But I want them to become the citizens of Kraków, to feel citizens of Kraków, this is very important that they feel that they are part of our city. (KR-PL-1, 8)

The respondent's vision of Kraków as a city that thrives thanks to diversity align with a cosmopolitan framing. While he does hint at two specific policy elements – assimilation and citizenship - he blends cultural openness with economic pragmatism. At the same time, he appears concerned that the globalizing changes implied in his vision may create

tension with the local Polish population. It is unclear what assimilation and becoming citizens entail: adopting Polish customs and legal status, or developing a sense of belonging? Whether such a complex and intriguing vision might lead to a progressive or conservative policy remains to be seen.

The narratives of the Polish research participants confirm the need for an adaptive response to globalizing transformations taking place in Kraków and Poznań, determined firstly by the encounter of foreigners (refugees, students, migrants) with Polish organizations and institutions and secondly by membership in international networks and organizations. In the first instance, the presence of foreigners motivates the demand for inclusive policies and structural adaptation to accommodate diverse populations. In the second, functional and cultural adjustments are required to guarantee operational efficiency simultaneously at the city scale and at the European scale. It is possible to interpret these narratives as a sign of the unpreparedness of cities and the country as a whole to face the challenges induced by migration processes. This is due precisely to the low level of development or the total absence of adequate policies, or even to the resistance of institutional bodies to their development. Finally, it can be hypothesized that when organizations recognize their need for policies suited to migratory processes, they undertake initiatives - such as consulting migrants or social workers, or conducting social research - that, even before policy implementation, can impact individuals' lives, for example, by encouraging cosmopolitizing responses.

Chapter 5 Conclusions

Throughout the study, I have consistently maintained that the research is motivated by the necessity of exploring new social processes that have emerged as a result of the dramatic political, social, and economic development that Poland has experienced over the past thirty years. Urban contexts are among the most visible sites of the country's exceptional development. Polish cities display globalized and globalizing characteristics as locations where globalization processes take place. The actors of these processes are individuals, organizations and networks, whose attributes take on specific characteristics when operating in Polish urban contexts. Although social scientists have devoted themselves to the analysis of migration phenomena as they have developed in the Polish context over the last decade, the studies produced have hardly attempted to identify possible connections between globalization and migratory processes as they manifest today - that is, with a multiscalar development that ranges from the individual scale of the body, through the scale of the city, to the global scale.

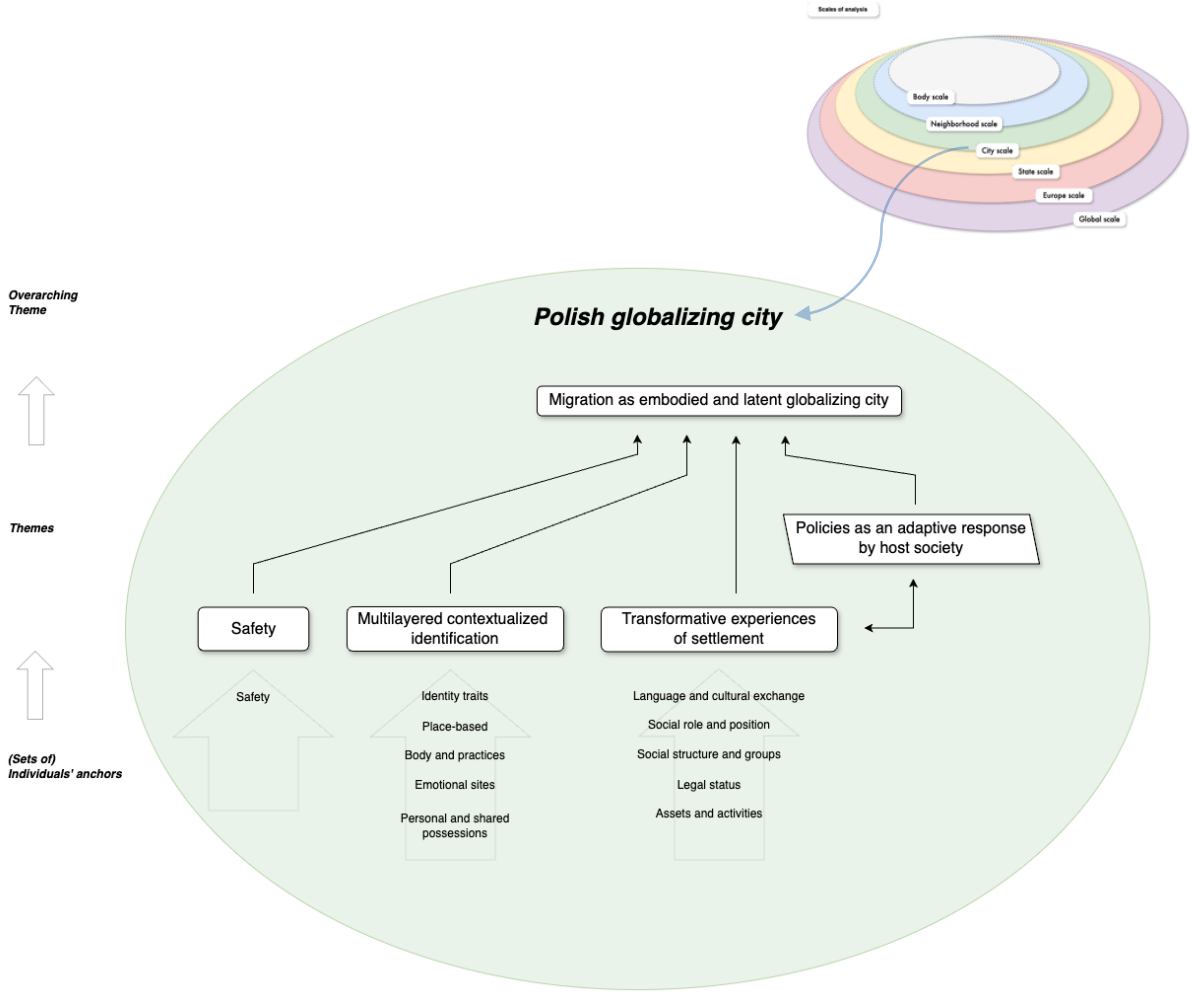
The rationale for this research is, therefore, to provide an initial empirical investigation of the ways in which globalization and migration processes take shape in the Polish cities chosen as case studies, namely Kraków and Poznań. The specific perspective of the research is to investigate, through the concept of anchoring, individual actors and their potential role - their agency - in relation to the observed transformations. Consequently, the research takes on an explicit exploratory character. In line with this approach, the research question was conceived in such a way as to allow for the development of data collection and analytical process that would allow to grasp the emerging elements and attributes of the phenomena at play in the narratives of research participants. To answer the research question, I developed a thematic analysis based on evidence from interviews conducted with foreign and Polish residents living in Poznań and Kraków. Their narratives serve as initial evidence of phenomena manifesting in their early stages of development. The analysis was carried out with reference to a series of theoretical frameworks derived from the fields of sociology of migration studies, economics, and assemblage theory, as discussed in the first part of the study. Assemblage theory provided the theoretical basis, in the form of social ontology, which enabled the operationalization of the city as a set of people, networks, organizations and infrastructures. The data collection and subsequent analysis focused specifically on the

set of people, establishing the study as the initial stage of a broader research project evaluating the transformations brought about by globalization in Polish urban contexts. The implementation of the field research and the stages of data analysis were structured around five sensitizing concepts - anchoring, embedding, identification, cosmopolitization, and citizenization - which were developed into analytical categories and formed the basis for theme construction. Since anchoring constitutes the primary analytical lens of the study, a multidimensional analytical grid was developed based on the concept and conceptualized as a typology of the anchors activated by migrant individuals. In the first stage of the data analysis, sets of individual anchors were represented, allowing the exploration of the relationship between anchors and settlement context - specifically the Polish cities of Poznań and Kraków. This approach enabled the understanding of how anchoring strategies emerge within individual narratives. It also enabled the construction of emerging themes from these narratives, which was conducted in subsequent phases of the analysis. The analysis did not ascertain a sequential relationship between the emerging themes, as this aspect was not readily discernible in the data. However, after a thorough and repeated review of the transcripts, it is reasonable to hypothesize the existence of such a relationship to some extent, although its confirmation requires further empirical research. Moreover, to enhance the readability of the findings, I make the assumption that logical relationships exist between the themes, as all themes are constructed from the same fundamental concepts, which underpin both the data and the analysis. Rather than a causal progression or a temporal evolution, the relationship I hypothesize between themes is one of conceptual stratification, where each theme contributes an additional layer of meaning and understanding. Five themes were constructed and a sixth overarching theme established.

Analytical model

The analytical model derived from complex analysis is structured in a relatively simple composition and is represented in Figure 6 (below).

Figure 6 Analytical model of the Polish globalizing city.



In the analytical model, anchors serve as the foundational elements of individual experiences of migration in the urban context. The first theme highlights the strategic fundamental importance of the safety anchor, which plays a crucial role as the initial enabler of settlement strategies. At this stage, a sense of contextualized security and predictability allows individuals to engage in dynamic self-identification, which takes on a multidimensional character, constituting the second theme. The third theme revolves around the transformative experiences of settlement, where strategies of

cosmopolitization and citizenization are relevant. These first three themes address the migration experience mostly at an individual perceptual level and form the foundations for the activation of agency by migrant individuals. The fourth theme pertains to newly emerging attributes of urban contexts, demonstrating early signs, i.e., initial evidence of transformations driven by the presence and agency of migrants, thereby reflecting the globalizing dynamics shaping Kraków and Poznań. The fifth theme concerns the adaptive responses developed by organizations to address the transformations induced by migration.

The five themes are constituent parts of an overarching theme indicating the multiscalar and processual aspects of globalization at play at the urban scale. The overarching theme can thus be framed as a broad empirical synthesis, or empirical generalization, of the five processual themes, as they serve as its empirical evidence. This means that the themes converge, highlighting the overarching theme of the globalizing transformation of Polish urban contexts, driven by migrant subjects and conceptually framed as the Polish globalizing city.

The globalizing dynamics anchored in Poznań and Kraków exhibit, at times, very similar characteristics. Similarities exist across all three categories of globalizing characters, as reflected in individual narratives: cultural and demographic changes, economic connectivity and integration, and urban restructuring. For example, the massive increase in foreigners residing in the city and working for transnational companies, as well as the ways in which their presence both influences and is influenced by urban restructuring - an aspect that I assume is more evident in Kraków. On the other hand, the two cities differ in substantial ways. One key difference is how research participants utilize their agency potential. In Kraków, this potential is directed toward activities that require at least minimal formalization, as they are implemented at the group level and take place within the neighborhood and the city. In contrast, in Poznań, the agency potential of foreigners remains more unspecified. Only by continuing to observe and examine how the changes brought about by globalization and migration evolve and unfold in Polish cities will it be possible to understand whether and how agency potential stabilizes into agential capacity. Presumably, foreigners' agency may develop in instances of socio-political confrontation, driven by tensions, conflicts, or even shifts in consumption patterns related to resource access and the assertion or demand for rights protection. To investigate this kind of process, it is productive to comparatively examine

the agency of foreigners in relation to other urban actors, such as urban activists and institutional stakeholders, following the path initiated by scholars like Grzymała-Kazłowska and O'Farrell (2023). It is therefore possible to examine how the changes brought about by globalization (will) generate new configurations of the formal and informal statuses of non-Polish urban citizens, influencing the types of urbanity they contribute to shaping. These configurations, in turn, can be either promoted or hindered by the formulation and implementation of public and private policies. The study has identified a critical shortcoming precisely in the area of policy formulation. The lack of preparedness evident in the Polish context at various scales may become a source of social issues and conflicts.

Broadening the interpretation of the findings, one can observe a high degree of personal autonomy emerging in the narratives of foreigners. Etymologically, I understand autonomy as derived from the Greek adjective αὐτόνομος, composed of αὐτός ('self') and the root of νέμω ('to govern'), translating to 'one who governs himself/herself' or 'someone who governs themselves'. By 'governing themselves', the research participants seem able to resolve in their favor the tension between individual choice and structural constraints, which is caused by individualization – understood as a complementary process to globalization (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001). The task of sociological analysis is to determine whether migrants' autonomy merely reflects their ability to navigate the opportunities provided by cosmopolitized spaces of action or signifies a broader cultural development driven by globalization, which is likely to bring about further transformations in globalizing dynamics.

The observations presented above are further examples of how it is possible to interpret complex phenomena through the analytical path based on the concept of anchoring. This involves observing its interaction with other conceptual references - embedding, identification, cosmopolitization and citizenization - capable of capturing and making interpretable the emerging attributes of social transformations in Polish urban contexts undergoing globalization processes. Along this analytical path, it is possible to reconstruct, through the examination of the narratives of the research participants, not only the merely individual aspects but also to begin understanding social dynamics in their multiscalar manifestations. In this sense, it is verified what Grzymała-Kazłowska hypothesized, namely that:

> Anchoring also captures the simultaneity of anchors and their possible transnational feature, when migrants maintain tangible, cognitive and virtual anchors spanning state borders and connecting them to different geographical places and unlocalised spaces. (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2020)

The analytical framework developed based on the concept of anchoring, and in particular its multidimensional character, makes it possible to formulate detailed answers to the research question, verifying the potential role of foreign residents in relation to the globalizing phenomena taking place in the cities of Kraków and Poznań. It is realistically possible to identify elements of the urban context associated with the presence of non-national residents, verifying the hypothesis regarding the emerging attributes of globalization in the two Polish cities. This is possible because the adopted framework is inherently open and heuristically driven. It is also motivated by the need to rethink key theoretical aspects of migration studies. However, the research findings result in empirical generalizations with weak verifiability - an aspect considered from the research design phase. During this phase, the empirical approach was deliberately oriented toward a heuristic perspective. The intrinsic characteristics of the data collection technique (interviewing) played a crucial role in shaping the research process. Rather than focusing solely on interpretation, it encouraged active engagement in listening to individual voices. This proves to be crucial for capturing both explicit and latent meanings. As a result, hidden aspects of globalization and migratory processes may emerge, thanks to the significance that the anchoring lens assigns to the individual perceptual scale. Weak verifiability therefore appears to be a necessary balancing act for conducting research with a certain degree of experimental nature.

Further research on the multiscalar transformations induced by globalization and migration will need to be equipped with theoretical frameworks capable of facilitating knowledge production that enables the interpretation of social transformations occurring at an accelerating pace. This seems particularly appropriate for the Polish context, which has been continuously affected by economic and sociocultural changes since the 1990s, changes that are especially evident in cities. Effectively capturing and interpreting the globalizing processes at play in the Polish context today, evidently requires an organizational effort that exceeds what is available to an individual researcher. Nonetheless, research may expand its examination to emerging globalizing attributes in Polish cities that are becoming evident not only among people but also within the other

sets that constitute the city, namely networks, organizations, and infrastructural components. Notably, the progressive digital infrastructuring of everyday life appears to be emerging with increasing significance due to the direct - though also latent - influence of processes such as deep mediatization on the modes of social interaction.

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Annex 1 Interview guide

Interview guide for the research project "The influence of foreigners on the process of globalization of Polish cities"[166]
PhD Candidate: Fiorenzo Fantuz
Supervisors: Prof. Marek Nowak, Prof. Paweł Kubicki

Interviewee's name:
Interviewer's name:
Interviewee's Country of Origin:
Interviewee's Current Residence:
Date of Interview:
Place of Interview:

Premise

As you probably already know, this interview is part of the doctoral research project 'Foreigners as actors of urban change in the Polish cities of Kraków and Poznań' developed at the Faculty of Sociology of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, and is being conducted to get your input about your personal experience of settlement here in Kraków/Poznań. We are especially interested in aspects of everyday life here in the city.

Concerning the processing of your personal data, we refer to what is reported in the consent form you have just signed.

Sets of questions

1.Hello, this is [Interviewer's name]. I am here with [Interviewee's name], at [City and location], on [date] at [time]. How are you doing today?

2.As I said, I would like to invite you to express freely your ideas and opinions. Well, let's start talking about your personal experience, shall we? Can we start off by you talking about where you were born? What is your education? (High school, University, other) At what stage of your life have you started thinking about moving to another country? For what reasons? When you finally moved abroad, what were the most important motivations? How did you prepare for this experience and what are the difficulties encountered while moving abroad? Did you arrive in Poland directly from [country of origin] or did you have experiences in other countries as well? Which ones? Would you like to share your views on the different countries you have lived in?

3. All right, we may now talk about your life here in Poland. Before Kraków/Poznań, have you been living elsewhere in Poland, and for how long? How long have you been living in Kraków/Poznań? Where do you live here in Kraków/Poznań? In what

[166] The research title was later changed.

neighbourhood? Would you like to share your impressions about living here in Kraków/Poznań?

4. Where do you work? What is your job position? Is your job position in line with your educational career? How is you day organized? Do you commute to work, how? Do you use public transports? Do you move through the city with a car? With a Bike?

5.Are you living alone here in Kraków/Poznań? Or with flat mates? Or with family? With children? Are you renting your place, or do you own it? Do you have a residence permit? Temporary or permanent? Have you been living in more than one place in the city? If yes, how often did you move? Where did you live before, in what neighborhoods?

6. What languages do you speak? Do you speak Polish? How would you describe your competency of Polish language? What ended up bringing you to Poland, and specifically to Kraków/Poznań, when you lived in [country of origin - or last country of transit in case of direct transfer to Poland]?

7. Let's talk about the neighbourhood you are currently living in [neighbourhood name]? Can you recall the reasons why you decided to live in [neighbourhood name]? Can you describe the neighbourhood you live in? What do you think are the 'pros' and the 'cons' of the neighbourhood?

8. How would you describe the availability and accessibility of public and private services in the neighbourhood? (Public services: administrative, transport, health care, social care, sport, education, culture – museums, libraries, etc. / private services: shops, transport, sport, education, culture – cinemas, music venues, etc.)

9. How would you describe the availability and accessibility of public and private spaces in the neighbourhood? (Public spaces: streets, square, parks / private spaces: bars and restaurants, greeneries)

10. Are any of your friends, colleagues, family members living in the neighbourhood? Other than your friends, colleagues, family members, do you know other people living in the neighbourhood? If yes, are they foreigners, Polish, or both? If yes, can you describe how you got to know each other (if possible, more than one case)? Have you established relationships with people living in your neighbourhood? Can you describe some of these relationships? What is the nature of these relationships? How are you maintaining these relationships? How often are you interacting with people you know in your neighbourhood? Are these interactions taking place only in the neighbourhood, or also elsewhere in the city?

11. What are your main sources of knowledge and information about your neighbourhood? Do you regularly

read/watch news about your neighbourhood? If yes, in which language(s)? Are you participating in the social life of your neighbourhood? Are you participating in informal activities? Are you taking part in organized activities and events? Would you like to describe some of these activities, please? What are your main sources of knowledge and information about the city? Do you regularly read/watch news about the city, the neighbourhood? If yes, in which language(s)?

12. What are your main sources of knowledge and information about the? Do you regularly read/watch news about the? If yes, in which language(s)? Are you participating in the social life outside of the neighbourhood, at a city level? Are you participating in informal activities? Are you taking part in organized activities and events? Would you like to describe some of these activities, please?

13. What are the material and immaterial aspects of your experience in your neighbourhood, and more in general in the city, that have allowed you to develop a sense of belonging, of stability and a feeling of safety?

14. Do you consider your settlement in Kraków/Poznań permanent or temporary? Are you interested in the history of the city? In its cultural aspects, heritage and local customs? Are you interested in the future development of the city? What are the material and immaterial aspects of your experience in the city that may explain your decision? Or your lack of decision? How significant is your perspective as a foreigner/migrant/newcomer in relation to your assessment of life in Kraków/Poznań?

15. In case of temporary settlement, how long are you planning to stay in Kraków/Poznań? And what are the reasons?

16. If you plan to move away from Kraków/Poznań, are you considering moving to another Polish city? Or back to your country of origin? Or to another country? Which one? Can you describe your motivations?

Ending: Thank you very much for your time

Annex 2 RODO/GDPR Information and data processing consent form

You are receiving this notice in connection with your participation in the following research study:

Title of Study: *"The influence of foreigners on the process of globalisation of Polish cities. Are immigrants becoming the subject of social change?"* implemented by the Faculty of Sociology (Wydział Socjologii) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

Principal Investigator: Fiorenzo Fantuz, PhD candidate

In accordance with Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation) - Official Journal of the European Union, L 119/1 of 4 May 2016, hereafter referred to as "GDPR":

1) The administrator of your personal data is the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, with its seat at ul. H. Wieniawskiego 1, 61-712 Poznań (Poland)
2) Contact with the Data Protection Officer is possible at the email address iod@amu.edu.pl
3) your personal data will be processed for the purpose of your participation in the scientific research titled *"The influence of foreigners on the process of globalisation of Polish cities. Are immigrants becoming the subject of social change?"* implemented by the Faculty of Sociology (Wydział Socjologii) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The research results will be published in anonymised form. In research projects financed by the resources of the Faculty of Sociology, the person responsible for the supervision of the processing of personal data, including sensitive data, and the application of procedures related to the protection of personal data is the Dean of the Faculty of Sociology.
4) your personal data is processed on the basis of art. 6 sec. 1 lit. a) GDPR (Lawfulness of processing), your consent and art. 9 sec. 2 lit. a) GDPR (Processing of special categories of personal data).
5) The recipients of your personal data may be entities processing personal data on behalf of and for the administrator, on the basis of the concluded contract, the operation of which will be necessary in connection with the implementation of scientific research, and other entities authorized under the law. Access to your personal data can be granted to authorized employees, collaborators and students of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, who must process data in connection with the research being carried out.
6) Your personal data will be processed for the duration of the research (including publication and dissemination of the results), or until the consent to the processing of personal data is withdrawn, whichever occurs first. After completing the research, personal data will be anonymized.
7) You have the right to:

a) erasure of your personal data, under the conditions set out in art. 17 GDPR (Right to erasure),
b) transfer personal data, under the conditions set out in art. 20 GDPR (Right to data portability),
c) lodge a complaint to the supervisory body (President of the Personal Data Protection Office, email address iod@amu.edu.pl),
d) withdraw consent to the processing of personal data at any time. Withdrawal of consent does not affect the lawfulness of the processing which was carried out on the basis of consent before its withdrawal. The consent may be withdrawn in the same form as the consent was given.

8) With regard to the processing of personal data for the purposes of scientific research, the application of the provisions of Art. 15 GDPR (Right of access by the data subject), Art. 16 GDPR (Right to rectification), art. 18 GDPR (Right to restriction of processing), Art. 21 GDPR (Right to object), is excluded if it is probable that the rights set out in these legal provisions will prevent or seriously hinder the achievement of the objectives of scientific research and if these exclusions are necessary for the achievement of these purposes.
9) Providing personal data is voluntary, but necessary to achieve the purpose for which it was collected. Refusal to provide the required personal data will result in the inability to participate in the study.

10) Your data will not be processed in an automated manner and will not be profiled in accordance with art. 22 GDPR (Automated individual decision-making, including profiling).
11) Personal data will not be transferred to third countries or international organizations, except when the Administrator's obligation to provide data results from legal provisions.

Respondent's name _____

Consent clause for the processing of personal data - general
I, the undersigned, consent to the processing of my personal data by Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, in accordance with the Act of May 10, 2018 on the protection of personal data and with Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation) – GDPR, for the purpose and in connection with my participation in the scientific research titled *"The influence of foreigners on the process of globalisation of Polish cities. Are immigrants becoming the subject of social change?"* implemented by the Faculty of Sociology (Wydział Socjologii) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

date and signature _____

Consent clause for the processing of special categories of personal data
Based on Article. 9 sec. 2 lit. a) GDPR, I, the undersigned, consent to the processing of personal data, by Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, I have provided specific categories of data for the purpose and in connection with my participation in the scientific research titled *"The influence of foreigners on the process of globalisation of Polish cities. Are immigrants becoming the subject of social change?"* implemented by the Faculty of Sociology (Wydział Socjologii) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

date and signature _____

Consent clause for the use of the image
I consent to the free use, use and distribution of my image (including photography and film documentation) by Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, for the purpose and in connection with the implementation of the scientific research titled *"The influence of foreigners on the process of globalisation of Polish cities. Are immigrants becoming the subject of social change?"* implemented by the Faculty of Sociology (Wydział Socjologii) of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. This consent is free, unlimited in quantity, time and territory. This consent covers all forms of publication, informational materials, in particular dissemination on the Internet.

date and signature _____